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M. W. HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ABERCORN, K. G.

GRAND MASTER OF IRELAND.

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

Its Antiquities, Symbols, Constitutions, Customs, Etc.

Embracing an Investigation of the Records of the Organisations of the Fraternity in England, Scotland, Ireland, British Colonies, France, Germany, and the United States.

Derived from Official

By ROBERT FREKE GOULD, Barrister-at-Law,
Past Senior Grand Deacon of England;
Author of "The Four Old Lodges," "The Atholl Lodges," Etc.

VOLUME II.

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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY.

CHAPTER XII.

EARLY BRITISH FREEMASONRY.

ENGLAND.—I.

MASONIC TRADITION—SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN—PAPAL BULLS—ANNUAL ASSEMBLIES.

"BETWEEN the region of fancy and the province of authenticated history lies a border-land of tradition, full of difficulties, which can neither be passed without notice, nor ever, perhaps, very clearly or finally explained."[1] Upon many of the questions which it would be most interesting to decide, no conclusion whatever is attainable. The historian knows very little of the real facts; of the lives of his personages only a contemptibly small fragment has been preserved. No doubt, if his imagination be strong, he will piece together the information he has, and instinctively shape for himself some theory which will combine them all; though, if his judgment be as strong as his imagination, he will hold very cheap these conjectural combinations, and will steadfastly bear in mind that, as an historian, he is concerned with facts and not with possibilities.[2] Some, indeed, instead of employing those tests of credibility which are consistently applied to modern history, attempt to guide their judgment by the indications of internal evidence, and to assume that truth can be discovered by "an occult faculty of historical divination." Hence the task they have undertaken resembles an inquiry into the internal structure of the earth, or into the question, whether the stars are inhabited? It is an attempt to solve a problem, for the solution of which no sufficient data exist. Their ingenuity and labour can result in nothing but hypothesis and conjecture, which may be supported by analogies, and may sometimes appear specious and attractive, but can never rest on the solid foundation of proof.[3]

It is too often forgotten that "in traditional truths, each remove weakens the force of

[1] C. Elton, Origins of English History, p. 7.

[2] See Professor Seeley, History and Politics, Macmillan's Magazine, Aug. 1879.

[3] Lewis, An Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History, 1855, vol. i., p. 13.

the proof; and the more hands the tradition has successively passed through, the less strength and evidence does it receive from them." This it is necessary to recollect, because, to use the words of a learned writer, we "find amongst some men the quite contrary commonly practised, who look on opinions to gain force by growing older. Upon this ground, propositions, evidently false or doubtful enough in their first beginning, come by an inverted rule of probability to pass for authentic truths; and those which found or deserved little credit from the mouths of their first authors are thought to grow venerable by age, and are urged as undeniable."[1]

In closing the mythico-historical period of *English* Freemasonry at the year 1717,[2] I have been desirous of drawing a sharp line of division between the legendary or traditionary, and the authentic histories of the craft. The era, however, immediately preceding that of the formation of a Grand Lodge, is the most interesting in our annals, and its elucidation will necessarily claim attention, before we pass on to an examination of the *records* of later date.

Although, for convenience sake, the year 1717 is made to mark the epoch of authentic —*i.e.*, officially accredited—Masonic history, the existence in England of a widely-diffused system of Freemasonry in the first half of the seventeenth century is demonstrable, whence we shall be justified in concluding that for its period of origin in South Britain, a far higher antiquity may be claimed and conceded.

The present chapter will deal with what may be termed the "floating traditions" of the Society, and by carefully examining the sources of authority upon which they rest, and the argumentative grounds (if any) by which their authenticity is supported, I shall attempt to lay a sure foundation for the historical inquiry—properly so called—upon which we shall next enter.

It has been observed "that a great part of the labour of every writer is only the destruction of those that went before him," the first care of the builder of a new system being to demolish the fabrics which are standing. As the actual history of Freemasonry, like that of any other venerable institution, is only to be derived from ancient writings, the genuineness and authenticity of such documents are only determinable by a somewhat free handling of authorities; and whoever attempts to explain the meaning of a writer would but half discharge his task did he not show how much other commentators have corrupted and obscured it.

It is difficult in a work of this description not to write too little for some, and too much for others; to meet the expectations of the student, without wearying the ordinary reader; or to satisfy the *few* that may be attracted by a desire for instruction, without repelling the *many* whose sole object is to be amused.

Some friends, upon whose judgment I place great reliance, have warned me against attempting to deal exhaustively with a subject flux and transitory, or at least until more light has been cast upon it by the unceasing progress of modern research. That more might be accomplished in a longer course of years devoted to the same study I admit, yet, as remarked by Hearne, "*it is the business of a good antiquary, as of a good man, to have mortality*

[1] John Locke, Essay on the Human Understanding, book iv., chap. xvi., § 10. "This is certain, that what in one age was affirmed upon slight grounds, can never after come to be more valid in future ages by being often repeated" (*Ibid.*, § 11).

[2] *Ante*, Chap. I., p. 2

always before him."[1] It is unwise to amass more than one can digest, and having undertaken a work, to go on searching and transcribing, and seeking new supplies when already overburdened, must inevitably result in that work being left unfinished.

In the present chapter, I shall somewhat depart from the arrangement hitherto observed, or at least attempted, of keeping the subjects discussed distinct and separate from one another. To the student of Masonic antiquities there is nothing more bewildering than to find scattered over the compass of a large book isolated allusions to particular subjects, which he must group together for himself, if he wishes to examine any set of them as a whole.

The slight variation of treatment it is now proposed to adopt, which, after all, is more nominal than real, will not, however, be productive of any inconvenience. The general subject to be examined is Masonic tradition *in its relation to the facts of history*, and though several legends or fables will pass under review, the evidence by which these are traceable to their respective sources of origin is in many cases identical, and one tradition is frequently so interwoven with another, that the only way of testing their real value and importance is by subjecting them to a common and a searching scrutiny. Although I use the expression "Masonic tradition" in its widest sense, as covering all the information respecting the *past* of Freemasonry that has descended to us, whether handed down by oral relations or professedly derived from "Records of the Society"—of which we are told a great deal, but see very little—the qualification by which it is followed above will remove any uneasiness that might otherwise be excited.

No attempt will be made to follow the beaten road of those voluminous plodders of Masonic history, who make Masons of every man of note, from Adam to Nimrod, and from Nimrod to Solomon, down to the present day; nor shall I seriously discuss the statements, made in all good faith by writers of reputation, that Masonry was introduced into Britain A.M. 2974 by "E-Brank, king of the Trojan race," and into Ireland by the prophet Jeremiah; that 27,000 Masons accompanied the Christian princes in the Crusades; and that Martin Luther was received into the Society on Christmas night, 1520, just fifteen days after he had burned the Pope's Bull.[2] These and kindred creations of the fancy I shall dismiss to the vast limbo of fabulous narrations.

In the history of Freemasonry there are no speculations which are worthy of more critical investigation than its conjectural origin, as disclosed in the "Parentalia," and the common belief that this derivation was attested by the high authority of a former Grand Master of the Society.[3]

I shall therefore carefully examine the grounds upon which these speculations have arisen, and as the theory of "travelling Masons," by which so many writers have been misled, owes

[1] The Rambler, No. 71, Nov. 20, 1750. The following prayer, found amongst his papers after his decease, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library, exemplifies Hearne's character as much, perhaps, as any anecdote that has descended to us: "Oh, most gracious and mercifull Lord God . ·. . ·. I continually meet with most signal instances of this Thy Providence, and one act yesterday, when I *unexpectedly met with three old MSS.*, for which, in a particular manner, I return my thanks" (Aubrey, Letters written by Eminent Persons, and Lives of Eminent Men, 1813, vol. i., p. 118).

[2] *Cf.* Book of Constitutions, 1738; Multa Paucis, p. 45; Dalcho, Masonic Orations, Appendix, p. 56; and Freemason, March 10, 1880, and July 2, 1881.

[3] *Ante*, Chaps. I., p. 3, and VI., p. 257. See also the *Times* of June 26, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Oct. 20, 1879. Although the pretensions of the Freemasons are mildly ridiculed in these leading journals, Wren's grand-mastership is accepted by both!

its general acceptance to the circumstance that it was esteemed to be the opinion of a great *Freemason*, as well as a great architect, the evidence upon which the *opinion* has been ascribed to Wren, as well as that connecting him *in any shape* with the Masonic craft, will be considered at some length.

"The road to truth, particularly to subjects connected with antiquity, is generally choaked with fable and error, which we must remove, by application and perseverance, before we can promise to ourselves any satisfaction in our progress. Because a story has been related in one way for an hundred years past is not, alone, sufficient to stamp it with truth; it must carry, on the face of it, the appearance of probability, and if it is a subject which can be tried by the evidence of authentic history, and by just reasoning from established *data*, it will never be received by an enlightened mind on the *ipse dixit* of any one."[1]

The common belief in Wren's membership of the Society of Freemasons rests upon two sources of authority. Historically, the general impression derives what weight it may possess from the importance that is attached to an obscure passage in Aubrey's "Natural History of Wiltshire," and traditionally (or masonically) the acceptance of the "legend," and its devolution from an article of faith into a matter of conviction, is dependent upon our yielding full credence to statements in Dr Anderson's Constitutions of A.D. 1738, which are quite irreconcilable with those in his earlier publication of 1723. The "Natural History of Wiltshire," originally commenced in 1656, and of which the last chapter was written on April 21, 1686, was the author's first literary essay. He subsequently made some additions, but none of a later date than 1691. In 1675 it was submitted to the Royal Society; subsequently Dr Plot[2]—curator of the Ashmolean Museum, and author of the "Natural History of Staffordshire"—was requested by Aubrey to prepare it for the press. This, however, he declined to do, but strongly urged the writer "to finish and publish it" himself. The work remained in MS. until 1847, when it was *first* printed, under the editorial supervision of John Britton.[3] The original MS. was never removed from Oxford, but a fair copy was made by the author and presented to the Royal Society. Of the Oxford MS., Britton says, "Being compiled at various times, during a long series of years, it has a confused appearance from the numerous corrections and additions made in it by Aubrey." The same authority continues:—"So far as Aubrey's own labours are concerned, the Royal Society's copy is the most perfect; but the notes of Ray, Evelyn, and Tanner were written upon the Oxford MS.,

[1] Dalcho, Masonic Orations, II., p. 37. This passage is only one of many wherein the principles on which masonic investigation should be conducted are clearly and forcibly enunciated. Yet, as showing the contradiction of human nature, the talented writer poses to at least an equal extent as an example of learned credulity. *E.g.*, in the first Oration we read, "It is *well known* that immense numbers of Free-masons were engaged in the Holy Wars;" in the second, that the "archives of the 'sublime institutions' are records of very ancient date, and contain, besides the evidence of the origin of Masonry, many of the great and important principles of science;" and in the Appendix, that the 27,000 masons who took part in the Crusades, "while in Palestine, discovered many important masonic manuscripts among the descendants of the ancient Jews"!!

[2] Dr Robert Plot, born 1640, chosen F.R.S. 1677, became one of the secretaries of the Royal Society, 1682; was appointed first keeper of the Ashmolean Museum by the founder, 1683; and soon after nominated Professor of Chemistry to the University. He was also Historiographer Royal, Secretary to the Earl Marshal, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary, and Registrar of the Court of Honour; died April 30, 1696. His chief works are the "Natural Histories of Oxfordshire (1677) and Staffordshire (1686). It was his intention to have published a complete Natural History of England and Wales, had his time and health permitted so laborious an undertaking.

[3] John Aubrey, The Natural History of Wiltshire, edited by John Britton, 1847, Editor's Preface.

after the fair copy was made, and have never been transcribed into the latter." Aubrey's remarks upon the Freemasons are given by Mr Halliwell in two separate but consecutive paragraphs, at page 46 of the explanatory notes attached to the second edition of the "Masonic Poem" (1844). This writer copied from the Royal Society manuscript, where the second paragraph appears as a continuation of the first.[1] This is not the case in the Oxford or original MS. There, the first paragraph, commencing "Sir William Dugdale told me," is written on folio 73, whilst the second, upon which Mr Halliwell based his conclusion "that Sir Christopher, in 1691, was enrolled among the members of the fraternity," forms one of the numerous *additions* made by Aubrey, and is written on the back of folio 72.[2] As the last chapter of the history was written in 1686, a period of at least five years separates the passage in the *text* from the *addendum* of 1691, but the original entry in the body of the work is probably far older than 1686[3]—the date of publication of Dr Plot's "Natural History of Staffordshire"—yet, whilst it may be fairly concluded that Plot must have seen Aubrey's general note on the Freemasons before his own work was written, which latter in turn Aubrey could not fail to have read prior to the entry of his memorandum of 1691, there is nothing to show that either the one or the other was in the slightest degree influenced by, or indeed recollected, the observations on the Freemasons which immediately preceded his own.

The Oxford copy of the "Natural History of Wiltshire" was forwarded by Aubrey to John Ray, the botanist and zoologist, September 15, 1691, and returned by the latter in the October following. It was also sent to Tanner, afterwards Bishop of St Asaph, in February 1694.[4] In 1719 Dr Rawlinson printed the dedication and preface as *addenda* to "Aubrey's History of Surrey."[5] These he doubtless copied from the original. The transcript in the Royal Society Library was quoted by Walpole in the first chapter of his "Anecdotes of Painting" (1762), and Warton and Huddesford refer to the original in the list of Aubrey's manuscripts at Oxford, in a note to the "Life of Anthony à Wood." The only other notice I have met with —prior to 1844—of the masonic entry or entries in Aubrey's unprinted work occurs in Hawkins' "History of Gothic Architecture"[6] (1813), but it merely alludes to Papal bulls said to have been granted to Italian architects, and does not mention Wren. I have examined both manuscripts, the original in the Bodleian Library; and the fair copy at Burlington House, by permission of the Council of the Royal Society. The latter has on the title page "Memoires of Naturall Remarques in the County of Wilts," by Mr John Aubrey, R.S.S., 1685; but as the memorandum of 1691, as well as the earlier entry relating to the Freemasons, duly appears in the text, it will be safer to believe in their contemporaneous transcription, than to assume that the copy, like the original, received additions from time to time.[7]

[1] Mr Halliwell has omitted the square brackets in the second paragraph of the Royal Society copy, which should read—"Memorandum. This day [May the 18th, being Monday, 1691, after Rogation Sunday] is a great convention," etc.

[2] Aubrey wrote on one side of the page only, until he had completed his history.

[3] The allusion to the Freemasons occurs at p. 99 of the *printed* work (Natural History of Wiltshire), and there are 126 pages in all.

[4] John Britton, Memoirs of John Aubrey, F.R.S., 1845, p. 62. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[6] P. 148, citing Antiquarian Repertory, iii. 45. This reference being inexact, I have been unable to verify it, and have vainly searched the work quoted for the passage given by Hawkins.

[7] The allusion to the Freemasons appears at p. 277 of the Royal Society MS., and at p. 276 three pages are inserted conformably with Aubrey's rough note on the back of fol. 72 of the Oxford copy.

The following extracts are from the Oxford or original MS.[1]:—

["NATURALL HISTORIE OF WILTSHIRE"—PART II.—MS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.]

Reverse of Fol. 72.

1691.

Mdm, this day [May the 18th being after Rogation Sunday[2] Monday] is a great convention at St

☞ ~~Free~~-Masons: where S[r] Christopher Wren is to be adopted a Brother: and S[r] Henry Goodric of y[e] Tower, & divers others—There have been kings, that haue been of this Sodalitie.

Fol. 73.

S[r] William Dugdale told me many years since, that about Henry the third's time, Patents the Pope gave a Bull or diploma to a Comdowne over all Europe to build Churches. From those are derived the *Fraternity of* Adopted-Masons. *Free-Masons*. They are known to one another by certayn Signes & ~~Marks~~ and Watch-words: it continues to this day. They have Severall Lodges in severall Counties for their reception: and when any of them fall into decay, the brotherhood is to relieve him &c. The manner of their Adoption is very formall, and with an Oath of Secrecy.

As already observed, Aubrey's memorandum of Wren's approaching initiation was not printed or in any way alluded to until 1844. It can therefore have exercised no influence whatever in shaping or fashioning the belief (amongst Masons) which, from 1738 onwards, has universally prevailed as regards the connection of the great architect with the ancient craft. Indeed, the statements of Aubrey (1691) and Anderson (1738) are mutually destructive. If Wren was only "accepted" or "adopted" in 1691, it is quite clear that he could not have been Grand Master at any earlier date; and, on the other hand, if he presided over the Society in the year 1663, it is equally clear that the ceremony of his formal admission into the fraternity was not postponed until 1691. I shall now proceed to examine the question chronologically, dealing with the evidence in order of time—*i.e.*, time of publication. According to this method of procedure, the entries in the Aubrey MSS. will be considered last of all, at which stage I shall enter upon a review of the whole subject, and conclude with an expression of the views which, in my judgment, are fairly deducible from the evidence before us.

In proceeding with the inquiry, whilst it is constantly necessary to bear in mind that masonic writers of the last century—with whose works, in the first instance, we are chiefly concerned, were altogether *uninfluenced* by the singular entries in the Aubrey MSS., yet we should be on our guard not to assume too confidently that none of the Fellows of the Royal Society who joined the fraternity between 1717 and 1750 were aware that one of their own number—Aubrey was chosen an F.R.S. in 1663—had recorded in a manuscript work

[1] During my visit to the Bodleian Library in 1880, the late Mr W. H. Turner was at the pains of instituting a careful, though fruitless search amongst the papers of Anthony à Wood, in order to ascertain whether Aubrey's *Addendum* of 1691 had been inspired by any information from his friend.

[2] The words "after Rogation Sunday," "Accepted," "Patents," "Freemasons," and "Adopted-Masons," here printed in smaller type, are interlineated in the original; the words here printed in italics are there underlined.

(which he deposited in their own library), the approaching initiation into Masonry of a former President of the Royal Society. It is improbable that so curious a circumstance was wholly unknown to Dr Desaguliers, Martin Folkes, Martin Clare, or Richard Rawlinson, all Fellows of the Royal Society, and zealous Freemasons.[1] If we admit the probability of some one[2] or more of these distinguished *brethren* having perused the manuscript in question, it affords negative evidence, from which we may not unfairly conclude that the allusion to Wren failed to make any impression upon them.

In next proceeding to adduce the evidence upon which the belief in Wren's membership of the fraternity has grown up, I shall, in the first instance, cite the Constitutions of 1723, as presenting an authoritative picture of the condition of Freemasonry in that year. It may, however, be premised that the Grand Lodge of England—established in 1717—was then in the sixth year of its existence. Philip, Duke of Wharton, was the Grand Master, and Dr Desaguliers his Deputy.

The earliest "Book of Constitutions" was published by Dr James Anderson, conformably with the direction of the Grand Lodge, to which body it was submitted *in print* on January 17, 1723, and finally approved. It was the joint production of Anderson, Desaguliers, and the antiquary, George Payne, the two last named of whom had filled the office of Grand Master. Payne compiled the "Regulations," which constitute the chief feature of this work; Desaguliers wrote the preface; and Anderson digested the entire subject-matter.

This official book speaks of "our great Master Mason Inigo Jones;" styles James I. and Charles I. "Masons," and proceeds as follows:—

"After the Wars were over, and the *Royal Family* restor'd, true *Masonry* was likewise restor'd; especially upon the unhappy Occasion of the *Burning* of LONDON, *Anno* 1666; for then the City Houses were rebuilt more after the *Roman* stile, when King Charles II. founded the present St PAUL'S Cathedral in *London* (the old *Gothick* Fabrick being burnt down), much after the style of St PETER'S at *Rome*, conducted by the ingenious Architect, Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN.

"Besides the Tradition of old Masons now alive, which may be rely'd on, we have much reason to believe that King Charles II. was an *accepted Free-Mason*, as everyone allows he was a great Encourager of the *Craftsmen*.

"But in the Reign of his Brother, King James II., though some *Roman* Buildings were carried on, the *Lodges of Freemasons* in London much dwindled into Ignorance, by not being duly frequented and cultivated."

In a footnote Dr Anderson speaks of the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, "as having been designed and conducted also by Sir Christopher Wren, the King's Architect."

William III. is termed "that *Glorious Prince*, who by most is reckon'd a *Free-Mason*;" and having cited an opinion of Sir Edward Coke, Dr Anderson says:—

"This quotation confirms the tradition of *Old Masons*, that this most learned *Judge* really belong'd to the Ancient Lodge, and was a *faithful Brother*."

The text of the original "Book of Constitutions" thus concludes:—

[1] Dr Desaguliers was Grand Master 1719, and Deputy Grand Master 1722-3 and 1725; Folkes was Deputy Grand Master in 1724, and Clare in 1741; Rawlinson was a Grand Steward in 1734.

[2] It is hardly within the limits of possibility that Rawlinson could have appropriated the dedication and preface of this work without perusing the work itself!

here laid on some great Masonic event having occurred in 1691, which is so far corroborative of Aubrey's memorandum. This notion may indeed have suggested itself to Prichard from the fact that, in 1729, the Grand Lodge of England, in its official list of lodges, showed the date of constitution of the senior lodge, formerly the old Lodge of St Paul, as 1691; or, on the other hand, this entry in the engraved list may be viewed as confirmatory of the statement in "Masonry Dissected"?

Elsewhere, I have expressed an opinion that the date of 1691, as given in the official calendar for 1729, may denote that in this year original No. 1,[1] formerly the old Lodge of St Paul (*now* Antiquity), from being an *occasional* became a *stated* lodge, and Aubrey's statement respecting Wren's "adoption," I instanced as strengthening this hypothesis. If, indeed, Prichard's observations are entirely put on one side, as being inspired by the calendar of 1729, there yet remains the inquiry—must not this date of 1691, officially accorded to the senior lodge thirty-eight years after its original establishment *as computed by the Grand Officers*,[2] point at least to some remarkable event connected with its history? On the other hand, however, it may be fairly contended that nothing very extraordinary could have taken place in 1691, since all recollection of it had died out before 1723,[3] and though slightly anticipating the sequence of my argument, I may here conveniently add, that it would be contrary to all reason and experience for a tradition to hybernate for at least twenty-one years (1717-38) and then suddenly return to full life and reality.

Between 1730 and 1738, the newspapers of the time contain very frequent references to Freemasonry. Many of these were preserved by Dr Rawlinson, and may be seen in the curious collection of Masonic scraps, entitled the "Rawlinson MSS.," in the Bodleian Library. These I have carefully examined, and the passing allusions of the learned collector, to contemporaneous events of a Masonic character, I have in each case verified wherever a date is named, or a journal cited, and the reference is sufficiently plain and distinct to enable me to trace it in the newspaper files at the British Museum. Furthermore, I have searched these files with more or less particularity from the year 1717 down to 1738 and later, and though I have met with numerous dissertations on Freemasonry, squibs, catechisms, and the like, nowhere, prior to 1738 save in the two journals of 1723, already cited, have I found any mention of Wren as a Freemason.[4] That this belief did not exist in 1737 is, I think, plainly evidenced by the "Pocket Companion" for 1738, printed according to invariable usage slightly in advance, and which, like its predecessors and successors, was a summary of all the facts, fancies, and conjectures *previously published* in reference to Freemasonry. Had

[1] The Four Old Lodges, 1879, p. 46.

[2] I am far from suggesting that the period of formation of our oldest English lodge (present No. 2) was rightly determined in 1729. The masonic authorities appear to have proceeded on no principle whatever in the dates of constitution they assigned to lodges. Thus, the lodge at "St Rook's Hill," near Chichester, No. 65 in the numeration of 1729-39, was duly chronicled in the official calendars as having been established "in the reign of Julius Cæsar." In the *Weekly Journal, or British Gazetteer* (No. 264, April 11, 1730), however, is the following: "A few days since, their Graces the Dukes of Richmond and Montagu, accompanied by several gentlemen, who were all Free and Accepted Masons, according to ancient custom, form'd a lodge upon the top of a hill near the Duke of Richmond's seat, at Goodwood in Sussex, and made the Right Hon. the Lord Baltimore a Free and Accepted Mason."

[3] The date of publication of the first "Book of Constitutions."

[4] Numerous extracts from the *St James Evening Post*, ranging from 1732 to 1738, were reprinted by Mr Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. iv., 1876-77, pp. 418, 472, 518, but in none of these is there any allusion to Wren.

there, at that time, been a *scintilla* of evidence to connect Wren with the fraternity, the worthy knight, without doubt, would have figured in that publication as a Freemason.

I shall now proceed to show how the fable originated, and in the first instance, before examining the "Constitutions" of 1738, two extracts from the Minutes of Grand Lodge claim our attention:—

"February 24, 1735.—Bro. Dr Anderson, formerly Grand Warden, represented that he had spent some thoughts upon some alterations and additions that might fittly be made to the Constitutions, the first Edition being all sold off.

"Resolved—That a committee be appointed ∴ ∴ ∴ to revise and compare the same, and, when finished, to lay the same before Grand Lodge."

"March 31, 1735.—A motion was made that Dr James Anderson should be desired to print the names (in his new Book of Constitutions) of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of Time; with a list of the Names of all Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and the brethren who have served the Craft in the Quality of Stewards."

The new edition of the "Constitutions" was published in 1738, and we are informed therein that in 1660 Charles II. approved the choice of the Earl of St Albans as Grand Master; that in 1663 this nobleman appointed Sir John Denham Deputy Grand Master, and Sir Christopher Wren (slightly antedating his knighthood) and Mr John Webb,[1] Grand Wardens. I shall proceed to give some extracts from this work, premising that by all authorities alike, whether *in* or *out* of the craft, the Constitutions edited by Dr Anderson have been regarded as the basis of Masonic history.

"Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, an excellent Architect, shew'd his great skill in designing his famous *Theatrum Sheldonianum* at *Oxford*, and at his Cost it was conducted and finished by Deputy WREN and Grand Warden WEB.

"And the *Craftsmen* having celebrated the Cape-stone, it was open'd with an elegant oration by Dr South, on 9th July 1669. D. G. M. WREN built also that other *Master Piece*, the pretty *Musæum* near the *Theatre*, at the Charge of the University. Meanwhile—

"London was rebuilding apace; and the Fire having ruin'd St *Paul's* Cathedral, the KING with *Grand Master* Rivers, his architects and craftsmen, Nobility and Gentry, Lord Mayor and Aldermen, Bishops and Clergy, etc., in due Form levell'd the *Footstone* of New St Paul's, designed by D. G. Master Wren, A.D. 1673, and by him conducted as *Master of Work* and Surveyor, with his Wardens Mr *Edward Strong*, Senior[2] and Junior, under a Parliamentary Fund.

"Upon the death of Grand Master Arlington, 1685, the *Lodges* met and elected Sir Christopher Wren GRAND MASTER, who appointed

[1] Preston, *et hoc genus omne*, who have blindly copied from Anderson, are well described by the worthy they persist in styling Grand Warden: "Some are so far in love with vulgarly receiv'd reports, that it must be taken for truth, whatsoever related by them, though nor head, nor tail, nor foot, nor footstep in it oftentimes of reason or common sense" (John Webb, The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stonehenge, 1655, p. 108).

[2] Edward Strong, the elder, died in 1723, aged 72; consequently he was only 22 years of age in 1673. It is improbable that his *son* Edward was born until some years after the footstone was levelled. As will presently appear, the credit of having laid the foundation-stone of St Paul's Cathedral is claimed for *Thomas* Strong by his brother Edward, in the latter's "Memoir of the Family of Strong," given in Clutterbuck's "History and Antiquity of the County of Hertford," 1815, vol. i., p. 167

Mr Gabriel Cibber, Mr Edward Strong } *Grand Wardens.* { and whilst carrying on St Paul's, he annually met those Brethren that could attend him, to keep up good old *Usages*, till the Revolution."

The "Constitution Book" goes on to say that King William III. was privately made a *Free-Mason*, and that he approved the choice of Grand Master Wren; that in 1695 the Duke of Richmond became Grand Master, Wren being Deputy, and the Edward Strongs, Senior and Junior, Grand Wardens respectively; and again records Sir Christopher's elevation to the Grand Mastership in 1698.

The official record proceeds:—

"Yet still in the *South* (1707) the Lodges were more and more disused, partly by the Neglect of the *Masters* and *Wardens*, and partly by not having a *Noble Grand Master* at *London*, and the annual Assembly was not duly attended. G. M. Wren, who had design'd St Paul's, *London*, A.D. 1673, and as *Master* of *Work* had conducted it from the *Foot-stone*, had the Honour to finish that noble *Cathedral*, the finest and largest *Temple* of the *Augustan* stile except *St Peter's* at *Rome;* and celebrated the *Cape-stone* when he erected the Cross on the Top of the Cupola, in July A.D. 1708.[1]

"Some few years after this Sir *Christopher Wren* neglected the office of *Grand Master*, yet the *Old Lodge* near St Paul's, and a few more, continued their stated meetings."

In the Constitutions of 1738 we learn for the first time that Wren was a Freemason, this volume, it must be recollected, having been written by the compiler of the earlier Constitutions, Dr James Anderson; that the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, was opened masonically; that King Charles II. laid the foundation-stone of St Paul's; and that Wren continued as Grand Master until after 1708, when his neglect of the office "caused the Lodges to be more and more disused."

It is somewhat remarkable that *not one* of the foregoing statements can be cited as an historical fact.

I do not propose multiplying evidence to invalidate the testimony of this work, but it may be shortly stated that among the English Grand Masters Dr Anderson gravely enumerates Austin the Monk, St Swithin, St Dunstan, Henry VII., and Cardinal Wolsey; whilst of "Foreigners," who have attained that high office, he specifies Nimrod, Moses, Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar, and Augustus Cæsar!!

Between 1738 and 1750 there is nothing to chronicle which bears upon the present inquiry, but in the latter year appeared the following work:—"PARENTALIA; or, MEMOIRS OF THE FAMILY OF THE WRENS. But Chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren, compiled by his son Christopher: Now published by his grandson Stephen Wren, Esq.; with the care of Joseph Ames, F.R.S. London, MDCCL."

Two passages in this publication demand our attention. These occur at p. 292 and p. 306 respectively, the latter being the opinion *ascribed* to Wren in respect of the origin of Freemasonry, and the former, the statement of his son Christopher with regard to certain occurrences, about which there is a great diversity of testimony. The remarks attributed to Sir

[1] According to Edward Strong, *senior*, in the "Memoir" before alluded to, the last stone of the lanthorn on the dome of St Paul's was laid by himself, October 25, 1708. Christopher Wren also claims the honour of having laid the "highest or last stone," but fixes the date of this occurrence at 1710 (Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens, MDCCL., p. [illegible]).

Christopher are given in full in an earlier chapter,[1] and I shall proceed to adduce the remaining extract from the "Parentalia," which will complete the stock of evidence derivable from this source. At p. 292, the subject being sundry details connected with the erection of St Paul's Cathedral, there appears:—"The first Stone of this *Basilica* was laid in the Year 1675, and the Works carried on with such Care and Industry, that by the Year 1685 the Walls of the Quire and Side ailes were finished, with the circular North and South Porticoes; and the great Pillars of the Dome brought to the same Height; and it pleased God in his Mercy to bless the *Surveyor* with Health and Length of Days, and to enable him to compleat the whole Structure in the Year 1710 to the Glory of his most holy Name, and Promotion of his divine Worship, the principal Ornament of the Imperial Seat of this Realm[2] *Majestas convenit ista deo.* The highest or last Stone on the Top of the Lantern, was laid by the Hands of the *Surveyor's* son, *Christopher Wren* deputed by his Father, in the Presence of that excellent Artificer M[r] Strong, his Son, and other *Free and Accepted Masons*, chiefly employed in the Execution of the Work."

Before, however, commencing an analysis of the two extracts from the "Parentalia," it will be desirable to ascertain upon what authority they have come down to us.

In his "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century," John Nichols[3] observes, "the last of M[r] Ames's literary labours, was the drawing up the 'Parentalia' in one volume folio, from the papers of M[r] Wren. The title sets forth that they were published by Stephen Wren, with the care of Joseph Ames."

In the view that the work we are considering was virtually the compilation of Joseph Ames, Nichols has been followed by Elmes, whose two biographies of Wren,[4] together with those in the "Biographia Britannica" and the "Parentalia," contain everything of an authentic character in the life of Sir Christopher that has descended to us. As it is my purpose to show the gradual accretion of error that has taken place owing to the progressive influence of successive publications, I postpone for the present a full consideration of those statements wherein Elmes has copied from Masonic writers, and shall merely adduce in this place his comments upon the "Parentalia," as a work of authority. It is described by this writer as "Ames's miserable compilation, published under the name of Stephen Wren." Altogether, according to Elmes, the "Parentalia" is a very bungling performance. Numerous errors and inaccuracies are pointed out, especially in the matter of dates.

Thus it is shown that a letter from Wren to Lord Broucker was written in 1663, and not in 1661; that to a paper read before the Royal Society the year 1658, instead of 1668, had been assigned; and that mistakes occur in the accounts both of Sir Christopher's appointment as surveyor-general, and his receiving the honour of knighthood; and such expressions occur as—"the 'Parentalia,' with its usual carelessness or contempt of correctness in dates;" and "This is not, by many, the only or the greatest falsification of dates by Ames."[5]

In spite, however, of the combined authority of Nichols and Elmes, I am of opinion that

[1] *Ante*, Chap. VI., p. 257.

[2] Ovid's Fast, l. i.

[3] Born 1745; edited the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1778 until his death in 1826. He was the author or editor of at least sixty-seven works, of which the one cited in the text was begun in 1782, but recast and enlarged in 1812-15.

[4] James Elmes, Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, 1823; Sir Christopher Wren and his Times, 1852.

[5] Memoirs of Wren, 1823, pp. 139, 217, 241, 242, 255, 263, 317, and 440.

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Ames's labours in connection with the "Parentalia" were strictly of an editorial character, and that the actual writer or compiler was Christopher Wren, only son of the architect. I have arrived at this conclusion from an examination of the original manuscript of the work,[1] which appears to be in the handwriting of Christopher Wren, and as the title page shows at the foot, was prepared for publication six years before the death of the compiler—

C. W. IULY J74J

Christopher Wren, the only son of the great architect by his first marriage, was born February 16, 1675, and died August 24, 1747, aged 72. "He had made antiquity, which he well understood, his particular study, and was extremely communicative." He wrote and published, in 1708, a learned work,[2] which he dedicated to his brethren of the Royal Society, containing representations of many curious Greek medallions and ancient inscriptions, followed by legends of imperial coins from Julius Cæsar to Aurelian, with their interpretations, and an appendix of Syrian and Egyptian kings and coins, all collected by himself. He also wrote the MS. life of his father in Latin,[3] and arranged the documents for the "Parentalia," which were afterwards published by his son Stephen, assisted by Joseph Ames.[4] We find, therefore, that the memoirs or opinions of Sir Christopher Wren, come down to us, recorded by his son, a learned antiquary, at the age of 66, when his father had been just eighteen years in his grave.

The first observation to be made on the passage at p. 306 of the "Parentalia," commencing, "He [Wren] was of opinion (as has been mentioned in another place)," is, that this sentence in brackets refers to a memorial of Sir Christopher in his own words, to the Bishop of Rochester, in the year 1713, from which I shall give two extracts[5]:—

"This we now call the *Gothick* manner of Architecture (so the *Italians* call'd what was not after the *Roman* Style), though the *Goths* were rather Destroyers then Builders: I think it should with more reason be call'd the Saracen-style: for those People wanted neither Arts nor Learning, and after We in the West had lost Both, we borrow'd again from Them, out of their

[1] By permission of the Council of the Royal Society, in whose library it is preserved, having been presented by Mr Stephen Wren, Feb. 21, 1759. I am also indebted to Mr Reginald Ames for an opportunity of inspecting many family documents, including various memoranda in the handwriting of Joseph Ames, F.R.S., which bears no kind of similarity to the penmanship of the Royal Society MS. So far as I can form an opinion, the "Parentalia" was written by the same hand as fol. 136 of the Lansdowne MSS., No. 698; of which MS. Elmes (Sir Christopher Wren and his Times, pp. 414-419) remarks: "It is in the handwriting of Christopher, the eldest son of the great architect, and is countersigned by the latter thus—'Collata, Oct^r. 1720, C. W.'" As this manuscript will again claim our attention, it will be sufficient to observe that the portion attributed to Sir Christopher was evidently written by the same hand as the rest of the MS.

[2] Christophori Wren, Numismatum Antiquorum Sylloge, Populis Græcis, Municipiis et Coloniis Romanis cusorum, ex Cimeliarcho Editoris (London, 1768, 4to).

[3] Lansdowne MSS., No. 698, fol. 136. This is really a series of memoranda, wherein Christopher Wren appears to have recorded some of the leading events in the life of his father. These notes or jottings were printed by Elmes in his later work (1852).

[4] Elmes, Memoirs, 1723, p. 355. I take the opportunity of stating that the conclusion expressed at an earlier portion of this work regarding the authorship of this extract, is no longer tenable. When Note 1, p. 257 (Chap. VI.), was penned, I had not seen the MS. of the "Parentalia."

[5] These I have transcribed from the MS. in the library of the Royal Society, where they appear in Part ii., § 7. As they are similarly placed in the printed book (Parentalia, p. 297), without variation of terms, the impression that the work was ready for the press in the lifetime of Christopher Wren is confirmed.

Arabick-Books, what they with great diligence had translated from the *Greeks*. *They* were Zealous in their Religion, and wherever they Conquer'd (which was with amazing rapidity), erected Mosques and Caravansaras in hast, which oblig'd them to fall into another Way of Building; for they Built their Mosques Round, disliking the Christian Form of a Cross."[1]

"The *Saracen* Mode of Building seen in the *East* soon spread over *Europe*, and particularly in *France;* the Fashions of which Nation we affected to imitate in all ages, even when we were at enmity with it."[2]

In the preceding quotations I have given everything in Wren's actual memorial, which may tend to throw any light upon the *opinion* of the great architect, as recorded by his son. It will be noticed that the Freemasons are not alluded to, at first hand, by Sir Christopher, therefore we have no other choice than to accept the evidence—*quantum valeat*—as transmitted by his son. It is true that the language employed is not free from ambiguity, and it might be plausibly contended that the authority of the architect was not meant to cover the entire dissertation on the Freemasons. Still, on the whole, we shall steer a safe course in accepting the passage in the "Parentalia," as being Christopher Wren's *recollection* of his father's opinion, though tinctured insensibly by much that he may have heard and read during the twenty years that elapsed between the death of the architect and the compilation of the family memoir.

From neither of the extracts from the "Parentalia" are we justified in drawing an inference that Wren was a Freemason. The passage at p. 292 of that work[3] contains the only allusion to the English Society, wherein, indeed, Mr Edward Strong is described as a "Free and Accepted Mason," though it may well have been, that had the worthy master mason noticed this statement in the autobiography which we shall consider a little later, *three* contradictions instead of *two*, might have appeared between the testimonies of the elder Strong and the younger Wren.

If Sir Christopher was ever admitted into the society of Freemasons—whether we fix the event according to the earlier date given by Dr Anderson or the later one of John Aubrey, is immaterial—his son Christopher must have known of it, and I shall next consider the extreme improbability, to say the least, of the latter having neglected to record any details of such an occurrence with which he was acquainted. Christopher Wren, elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1693, at the early age of eighteen, though not admitted until 1698, must have frequently met Dr Plot, who was on very intimate terms with his father; and it is quite within the limits of probability that he was also personally acquainted with both Ashmole and Aubrey.[4]

With the writings of these three antiquaries, however, it may be confidently assumed he was familiar, the references to the elder Wren are so frequent, that without doubt Ashmole's "Diary" and "Antiquities of Berkshire," and Aubrey's "Natural History of Surrey"—all published, it must be recollected, before 1720—were read with great interest by the architect's family. If we go further, and admit the possibility of Sir Christopher being a Freemason, the entries in the "Diary," and the learned speculations in regard to the origin of the society prefixed to the "Antiquities of Berkshire,"[5] must (on the supposition above alluded to) have necessarily led to his having expressed agreement or disagreement with the remarks of his

[1] Parentalia MS., pp. ¼¼, ¼¼.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. ¼¼.
[3] *Ante*, p. 13.
[4] Ashmole, Plot, and Aubrey died in 1692, 1696, and 1697 respectively.
[5] Edited by Dr Rawlinson.

friend Plot in 1686,[1] and it may also be as safely inferred that the statements in Ashmole's posthumous work (1719) would have been minutely criticised, in connection, it may well have been, with the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England, then just two years established.

But putting conjecture aside, Christopher Wren amongst "his brethren of the Royal Society," to whom he dedicated his own book, must have constantly met Dr Richard Rawlinson—writer of the memoir of Ashmole, containing the description of Freemasonry in the "Antiquities of Berkshire"—and I think it in the highest degree probable, that the latter, who for reasons stated elsewhere, I conceive to have perused both versions of Aubrey's manuscript history, must have satisfied himself of the inaccuracy of the statement relating to Wren, by personal inquiry of the architect or his son.

It would, on the whole, appear probable that Christopher Wren knew of, but rejected, the statement of John Aubrey, and indeed in my judgment we may safely go further, and conclude, that the omission of any reference whatever to the *prediction* of 1691, is tantamount to an assurance, that in the opinion of his son and biographer, there was no foundation whatever, in fact, for any theory with regard to Wren's membership which had been set up.

The real importance of the passage at p. 306 of the "Parentalia" arises from the fact of its being in general agreement with all the other theories or speculations relating to the origin of Freemasonry, which have been traced or ascribed to writers or speakers of the seventeenth century. The next point—a very remarkable one—is the singular coincidence of the three versions attributed to Dugdale, Wren, and Ashmole respectively, possessing the common feature of having been handed down by evidence of the most hearsay character.

The earliest mention of the "travelling bodies of Freemasons," who are said to have erected all the great buildings of Europe, occurs in the "Natural History of Wiltshire," and appears to have been written a few years before 1686.[2] Aubrey here says:—"S[r] William Dugdale[3] *told me* many years since." In the "Parentalia," as we have seen, Christopher Wren records the belief of his father under the expression—"He [Wren] was of opinion;" and it only remains to be stated, that in a similar manner are we made acquainted with the views of Elias Ashmole on the same subject. In the memoir of Ashmole in the "Biographia Britannica," appears a letter from Dr Knipe, of Christ Church, Oxford, from which I extract the following:—"What from Mr Ashmole's collection *I could gather* was, that the report of our Society taking rise from a Bull granted by the Pope in the reign of Henry III. to some Italian architects, to travel over all Europe to erect Chapels, was ill-founded. Such a Bull there was, and those architects were masons. But this Bull, *in the opinion of the learned Mr Ashmole*, was confirmative only, and did not by any means create our fraternity, or even establish them in this kingdom."[4]

[1] Plot, Natural History of Staffordshire, p. 316.

[2] As the text of the Oxford copy of this MS. was completed in 1686, it is evident, from the position of fol. 73 *ante*, p. 6), that Aubrey's original remarks on the Freemasons were penned at some previous time. This inference is strengthened by the absence in the MS. of any allusion to the observations of Dr Plot on the same subject in his "Natural History of Staffordshire," published in 1686; a copy of which, Elias Ashmole records in his diary, was presented to him by the author on May 23d of that year.

[3] Sir William Dugdale was born in 1605, and died Feb. 10, 1686. His daughter, Elizabeth, was the third wife of Elias Ashmole, who was married to her Nov. 8, 1668. In the compilation of his chief work, The "Monasticon Anglicanum," Dugdale received much assistance from John Aubrey.

[4] The above extract is thus prefaced: "Taken from a book of letters communicated to the author of this life, by

In the preceding extracts we meet with at the best but *secondary* evidence of opinions entertained by three eminent authorities. It is almost certain, however, that these may be traced to a single source. For the purposes of this inquiry, it is immaterial to consider whether Dugdale acquired his information from Ashmole, or *vice versâ*. Substantially their speculations were identical, as will more clearly appear if any reader takes the trouble to compare Aubrey's note of Sir William Dugdale's statement[1] with the memoir of Ashmole, from the pen of Dr Rawlinson, given in Ashmole's posthumous work, the "Antiquities of Berkshire" (1719). The following extract must have largely influenced Dr Knipe in 1747, when he communicated with Dr Campbell, the writer of the title "Ashmole" in the "Biographia Britannica," and though, in all probability, both Knipe and Rawlinson drew from the same fount, viz., the Ashmole Papers, yet it may be fairly assumed that as many rivulets of information still flowing during the early residence at Oxford of the latter, must have become dried up half a century later—during which period, moreover, the reputation of Dr Rawlinson as a scholar and an archæologist had been firmly established—the younger commentator, himself a Freemason, is scarcely likely to have recorded his impression of the origin of Freemasonry believed in by Ashmole, without previously conferring with the eminent antiquary and topographer who had so long ago preceded him in the same field of inquiry.

"On October 16 [1646] he [Ashmole] was elected a Brother of the Company of Free Masons, with Collonel *Henry* Mainwaring, of *Kerthingham*[2] in *Cheshire*, at *Warrington* in *Lancashire*, a Favour esteemed so singular by the Members, that Kings themselves have not disdain'd to enter themselves into this Society, the original Foundation of which is said to be as high as the Reign of King *Henry* III., when the Pope granted a *Bull*, *Patent*, or *Diploma*,[3] to a particular Company of *Italian Masons* and *Architects* to travel over all *Europe* to build Churches. From this is derived the Fraternity of *Adopted Masons*, *Accepted Masons*, or *Free Masons*, who are known to one another all over the World by certain Signals and Watch Words known to them alone. They have several Lodges in different Countries for their Reception; and when any of them fall into Decay, the Brotherhood is to relieve him. The manner of their Adoption, or Admission, is very formal and solemn, and with the Administration of an Oath of Secrecy, which has had better Fate than all other Oaths, and has been ever most religiously observed, nor has the World been yet able, by the inadvertence, surprise, or folly of any of its Members, to dive into this Mystery, or make the least discovery."[4]

The memoir of Ashmole, upon which I have just drawn, is followed by no signature, nor does the title-page of the work disclose the name of the editor. There appears, however, no reason to doubt that the work was edited, and the memoir written, by Dr Richard Rawlinson[5] (of whom more hereafter), and the latter, therefore, whilst open to examination and criticism, possesses the credibility which is universally accorded to the testimony of a well-informed contemporary.

Dr Knipe of Christ Church" (vol. i., MDCCXLVII., p. 224, note E). In the *second* edition of the "Biographia Britannica" (Andrew Kippis, 1778), the writer of the title "Ashmole" is stated to have been Dr Campbell (the author of "Hermippus Redivivus"), "who, it is much to be regretted, did not contribute after Vol. iv."

[1] *Ante*, p. 6.

[2] Kermincham.

[3] As the word "Diploma" is omitted in the Royal Society's copy of the Aubrey MS., it is tolerably clear that Dr Rawlinson derived his information from the Oxford copy.

[4] Elias Ashmole, Antiquities of Berkshire, Preface by Dr Rawlinson, p. vi.

[5] "Prefixed to the 'Antiquities of Berkshire,' was a short account of the author, drawn up by Dr Rawlinson" (Athenæ Oxonienses, 3d ed., vol. iv., p. 363).

Rawlinson is known to have purchased some of Ashmole's and Sir William Dugdale's MSS.,[1] and that Aubrey's posthumous work, "The History of Surrey," was published under his editorial supervision, has been already stated. He was also an F.R.S.—having been elected together with Martin Folkes and John Theophilus Desaguliers in 1714—and it is in the highest degree probable, that the Royal Society's copy of the Aubrey manuscript, constituted one of the sources of information whence he derived his impression of the early origin of the Freemasons. Nay, we may, I think, go further, and safely assume that whatever was current in masonic or literary circles—at London or Oxford—respecting the life or opinions of Ashmole, Rawlinson was familiar with,[2] and in this connection his silence on the purely personal point of Wren's "adoption," possesses a significance which we can hardly overrate.

The sketch of Masonic history given in the "Parentalia," though somewhat enlarged, is to the same purport, and we may conclude that it was derived from the same source.[3]

At this point of our research, and before passing in review the further evidence by which the belief in Wren's initiation is supported, it will be convenient to examine with some particularity the theory of Masonic origin with which his name is associated.

It should be carefully noted that the reported *dicta* of Dugdale, Ashmole, and Wren, though characterised by trifling discrepancies, agree in the main, and especially on the point of Papal favours having been accorded to *Italian* architects. This consensus on the part of the three *English* authorities, to whom the early mention of Bulls is traced or ascribed, we should keep carefully in view, whilst examining the learned speculations to which the subject has given rise in Germany.

In an earlier part of this work[4] it has been mentioned that the tradition of the *Steinmetzen* having obtained extensive privileges from the Popes, has been current in German annals from very early times. In a series of articles recently communicated to the *Freemason* by Mr G. W. Speth, to which I must refer the curious reader,[5] this subject has been very ably discussed, and it is contended with much force that, as the Constitutions of the Steinmetzen were confirmed by the Emperors of Germany, it is equally reasonable to conclude that they were submitted to the Popes. "In 1518," says Mr Speth,[6] "the lodge at Magdeburgh petitioned their Prince for a confirmation of their ordinances, declaring their willingness to alter any part, always excepting the chief articles, which had been confirmed by *Papal and Imperial authority*. The Strassburg Lodge, during their quarrel with the Annaberg Lodge, wrote in 1519 that the abuse of four years' apprenticeship had been put an end to by his *Holiness the Pope* and his *Majesty the Emperor*. We also find that the quarrel came to an end after the Strassburg Master had forwarded to the Duke of Saxony attested copies of the Papal

[1] John Nicholls, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, 1812-15, vol. v., p. 489. Ashmole's library was sold March 5, 1694 (*Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 29).

[2] It will be observed that Drs Rawlinson and Knipe—both, as I conceive, mainly basing their conclusions upon Ashmole's Papers—differ as to the Bull of Henry III.'s time having been the origin of the Society. Upon this point it may be briefly noticed, that whilst the former wrote at a period (1719) when many were living who must have been conversant with the opinions he records, the latter (1747)—fifty-five years after Ashmole's death—expresses himself in such a cautious manner as to convey the impression that he failed to grasp the meaning of the papers he was examining.

[3] *Cf.* Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62; G. E. Street, Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain, 1865, p. 464; and Gwilt, Encyclopædia of Architecture, 1876, p. 130.

[4] *Ante*, Chap. III., p. 176.

[5] Freemason, Jan. 20, Feb. 3, and Feb. 10, 1883.

[6] Citing Heideloff and Kloss.

and Imperial privileges which they possessed, and that the *original* documents were produced for the inspection of the Saxon deputies at Strassburg."

Whilst, however, fully conceding the extreme probability, to say the least, of privileges or confirmations having been granted by the Popes to the Steinmetzen,[1] I am unable to follow Kloss, when he says, "the statement concerning the 'travelling masons,' attributed to Wren, should arouse all the more suspicion the closer we investigate the surrounding circumstances, the incredibility of which is at once evident, and the more we consider the possibility of the facts narrated. We may, therefore, ascribe the whole tradition thus *put into the mouths* of Ashmole and Wren to an attempt at adorning the guild legends, which may be based on the Papal confirmations really granted to the German Stonemasons in 1502 and 1517."

As it is the habit of commentators to be silent, or at most very concise, where there is any difficulty, and to be very prolix and tedious where there is none, this attempt by Kloss to solve one of the greatest problems in Masonic history, will bespeak our gratitude, if it does not ensure our assent. It will be seen that the value of the evidence upon which the story hangs, is made to depend upon credible tradition rather than written testimonies, and whilst Kloss admits that the statements *ascribed* to Ashmole and Wren may have had some foundation in fact (otherwise the tradition would not have been credible); on the other hand, he finds a motive for their assertion in the anxiety of the historians of Masonry to embellish the "Legend of the Guilds." I am afraid, however, that if as witnesses the mouths are to be closed of Dugdale, Ashmole, and Wren, this must necessitate the excision of the story of the "Bulls" from our traditionary history.

It appears to me that however much the *authenticity* of the three statements whereupon rests the theory of Papal Bulls may be impugned, their *genuineness* is not open to dispute.[2]

The earliest in point of date, that of Sir William Dugdale, I shall now proceed to examine, premising that the medium through which it has come down to us, *viz.*, the testimony of Aubrey, will be hereafter considered. Assuming, then, for present purposes, that Dugdale *meant* what he is reported to have *said*,[3] we find—if the actual words are followed—that, according to his belief, "*about* Henry the Third's time, the Pope gave a Bull or *Diploma*[4] to a company of Italian Architects to travell up and downe over all Europe to build Churches." The sentence is free from ambiguity except as regards the allusion to Henry III. That the recipients of the Bull or Diploma were Italian architects, and their function the construction of churches, is plain and distinct, but the words, "Henry the Third's Time," are not so easily interpreted. On the one hand, these may simply mean that Papal letters were given between

[1] Although reliance has naturally been placed upon the research of writers who have diligently explored the German archives, it might well happen that an exhaustive search amongst the neglected records of our own country would open up many channels of information leading to very different conclusions.

[2] "A genuine book is that which was written by the person whose name it bears as the author of it. An authentic book is that which relates matters of fact as they really happened. A book may be genuine without being authentic; and a book may be authentic without being genuine" (Dr Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, An Apology for the Bible, 1796, p. 33).

[3] Dr Johnson observes: "It has been my settled principle that the reading of the ancient books is probably true. For though much credit is not due to the fidelity, nor any to the judgment, of the first publishers; yet they who had the copy before their eyes were more likely to read it right than we who read it only by imagination" (Johnson's Works, 1818, vol. i., p. 255). Similarly, we shall do best if we consider what Aubrey actually records, rather than vainly speculate upon what Dugdale may have had *in his mind* when expressing his opinion of the Freemasons.

[4] It must not be lost sight of, that in his original note of Dugdale's words, Aubrey also uses the word "Patents."

1216 and 1272, in which case a solution of the problem must be looked for in the history of *Italy;* whilst on the other hand, they may closely associate the reign of King Henry III.[1] with the occurrence described, and indicate that in the annals of that period of English history, will be found a clue to the explanation we are in search of.

The latter supposition, on the face of it, the more probable of the two, is fully borne out by the circumstances of Henry's reign, as narrated by the most trustworthy historians.

The Papal authority in England stood at its highest when this prince succeeded to the throne. An Interdict had been laid on the kingdom in 1208, and in 1211 John was not only excommunicated but deposed, and that sentence was pronounced with the greatest solemnity by the Pope himself. The king's subjects were not only all absolved from their oath of allegiance, but were strictly forbidden to acknowledge him in any respect whatever as their sovereign, to obey him, or even to speak to him.[2] On May 15, 1213, John knelt before the legate Pandulf, surrendered his kingdom to the Roman See, took it back again as a tributary vassal, swore fealty, and did liege homage to the Pope.[3] "Never," says Mr Green, "had the priesthood wielded such boundless power over Christendom as in the days of Innocent the Third (1198-1216) and his immediate successors."[4] This Pontiff set himself up as the master of Christian princes, changed the title of the Popes, which had hitherto been Vicar of Peter, to Vicar of Christ, and was the author of the famous comparison of the Papal power to the sun, "the greater light," and of the temporal power to the moon, "the lesser light." At the death of John (1216) the concurrence of the Papal authority being requisite to support the tottering throne, Henry III. was obliged to swear fealty to the Pope, and renew that homage to which his father had subjected the kingdom. Pope Honorius III. (1216-27), as feudal superior, declared himself the guardian of the orphan, and commanded Gualo to reside near his person, watch over his safety, and protect his just rights.[5] The Papal legate therefore took up his residence at the English court, and claimed a share in the administration of the realm as the representative of its overlord, and as guardian of the young sovereign.[6] "In England," says Mr Green, "Rome believed herself to have more than a spiritual claim for support. She regarded the kingdom as a vassal kingdom, and as bound to its overlord. It was only by the promise of a heavy subsidy that Henry in 1229 could buy the Papal confirmation of Langton's successor."[7]

During the reign of this king the chief grievances endured by his subjects were the

[1] It is not likely that Dugdale referred to Henry III. (1039-56), the most absolute of the *Emperors*, who, in the Western Church, was obeyed as a dictator, and nominated the Popes. No less than four German Popes chosen by him succeeded each other. *Cf.* L. Ranke, History of the Popes, translated by Sarah Austin, 1840, vol. i., p. 26; Sir Harris Nicholas, The Chronology of History, 1833, p. 225; and H. Chepmell, A Short Course of History, 2d series, 1857, vol. i., p. 17.

[2] A. Bower, History of the Popes, 1766, vol. vi., p. 202.

[3] J. R. Green, History of the English People, 1881, vol. i., p. 236. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[5] Dr Lingard, History of England, 1849, vol. ii., p. 387. At the Council of Bristol, Nov. 11, 1216, Lewis of France and his adherents were excommunicated, and that prince, after the rout of his partisans at Lincoln and the defeat of his fleet, consented to leave the kingdom (Nicholas, The Chronology of History, p. 240; Chepmell, A Short Course of History, p. 161).

[6] Green, History of the English People, 1881, vol. i., p. 250.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 268. Bulls of Pope Honorius III. to Henry (March 14, 1244) enjoin greater impartiality and forbearance towards his subjects, and (April 27, 1226) forbid his assisting Raymond of Toulouse, or making war with the King of France (Royal Letters, *temp.* Hen. III., Rolls Series, 1862, vol. i., Appendix v.).

usurpations and exactions of the Court of Rome. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians, great numbers of whom were sent over at one time to be provided for; and the system of non-residence and pluralities was carried to an enormous height. The benefices of the Italian clergy in England amounted to 60,000 marks a year,[1] a sum which exceeded the annual revenue of the Crown itself. The Pope exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues without exception, the third of such as exceeded 100 marks a year, and half of those possessed by non-residents. He claimed the goods of all intestate clergymen, advanced a title to inherit all money gotten by usury, and levied benevolences upon the people. When the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions, he was threatened with excommunication.[2]

"The general indignation," says Mr Green, "at last found vent in a wide conspiracy. In 1231, letters from 'the whole body of those who prefer to die rather than be ruined by the Romans,' were scattered over the kingdom by armed men; tithes gathered for the Pope or the foreign priests were seized and given to the poor; the Papal collectors were beaten and their Bulls trodden under foot."[3] Sir Robert Thwinge, a knight of Yorkshire, who, by a Papal provision had been deprived of his nomination to a living in the gift of his family, became the head of an association formed to resist the usurpations of the Court of Rome.[4] The Papal couriers were murdered, threatening letters were addressed to the foreign ecclesiastics, and for eight months the excesses continued. Henry at length interposed his authority, and Thwinge proceeded to Rome to plead his cause before the Pontiff. He was successful, and returned with a Bull, by which Gregory IX. (1227-41) authorised him to nominate to the living which he claimed.[5]

There can be no reasonable doubt, that at a period when the Papal influence was dominant throughout the realm, when the King of England had to pay heavily to ensure the confirmation by the Pope of Archbishop Langton's successor, and when, as we have seen, the right of a lay patron to present to a living was only successfully vindicated under colour of a Roman Bull, the authority of the supreme Pontiff must have been constantly invoked in the smaller concerns of human life of which history takes but little notice. In a previous chapter I have shown that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, so great was the demand for Papal seals and letters in the city of London, that their counterfeit production must have amounted to a profitable industry.[6]

It is on record, moreover, that a great forgery of Bulls and other documents, professing to emanate from the Papal chancery, was carried on in Rome itself; and privileges of question-

[1] According to a Bull of Innocent III., published in Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. i., p. 471, the amount is stated not to have exceeded 50,000 marks.

[2] J. Tyrell, History of England, 1700, vol. ii., pt. ii., book viii., p. 836; and T. Keightley, History of England, 1839, vol. i., p. 209; The Student's Hume, 1862, p. 147.

[3] Green, History of the English People, vol. i., p. 269.

[4] "Besides the usual perversions of right in the decision of controversies, the Pope openly assumed an absolute and uncontrolled authority of setting aside, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, all particular rules, and all privileges of patrons, churches, and convents" (Hume and Smollett, History of England, continued by the Rev. T. S. Hughes, 1854, vol. ii., p. 21).

[5] Lingard, History of England, vol. ii., p. 417. *Cf.* Milman, History of Latin Christianity, 1864, vol. vi., p. 87; and Wilkins, Concilia, i. 269.

[6] *Cf. Ante*, Chap. VII., p. 370; and Riley, Memorials of London, pp. 495, 583.

able character were often produced by persons whose interests they favoured, as the results of a visit to the Holy See.

Richard of Canterbury, A.D. 1187, after denouncing persons who attempted to pass themselves off as bishops by counterfeiting "the barbarism of Irish or Scottish speech," goes on to complain of spurious Bulls, and orders that the makers and users of such documents shall be periodically excommunicated.[1] Innocent III. alludes frequently to these forgeries, of which a manufactory was in his time discovered at Rome; and he exposes some of the tricks that were practised—such as that of affixing to a forgery a genuine Papal seal taken from a genuine deed, the erasure of some words and the substitution of others.[2] The canons, however, of later councils testify that the system of forgery long survived these exposures and denunciations.[3]

In my judgment, the practice of applying in nearly every situation of life for Papal sanction or confirmation, must have been at its height during the reign of Henry III.,[4] and there is evidence beyond what I have already adduced, to favour the supposition that this usage was especially prevalent in the British Islands.

The Papal authority in England had been vastly strengthened by the sanction which Pope Alexander II.—who was the mere tool of Hildebrand—had been made to give to the expedition of William of Normandy. Nor was it diminished during the pontificate of Hildebrand—the type of papalism in its loftiest aims, as well as in its proudest spirit—who, as Gregory VII., was Pope from 1073 to 1085, though his influence on the affairs of the Roman Church had been paramount for nearly twenty years before he assumed the tiara. "There is only one name in the world," said Gregory, "that of the Pope. He has never erred, and he never will err. He can put down princes from their thrones, and loose their subjects from their oaths of allegiance." This Pontiff claimed to be liege-lord of Denmark, Hungary, and England; and for a while he had Philip I. of France as his trembling slave, and Henry IV. of Germany a ruined suppliant at his mercy.[5]

When the English throne was seized by Stephen of Blois—between whom and the Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I., a dispute had occurred as to which should precede in swearing allegiance to the Empress Matilda—the prospect of favour to the church and submission to the Roman See, induced Innocent II. to confirm his title, to send his benediction in a Bull, and to take the usurper under the special protection of St Peter.[6] In the charter subsequently granted at Oxford by Stephen to the Church, particular mention is made of the confirmation of his title by the Pope.

[1] Rev. J. C. Robertson, History of the Christian Church, 1866, vol. iii., p. 581. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *E.g.*, Conc. Salisburg., A.D. 1281, c. xvii.; Conc. Leod., A.D. 1287, c. xxxi.

[4] The supply of these documents kept pace with the demand for them, and it was said that a Papal emissary, named Martin, came over in this reign "with a parcel of blank Bulls, which he had the liberty to fill up at discretion." Matthew Paris will not allow so hard an imputation upon the Pope, though he records that Innocent IV., in 1243, sent the King of England a *provisional* Bull of pardon, that in case he should happen to lay violent hands upon any ecclesiastics and fall under the censure of the canons, he might receive absolution upon submitting to the customary penance! (Collier, Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, ed. 1840, vol. ii., pp. 499, 503).

[5] Gregory, on being chosen Pope, had the election *ratified* by Henry IV. In the year 1076, at the Councils of Worms and Rome respectively, the Pope was deposed by the Emperor, and the Emperor excommunicated by the Pope. During the following year, however, at Canossa, Henry is said to have remained three days and three nights barefooted in the snow before Gregory would condescend to see him!

[6] Collier, Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain (F. Barham), 1840, vol. ii., p. 213.

The supremacy of the Popes over all temporal sovereigns was maintained by Adrian IV., who, on visiting the camp of Frederic Barbarossa, haughtily refused to give the kiss of peace, until the Emperor elect had submitted to hold the stirrup of his mule in the presence of the whole army. Adrian, who was the only English Pope, granted the lordship of Ireland to Henry II. in a Bull which declared *all islands* to belong to St Peter.[1]

The murder of Thomas à Becket in 1170 still further conduced to augment the Papal influence in England. Henry II. submitted to the authority of the Papal legates, and having sworn on the relics of the saints that he had not commanded nor desired the death of the archbishop, and having also made various concessions to the Church, he received absolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland made by Pope Adrian.[2]

Although in a later chapter, some remarks will be offered upon the fact, that both York and those portions of southern Scotland most closely associated with the early legends of the craft, were originally comprised within the boundaries of Saxon Northumbria, it will be convenient, nevertheless, at this stage—as showing that the Papal *influence* extended throughout the whole of Britain—to briefly notice the ancient subordination in ecclesiastical matters of the prelates of the northern kingdom to the Archbishop of York. Pope Paschal II. (1099-1118) in his Bull to the Bishops of Scotland, orders them to receive Gerhard, the newly-consecrated Archbishop of York, as their metropolitan, and pay him due submission. Calixtus II. (1119-1124), to whom John, Bishop of Glasgow, appealed against his suspension by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, was threatened with its *confirmation*, unless within thirty days he made submission to his metropolitan. Honorius II. (1124-1130) wrote to the King of Norway to restore Ralph, Bishop of the Orcades, consecrated by the Archbishop of York, and subject to his jurisdiction, to the privileges and revenues of the bishopric. Even later still, "William the Lion," King of Scotland, in a letter to Pope Alexander III. (1159-1181),[3] informs that Pontiff that the churches of Scotland were anciently under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of York; that the king had thoroughly examined this title, and found it supported by unquestionable records, together with the concurrence of living evidence. He therefore desires the Pope to discourage all attempts at innovation, and that things may be thoroughly settled upon the old basis.[4]

Although numerous examples of Papal Bulls, Confirmations, and Indulgences are to be found in our ecclesiastical and county histories, the absence in many instances of any index whatever, and in all cases—except in works of comparatively recent date—of references calculated to facilitate investigation, renders the search for these ancient writings a formidable as well as a wearisome undertaking. Furthermore, whilst if the

[1] Upon this Bull (1155) Collier remarks: "We may observe how far the Popes of that age stretched their pretensions upon the dominions of princes; for here we see the Pope very frankly presents King Henry with the crowns of the Irish kings, commands their subjects upon a new allegiance, and enjoins them to submit to a foreign prince as their lawful sovereign" (*Op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 257).

[2] Chepmell, A Short Course of History, 2d series, vol. i., pp. 332-347; The Student's Hume, p. 118. At the Council of Avranches, May 21, 1172, Henry II. was absolved from the murder of Thomas à Becket, after swearing to abolish all the unlawful customs established during his reign (Nicholas, Chronology of History, p. 238).

[3] As William only became King in 1165, and Alexander died in 1181, the latter must have been written within the period covered by these two dates.

[4] Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 1830, vol. vi., pt. iii., pp. 1185, 1186, 1188; Collier, Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 190.

grants and confirmations of diocesans and metropolitans are included in the general category of these instruments, their name is *legion*, yet apart from the lists of charters given in such works as Rymer's "Fœdera," Dugdale's "Monasticon" and "History of St Paul's," Drake's "Eboracum," the various chronicles, the annals of the different monastic orders, and the like, no very extensive collection of Papal or episcopal documents of the class under examination will be found in any single work, nor has it been the practice of even our most diligent antiquaries to do more than record the result of their own immediate inquiries. So uniform is this rule, that the occasional mention of an Indulgence, such, for example, as that granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1244 (to be presently noticed), in aid of the construction of Salisbury Cathedral,[1] and copied by one writer from another, as a singular and noteworthy occurrence, has led many persons to believe that a search for privileges of this nature, among the records of building operations carried on in countries other than our own, would be alone likely to yield any profitable result. Even in the latest edition of Dugdale's famous "Monasticon" the *index* merely refers the reader to a solitary Indulgence of forty days granted in 1480, by the Archbishop of York, "to all who should visit the Lady Chapel at Oseny Abbey, either in pilgrimage or devotion, or should bestow any of their goods upon it."[2]

The following are examples of privileges and confirmations emanating from the Roman See:

"1124-1130. The goods, possessions, and rents of the Provost and Canons of the Collegiate Church of Beverley, *confirmed* by a Bull of Pope Honorius II.[3]

"1181-1185. The charter of the 'Great Guild of St John of Beverley of the Hanshouse,' *confirmed* by a Bull of Pope Lucius III.[4]

"Jan. 26, 1219. An *Indulgence* of 40 days given by Pope Honorius III. to those who assist at the translation of the body of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.[5]

"1252. A pardon for release of xl. days' penance, sent out by Pope Innocent IV., to those assisting at the Sustentation of St Paul's Cathedral.[6]

"1352-62. An Indulgence of two years and two quarters granted by Pope Innocent VI. 'to the liberal contributors' to the construction of the Cathedral of York.[7]

"1366. One year's Indulgence granted by Urban V. to 'the Christian benefactors' of the same fabric."[8]

Three Papal confirmations relating to the Chapter of the Cathedral of St Peter of York are given by Sir W. Dugdale, one from Alexander [III.] confirming a charter granted by William Rufus; the others from Popes Innocent IV. and Honorius III., ratifying privileges conferred by English prelates.[9]

[1] W. Dodsworth, Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury, 1814, p. 134; quoted by Britton in his "Architectural Antiquities," and thence passed on by numerous later writers without any reference to the original authority.

[2] Vol. vi., p. 250, *note*, citing Harleian MS., No. 6972, fol. 39.

[3] G. Poulson, Beverlac: Antiquities and History of Beverley in Yorkshire, 1829, vol. ii., p. 524. "King Athelstane, in the thirteenth year of his reign, made and ordained the Church of Beverley collegiate." It was afterwards "spared by William I., who bestowed lands upon the church, and confirmed its privileges" (*Ibid.*, p. 14, citing a Latin MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, entitled "De Abbatia Beverlaci").

[4] Smith, English Gilds, p. 153. This Bull, which *confirms* the charter of an English *craft* guild, is given in its entirety at the conclusion of this summary.

[5] Rymer, Fœdera (Record edition), vol i., p. 154.

[6] Sir W. Dugdale, History of St Paul's Cathedral, 1716, p. 14.

[7] Drake, Eboracum, p. 475. [8] *Ibid.* [9] Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. vi., p. 1178.

Innocent IV. appears to have been a liberal dispenser of Papal favours. Marchese records that an Indulgence was granted by this Pontiff to all those who would contribute to the building of the church "di S. S. Giovanni e Paolo" at Venice;[1] and a Bull of the same Pope specified that "those who undertook the Crusade, or contributed to the relief of the Holy Land, were to have the benefit of their Indulgence extended *proportionably to the value of their money*."[2]

The privileges and possessions of the Monastery of Glastonbury were confirmed by no less than six Popes between the beginning of the twelfth and the close of the thirteenth century—by Calixtus, Innocent, and Lucius (1119-1145), each the Second, and by Alexander, Honorius, and Nicholas (1159-1280), each the Third, of their respective names.[3] For fuller information respecting the class of document we have been considering, I must refer the reader to the works already quoted from, and to those below noted,[4] and shall next proceed to give some examples of Indulgences granted by English prelates.

These are very numerous, and appear in the varied form of Indulgences, Confirmations, and Letters Hortatory. For the most part, they granted a commutation of forty days' penance, and were generally issued in aid of the construction or the repair of an ecclesiastical edifice.

Thus in 1137 the Cathedral of St Peter at York having been destroyed by fire, an Indulgence was granted soon after by Joceline, Bishop of Sarum, setting forth, that "whereas the metropolitical Church of York was consumed by a new fire, and almost subverted, destroyed, and miserably spoiled of its ornaments, therefore to such as bountifully contributed towards the re-edification of it, he released to them forty days of penance injoyned."[5]

The work, however, must have languished, as there were similar Indulgences published by Bishop Walter Grey in 1227, and by Archbishops William de Melton in 1320, and Thoreseby at a still later period.[6]

In 1244 an Indulgence of forty days was granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury to such as should give their aid "to the new and wonderful structure of the church of Sarum, which now begins to rise, and cannot be completed with the same grandeur without the assistance of the faithful."[7]

The earliest Indulgence in aid of the sustentation of St Paul's Cathedral was granted by Hugh Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, in 1228, and the last—if we except one sent from Simon, a cardinal of Rome, affording "C. Days release" in 1371—by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1316.[8]

Between 1228 and 1316, the number of Indulgences, confirmations of Indulgences, and

[1] Vincenzo Marchese, Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of the Order of St Dominic, translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, 1852, p. 73, citing "Bullarium Ord. Præd.," vol. i., p. 166.

[2] Collier, Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, 1840, vol. ii., p. 535.

[3] Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 1830, vol. i., p. 36.

[4] For three letters of Pope Gregory X., confirming the privileges of sundry Scottish churches (1274-75), and an Indulgence granted by Nicholas V. in recognition of the labours and expenses of William, Bishop of Glasgow (1451), see W. Hamilton, Description of the Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew, 1831, pp. 176, 178, 198 (Maitland Club, Glasgow). Many Bulls of Innocent III. (1198-1216) are given in the first volume of Rymer's "Fœdera," and forty-one instruments of this class, granted by his immediate successors, Honorius III. (1216-27) and Gregory IX. (1227-41), will be found collected in "Royal Letters, *temp.* Henry III.," 1862, vol. i., Appendix V. (Chronicles of Great Britain, Rolls Series).

[5] Drake, Eboracum, p. 473. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 475. [7] Dodsworth, *loc. cit.*

[8] Sir W. Dugdale, History of St Paul's Cathedral, 1716, pp. 12, 13.

Letters Hortatory granted "to all those, as being truly sorry for their sins, and confess'd, should afford their helps to this pious work," was very great.

In 1240 an Indulgence was procured—from whom it is not said—by Roger, surnamed Niger, then Bishop of London, of forty days' pardon to all such as come with devotion to the Cathedral.[1]

In 1244—Roger having been canonized in the interim—the Indulgence was, by Walter, Bishop of Norwich, made to extend "to those who should either for devotion's sake visit the tomb of the saint, or give assistance to the magnificent fabrick."[2]

From this date scarcely a year passed without similar favours having been held out, in order "to stir up the people to liberal contributions;" and Dugdale mentions "*another* letter Hortatory" having been issued by John, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1281, "affording the same number of days for Indulgence as the other Bishops had done." In this letter, as well as in those of similar tenor from the Bishops of Hereford (1276) and Norfolk (1283), the Indulgence is expressly granted, "for the old and new work." "Nay," says Dugdale, "not only the contributors to this glorious structure were thus favoured, but the solicitors for contributions, and the *very mechanicks themselves* who laboured therein."[3]

The confirmation of an English *craft* guild by Pope Lucius III. has been already noticed, and will now be more closely examined. As a ratification by the Pope of municipal privileges, already confirmed by an English king, it is *sui generis*—at least so far as my researches have extended, yet the absence of further documentary evidence of a like character by no means warrants the conclusion, that the men of Beverley were exceptionally favoured by the Roman Pontiff. It is but natural to suppose that the crafts, as well as the guilds and fraternities, in those early days, must have regarded the confirmation of their privileges by the Pope, as consolidating their liberties and cementing their independence. Nor will the silence on this point, of our antiquaries or of local historians, militate against such an hypothesis. The confirmation of Pope Lucius was apparently unknown to the compilers of Rymer's "Fœdera,"[4] and Poulson's "Beverlac,"[5] although the charter of Archbishop Thurstan is given in both these works, and a copy of it was only discovered amid the neglected rolls in the Record office, through the careful search of the late Mr Toulmin Smith.[6] "Amongst the few returns," says this diligent investigator, "remaining in the Record office of those that were made under the Writ of Richard II.[7] from the craft guilds, is one from the 'Great Guild of St John of Beverley of the Hanshouse.'" It gives some interesting charters, the earliest of which is expressed to be from Thurstan, Archbishop of York, to the men of Beverley, granting "all liberties, with

[1] Sir W. Dugdale, History of St Paul's Cathedral, 1716, pp. 12, 13. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* No less than twenty-five Indulgences—generally of forty days' release from penance—were granted between 1239 and 1288, to the single Priory of Finchdale. See Charters of the Priory of Finchdale, 1837, pp. 169-191 (Publications of the Surtees Society); and Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, Annales Monastici, vol. iv., 1869, p. 414.

[4] Record edition, 1816, vol. i., p. 10.

[5] Vol. i., p. 51. It is also worthy of observation that the Letters-patent of Richard II. are not set forth in this elaborate and interesting work.

[6] English Gilds, p. 150.

[7] *Ante.*, Chap. VII., p. 347. "Of the returns made under the Writ [of Richard II.]," says Mr Toulmin Smith, "a more complete and characteristic example, or one more historically valuable, could not be given than the return from Beverley" (English Gilds, p. 150).

the same laws that the men of York have in that city."[1] This charter is followed by another, granted by Archbishop William, the successor of Thurstan, confirming, though in different words, the substance of the former charter, and granting free burgage to the town and burgesses, and that they shall have a guild merchant, and the right of holding pleas among themselves, the same as possessed by the men of York.

Then follows a confirmation of the charters of the two Archbishops by Pope Lucius III. in words of which the following is a translation:—

"Lucius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved children, the men of Beverley, Greeting and Apostolic Benediction. The charge which we have undertaken moves us to listen, and readily to yield, to the right wishes of those who ask; and our well known kindness urges us to do so. And because we make the Redeemer of all men propitious to us when we give careful heed to the just demands of the faithful in Christ, therefore, beloved children in the Lord, giving ready assent to what you ask, your Liberties, and the free customs which Thurstan and William of happy memory, Archbishops of York, are known to have piously and lawfully granted to you, as is found in authentic writings made by them, which have been confirmed by our dearest son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of the English, We do, by our apostolic authority, confirm; and by the help of this present writing, we do strengthen: decreeing that no man shall disregard this our confirmation, or be so rashly bold as to do aught against it. And if any one dares to do this, let him know that he will bring down on himself the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul, Apostles. Dated, xiij. Kalends of September [20th August]."[2]

In Beverley there was also a guild of Corpus Christi, the main object of which was, as in York, to have a yearly procession of pageants. It was like the York guild, made up of both clergy and laity. The ordinances begin by stating that the "solemnity and service" of Corpus Christi were begun, as a new thing, by command of Pope Urban IV. and John XXII.[3]

It has been already shown, that many circumstances combine to render the era of Henry III. especially memorable as a period when the ascendant of the Pope was at its zenith in these islands. Henry has been termed "the first monarch of England who paid attention to the Arts," and to his munificence are ascribed the most beautiful works of the mediæval age which we possess.[4] If, then, we consider the partiality of Henry III. for foreigners, the constant communication with Rome, and that so large a portion of the English benefices were held at that period by Italians, it may be fairly assumed, that these circumstances must have materially influenced the employment in England of the artists of southern Europe.

[1] Smith, English Gilds, p. 151; Rymer, Fœdera, 1816, vol. i., p. 10; Poulson, Beverlac: Antiquities and History of Beverley in Yorkshire, 1829, vol. i., p. 51. Thurstan was chosen Archbishop of York A.D. 1114, and died 1139. In the chronological index to Rymer, this charter is said to have been granted A.D. 1132.

[2] Smith, English Gilds, p. 153. No year is given, but the Lucius who made this charter must have been the third of that name; for Henry, "rex Anglorum," is spoken of as if then living, and this can only refer to Henry II., whose reign began in 1154, and ended in 1189. Lucius the *Second* died in 1145.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 154. "It is usually stated that Urban, alone, founded this celebration. He was Pope from August 1261 to October 1264. John was Pope from August 1316 to December 1334" (*Ibid.*). "*Anno* 1481, Sept. 18. There was an Indulgence of forty days granted to all who should contribute their charity towards the relief and sustentation of the fraternity or guild of Corpus Christi, ordained and founded in the city of York" (Drake, Eboracum, p. 246).

[4] Sir R. Westmacott, Observations on the Progress of the Art of Sculpture in England in Mediæval Times (Archæological Journal, vol. iii., 1846, p. 198).

Whether or not the opinion expressed by Dugdale was the result of his own inductions, or a mere embodiment of the prevalent belief—narrated to him in good faith during one of his visitations—is indeterminable, and in a sense, immaterial, that is to say, up to this point of the inquiry, though in the observations that follow, the possibility of the latter hypothesis will alone be considered.

From the point of view, therefore, that Dugdale, in his various heraldic visitations and perambulations of counties, may, and in all probability did, become conversant with many old customs akin to those described by Dr Plot as existing in the *moorlands* of Staffordshire, it is desirable to examine upon what foundations the belief he notices could have been erected. The history of the Papacy, at a period synchronizing with the reign of Henry III. of England, affords the information we seek.

The great religious event of the Pontificate of Innocent III.,[1] the foundation of the Mendicant Orders, perhaps perpetuated, or at least immeasurably strengthened, the Papal power for two centuries. Almost simultaneously, without concert, in different countries, arose two men wonderfully adapted to arrest and avert the danger which threatened the whole hierarchal system.[2] These were the fiery Spaniard, St Dominic, styled "the burner and slayer of heretics," and the meek Italian, St Francis of Assisi, called by Dante "the splendour of cherubic light." They were the founders of the Dominican and the Franciscan Orders, which sprang suddenly to life at the opening of the thirteenth century, and whose aim it was to bring the world back within the pale of the Church.

The followers of St Francis were formed into an Order, with the reluctant assent of Pope Innocent III. in 1210, and the Dominicans were similarly established in 1215. Both bodies were confirmed by a Bull of Honorius III. in 1223, and the partiality shown towards them by the Popes so increased the number of Mendicant Orders that, in the Second Council of Lyons (A.D. 1274), it was thought necessary to confine the institution to the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians, or Hermits of St Augustin.[3] The members of these four orders were called friars, in contradistinction to the Benedictine Monks and the Augustine Canons. Each of these mendicant bodies had its General.

The reputation of the friars arose quickly to an amazing height. The Popes, among other extraordinary privileges, allowed them the liberty of *travelling* wherever they pleased, of conversing with people of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions without reserve or restriction.[4] On the whole, two of these mendicant institutions—the Dominicans and the Franciscans—for the space of near three centuries,

[1] Innocent was elected Pope 1198, laid England under an interdict 1208, declared John deposed 1212, received his submission 1213, and died 1216. Henry III. became King in 1216, and died 1272.

[2] Milman, History of Latin Christianity, 1864, pp. 8, 50; Green, History of the English People, vol. i., p. 255.

[3] The Franciscans, called by their founder *Fraterculi*, or *Fratres Minores* (Minor Friars), received in England the name of *Grey Friars*, from the colour of their habit. The Dominicans, at first termed *Preaching Friars*, were afterwards styled *Major Friars*, in contradistinction to the Franciscans, and in England *Black Friars*. The Carmelites were the *White Friars*. The Augustinians, of which body Martin Luther was a member, were the *Austin Friars*.

[4] Horace Walpole says: "The friars, *freres*, or brothers, united priesthood with monachism; but while the monks were chiefly confined to their respective houses, the friars were wandering about as preachers and confessors. This gave great offence to the secular clergy, who were thus deprived of profits and inheritances. Hence the satyric and impure figures of friars and nuns in our old churches" (Walpoliana, vol. i., No. IX.). *Cf. Ante.*, chaps. III., p. 166, and VI., p. 306.

appear to have governed the European Church and State with an absolute and universal sway. Mosheim says, "what the Jesuits were, after the reformation of Luther began, the same were the Dominicans and Franciscans from the thirteenth century to the times of Luther—the soul of the whole Church and State, and the projectors and executors of all the enterprises of any moment."[1] They filled, during this period, the most eminent, civil, and ecclesiastical stations, for although both Dominic and Francis had intended that their followers should eschew ecclesiastical dignities,[2] we find, before the end of the century, many Franciscan and Dominican Bishops, and even a Franciscan Pope.[3] The two Orders grew with wonderful rapidity, and in the middle of the thirteenth century the Franciscans possessed about 8000 convents and nearly 200,000 monks. They gradually forsook their early austerity, gathered riches, established a gorgeous ritual, and made their chief seat, Assisi, a centre of Christian art. From the name of their Church in this town, "Portiunicula," arose the phrase *Portiunicula Indulgence*, from the frequency with which indulgences were granted to, and disseminated by, this order.[4]

As with the followers of St Francis, so with those of St Dominic. The extreme plainness which was at first affected in the dwellings and churches of the two Orders was soon superseded by an almost royal splendour of architecture and decoration. They had ample buildings and princely houses.[5]

The foundation in Italy of the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders coincides strangely enough, as is pointed out by Marchese, with the period when architecture underwent a change, and "the imitation of the antique was abandoned for the Gothic," or, as he prefers to term it, "the Teutonic style."[6] The same writer observes, "that religious enthusiasm, which was kindled in the hearts not only of the Italian people but in those of the Ultramontanes also, is very discernible in the vast number of edifices which in those days arose, as it were, by enchantment in the cities, hamlets, and rural districts of Spain and Italy."[7] In 1223 Fra Giovanni, a Dominican of Bologna, appealed to the people of Reggio for means to enable him to erect a convent and church of his Order there. Then was repeated what was witnessed a few centuries before, when the Benedictines commenced the erection of their church at Dive. Men, women, and children—noble and plebeian—absolutely carried the materials for the sacred edifice, which, under the direction of a certain Fra Jacopino of the same Order, was finished

[1] Mosheim, Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, 1863, vol. ii., p. 194.

[2] Acta Sanctorum, Aug. 4, p. 487. Lists of the Kings and Nobles of the Order, of the "Generals," and of the Provincial Heads in England, are given in the "Monumenta Franciscana," vol. i., pp. 534-541 (Chronicles of Great Britain and Ireland, Rolls Series). The fact that royal personages obtained admission into the ranks of the Grey Friars is consistent with the analogy sought to be established in the text, and may have given rise to that portion of the masonic tradition, which declares that "kings have not disdain'd to enter themselves into this society"? Popes Nicholas IV. (1288-92) and Sixtus IV. (1471-84) are numbered amongst the "Generals" of the Franciscans.

[3] Robertson, History of the Christian Church, 1866, vol. iii., p. 592.

[4] Dr Milner says: "The friars intruded themselves into the dioceses and churches of the bishops and the clergy, and, by the sale of *Indulgences*, and a great variety of scandalous exactions, perverted whatever of good order and discipline remained in the Church" (History of the Church of Christ, 1847, vol. iii., p. 170).

[5] Robertson, *loc. cit.*; Milner, History of the Church of Christ, vol. iii., p. 157.

[6] *Cf.* Milman, History of Latin Christianity, vol. vi., p. 587.

[7] Marchese, Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of the Order of St Dominic, translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, 1852, pp. 8, 30.

in the brief term of three years.[1] "This zeal for church-building," says Marchese, "required a great number of architects, stonemasons, engineers, and other persons competent to superintend the works, and the new Orders, on this account, received many skilful persons into their ranks."

According to the Abbè Bourassè,[2] the architects of the Dominicans followed one style, whilst those of the Franciscans adopted another, but he neither discloses the source whence he derived his information, nor specifies what constituted the styles peculiar to the respective Orders. In the opinion, however, of Marchese, the Franciscans, who, in the magnificence of their temples, very often equal, and indeed surpass, every other Order, "either for want of architects, or being desirous to avail themselves of extern talent, neither in the thirteenth nor fourteenth century employed any architect *of their own body* to erect any edifice of importance."[3] This writer suggests therefore that as the Dominicans commonly had architects[4] in their communities, it is likely that the Franciscans must have had recourse to some member of the rival brotherhood.

The Black Friars of St Dominic made their appearance in England in 1221, and the Grey Friars of St Francis in 1224; both were received with the same delight.[5] "At London," says Mr Green, "they settled in the shambles of Newgate; at Oxford they made their way to the swampy ground between its walls and the stream of Thames. *Huts* of mud and timber, as mean as the huts around them, rose within the rough fence and ditch that bounded the Friary."[6] In London the first residence of the Franciscans was in "Stynkinge Lane," in the parish of St Nicholas in Macello, but ere long, grant after grant was made of houses, lands, and messuages in the same quarter, and in the reign of Edward I. they possessed a noble church—300 feet long, 95 wide, and 64 high—with pillars of marble.[7]

At Oxford, in 1245, the Grey Friars enlarged their boundaries, and began to build new houses, whilst the Black Friars left their house in the Jewry and entered a new dwelling by the great bridge.[8]

Within thirty years after the arrival of the Grey Friars in England their numbers, in this country alone, amounted to 1242; they counted forty-nine convents in different localities. With equal rapidity they passed into Ireland and Scotland, where they were received with the same favour, thus presenting an instance of religious organisation and propagandism unexampled in the annals of the world.[9]

[1] Marchese, Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of the Order of St Dominic, translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, 1852, p. 31. During the erection of the Church of St Peter at Dive, the monk Aimone wrote to his brethren of the Abbey of Tutbury in England thus: "It is truly an astonishing sight to behold men who boast of their high lineage and wealth, yoking themselves to cars, drawing stones, lime, wood, and all the materials necessary for the construction of the sacred edifice. Sometimes a thousand persons, men and women, are yoked to the same car, so great is the burden; and yet the profoundest silence prevails" (Comte de Caumont, Histoire Sommaire de l'Architecture Religieuse, Militaire et Civile au Moyen Age, chap. viii., p. 176). *Cf.* Muratori, Italicarum Rerum Scriptores, vol. viii., p. 1007; Parentalia, p. 306; Levasseur, Histoire des Classes Ouvrières en France, vol. i., p. 326; and *ante*, Chaps. IV., p. 197, and V., p. 258.

[2] Marchese, vol. i., p. 73. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Of the Dominicans, Marchese observes: "In truth, no other Order has reared a grander or more numerous body of painters, *architects*, painters of glass, intarsiatori, and miniaturists" (Preface, p. xxviii.).

[5] Green, History of the English People, p. 256. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] Milman, History of Latin Christianity, 1864, vol. vi., p. 44.

[8] Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, Annales Monastici, vol. iv., 1869, pp. 93, 94.

[9] Monumenta Franciscana, Charters and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, Rolls Series, vol. i., 1858, Preface, p. xli.

In 1234 John, Abbot of Osney, became a Franciscan, and in 1246 Walter Mauclerc, Bishop of Carlisle, assumed the habit of the Dominicans.[1] A general chapter of the Franciscans was held at Worcester in 1260, and of the Dominicans, at Oxford, in 1280; Edward I. being present at the latter.[2]

The Dominicans, who ceased to be Mendicants in 1425, held wealthier benefices than were possessed by any other Order. At the period of the dissolution of monasteries there existed in England fifty-eight houses of this Order, and sixty-six of the Grey Friars.[3] The most learned scholars in the University of Oxford at the close of the thirteenth century were Franciscan Friars, and long after this period the Grey Friars appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that university.[4] Repeated applications were made from Ireland, Denmark, France, and Germany, for English friars.[5]

The "History of the Friars" is alike remarkable, from whatever point of view it may be regarded, and, as the editor of the "Monumenta Franciscana" has well observed, deserves the most careful study, not only for its own sake, as illustrating the development of the intellect of Europe previous to the Reformation, but as the link which connects modern with mediæval times.[6] The three schoolmen, of the most profound and original genius, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Occham, were English friars. On the Continent the two Orders produced, in Italy, Thomas Aquinas, author of the "Summa Theologiæ," and Bonaventura; in Germany, Albertus Magnus—said by some writers to have invented Gothic architecture, revived the symbolic language of the ancients, and given new laws to the Freemasons;[7] and in Spain, Raymund Lully, to whose chemical inquiries justice has not yet been done, and who, whilst his travels and labours in three-quarters of the globe are forgotten, is chiefly recollected as a student of alchemy and magic, in which capacity, indeed, he is made to figure as an early Freemason, by a few learned persons, who find the origin of the present Society in the teachings of the hermetic philosophers.

No effort of the imagination is required to bring the rise and development of the Mendicant Orders into harmony with the floating traditions from which either Dugdale or Wren—even if we assume the latter to have *formed* the opinion ascribed to him at least a century before it was *recorded* by his son—may have formulated their accounts of the origin of Freemasonry. The history, moreover, of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders seems to lend itself to the hypothesis of Ashmole, as related by Dr Campbell, on the authority of Dr Knipe—"Such a Bull there was," *i.e.*, a Bull incorporating the Society in the reign of Henry III.—"but this Bull, in the opinion of the learned Mr Ashmole, was *confirmative* only, and did not by any means create our fraternity, or even establish them in this kingdom."[8] The Dominican Order, as we have already seen, was *confirmed* by a Bull of Honorius III. in 1223,[9] but it had

[1] Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, Annales Monastici, vol. iv., 1869, pp. 82, 94.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 446.

[3] Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. 1830, vol. vi., pp. 1482, 1502.

[4] Warton, History of English Poetry, ed. 1840, vol. ii., p. 89.

[5] Monumenta Franciscana, vol. i., pp. 93, 354, 365, 379.

[6] Preface, p. lix.

[7] Heideloff, Bauhütte des Mittelalters, p. 15; Winzer, Die Deutschen Bruderschaften, p. 54; Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 59.

[8] Biographia Britannica, 1747, *tit.* Ashmole, *ante*, p. 16.

[9] Heldman says: "In the time of Henry III., the English masons were protected by a Bull of (probably) Honorius III." (Die drei Aeltesten Geschichtlichen Denkmale, p. 342).

planted an offshoot in England two years previously. I shall not contend that the speculative theology of the schoolmen has exercised any direct influence upon the speculative masonry of which we are in possession. Such a supposition, however curious and entertaining, lies outside the boundaries of this discussion,[1] yet the fact that Roger Bacon, a Franciscan, Albertus Magnus and Raymond Lully, Dominicans, have been claimed in recent times as members of the craft,[2] should not be lost sight of, it being, to say the least, quite as credible that the persons from whom Dugdale derived his information, may have been influenced by the general history of the chief Mendicant Orders, as that writers of two centuries later should have found in certain individual friars the precursors of our modern Freemasons.

The coincidences to which I shall next direct attention are of unequal value. Some are of an important character, whilst others will carry little weight. But, unitedly, they constitute a body of evidence, which, in my judgment, fairly warrants the conclusion, that the idea of travelling masons having been granted privileges by the Popes germinated in the history of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders.

These friars were *Italians*—among them were many architects—commingled with *French*, *Germans*, *Flemings*, and others.[3] They procured Papal Bulls for their encouragement, and particular privileges; they travelled all over Europe, and built churches; their government was regular, and, where they fixed near the building in hand, they made a camp of huts. A General[4] governed in chief. The people of the neighbourhood, either out of charity or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriage.

In the preceding paragraph I have closely paraphrased the statement in the "Parentalia" as being the fullest of the series, though, if we turn to that of Dugdale, as being the original from which the opinions of Ashmole and Wren were derived, the same inference will be deducible.

Connected in men's minds, as the Freemasons were, with the erection of churches and cathedrals, the portion of the tradition which places their origin in these travelling bodies of Italians, is not only what we might expect to meet with, but it possesses what, without doing violence to language, may be termed *some foundation* in fact.[5] For the earliest masons we must search the records of the earliest builders, and whilst, therefore, it is clear that this class of workmen had been extensively employed by the Benedictines, the Cistercians, and the

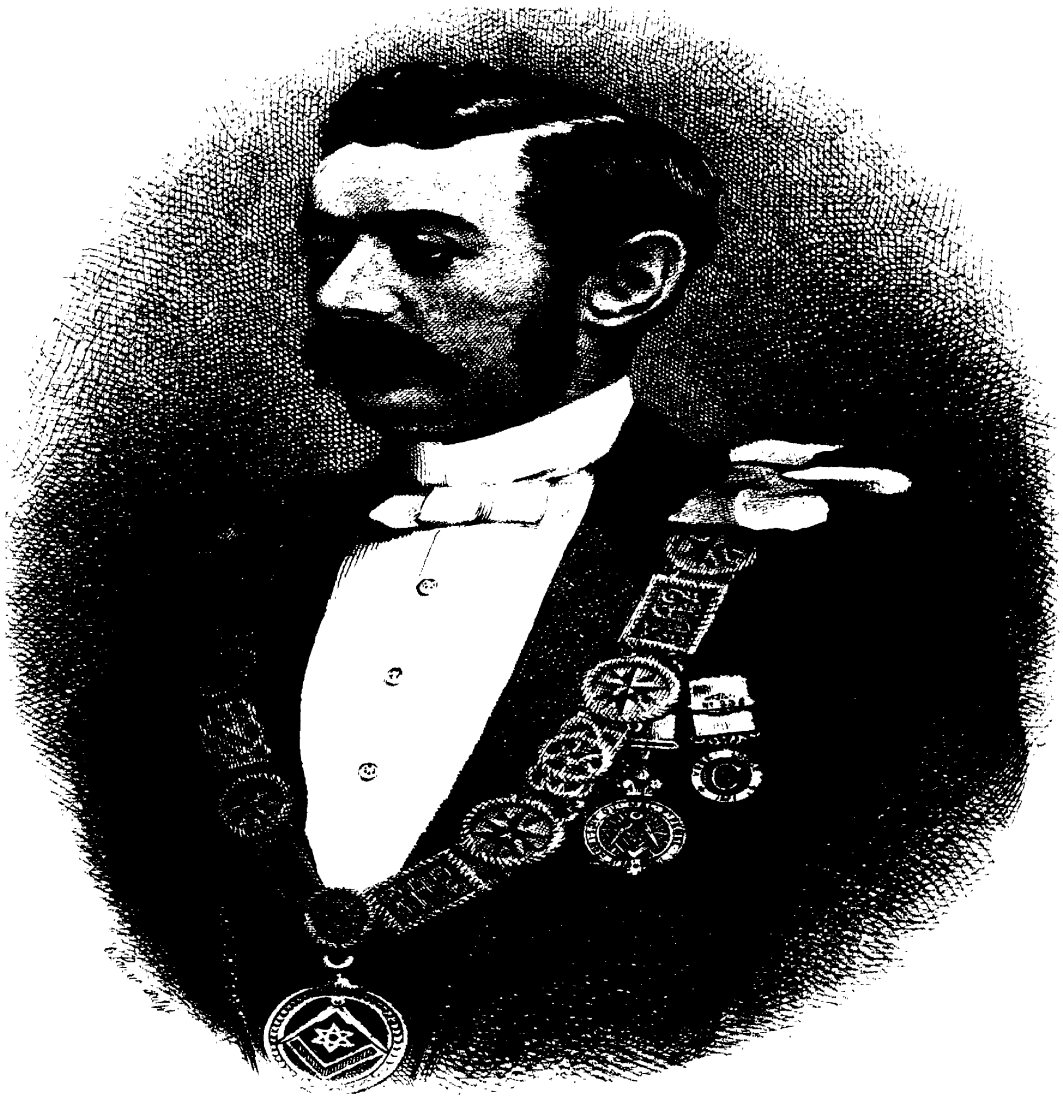
[1] Of St Francis, Mr Brewer observes: "Unlike other and earlier founders of religious orders, the requisites for admission into his fraternity point to the better educated, not to the lower classes. 'He shall be *whole of body* and prompt of mind; not in debt; *not a bondeman born; not unlawfully begotten;* of good name and fame, and competently learned'" (Monumenta Franciscana, Preface, p. xxviii.).

[2] See the Masonic Encyclopædias; and observations on the Rosicrucians, *post.*

[3] *Cf.* The statements attributed to Dugdale, Ashmole, and Wren, *ante*, Chaps. VI., p. 258, and XII., pp. 6, 17.

[4] The General of the Franciscans was elected by the Provincials and Wardens in the chapter of Pentecost, held every third year, or a longer or a shorter term as the General thought fit. He was removable for insufficiency. A general chapter of the Dominicans was held yearly (Fosbroke, British Monachism, 1802, vol. i., p. 72 *et seq.*).

[5] Attention is pointedly directed by Marchese to the numerous ecclesiastical structures erected in the *thirteenth* century, not only in Italy, but in France, Germany, England, and Belgium, who cites, *inter alia*, the basilica of S. Francesco di Assisi, A.D. 1228; the duomo of Florence, 1298; that of Orvieto, 1290; S. Antonio di Padova, 1231; the Campo Santo di Pisa, 1278; S. Maria Novella in Florence, 1279; S. Croce, built in 1294; to which period also belong SS. Giovanni and Paolo, and the Church of the Frari in Venice. Outside Italy, he names the cathedrals of Cologne, Beauvais, Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, Brussels, York, Salisbury, Westminster, Burgos, and Toledo, as all belonging to the *first half* of the thirteenth century (Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of the Order of St Dominic, 1852, Preface, p. xxv.).



NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR.

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ZETLAND

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF YORKSHIRE

(NORTH AND EAST RIDINGS)

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh

Carthusians, all of which had a footing in England long before the era of the Franciscans and Dominicans; on the other hand, the latter Orders can fairly claim to rank as links in the chain, by which, if at all, the Freemasons of the Middle Ages can be connected with their congeners, the actual constructors of those marvels of operative skill, the temples, of a more remote antiquity.

Dugdale, Ashmole, and Wren very probably derived their information much in the same manner as their several opinions have been passed on to later ages. Somebody must have told Dugdale what Aubrey's pen has recorded, it matters not who, and whether a mason or otherwise is equally immaterial. The members of a secret society are rarely conversant with its origin and history, and unless the Freemasons of the sixteenth century were addicted to the study of Masonic antiquities, in a degree far surpassing the practice of their living descendants—of whom not one in a hundred advances beyond a smattering of ritual and ceremonial—they could have had little or nothing to communicate beyond the tradition as it has come down to us.

I conceive that about the middle of the sixteenth century certain leading incidents in the history of the Friars had become blended with the traditionary history of the Freemasons, and I think it not improbable that the "letters of fraternity,"[1] common in the thirteenth century—as well as before and after—of which those of the Friars had a peculiar sanctity,[2] may have potently assisted in implanting the idea, of the *brotherhood* of Freemasons having received Papal favours through the medium of the *Italians*, who were travelling over Europe and building churches. Colour is lent to this supposition by the fact, already noticed, that in 1387 "a certain *Friar preacher*,[3] Brother William Bartone by name, gave security to three journeymen cordwainers of London, that he would make suit in Rome for a confirmation of their fraternity by the Pope."[4] If this view of the case be accepted, the Dugdale-Aubrey *derivation* of the Freemasons from certain wandering Italians would be sufficiently explained.

Although, in the opinion of some respectable authorities, the only solution of the problem under consideration is to be found in the Papal Writings,[5] of which at various times the Steinmetzen were the recipients, it appears to me, that the supporters of this view have failed to realise the substantial difficulties of making out their case, or the lengths to which they must go, in order to even plausibly sustain the theory they have set up. In the first place, the belief in Papal Bulls having been granted to the Freemasons, is an *English* and not a *German* tradition. Secondly, the privileges claimed for the Steinmetzen rest upon two distinct sources of authority—one set, the *confirmations* of Popes Alexander VI. and Leo X. in 1502

[1] "There were 'letters of fraternity' of various kinds. Lay people of all sorts, men and women, married and single, desired to be enrolled in spiritual fraternities, as thereby enjoying the spirituall prerogatives of pardon, indulgence, and speedy despatch out of purgatory" (Fosbroke, British Monachism, 1802, vol. ii., p. 53, citing Smith, Lives of the Berkeley Family, MS. iii., 443).

[2] Piers Plowman, speaking of the day of judgment, says:

> "A poke full of pardon, ne provincial letters
> Though ye be founden in the fraternitie of the iiii. orders" (fol. xxxviii. *b.*).

[3] The origin of this term, as applied to distinguish a member of the Dominican Order, is thus explained by Fosbroke: "When the Pope was going to write to Dominick on business, he said to the notary, 'Write to Master Dominick and the preaching brethren;' and from that time they began to be called the *Friars Preachers*" (British Monachism, vol. ii., p. 40, citing Jansenius, Vita Dominici, l. i., c. vi., p. 44).

[4] Riley, Memorials of London, p. 495; *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 370.

[5] *I.e.*, Bulls, Briefs, Charters, Confirmations, Indulgences, Letters—in a word, every possible written instrument by which the will of the Supreme Pontiff was proclaimed to the laity.

and 1517, are supported by credible tradition; the other set, the *Indulgences*[1] extending from the time of Nicholas III. to that of Benedict XII. (1277-1334), repose on no other foundation than unverified assertion.

Now, in order to show that Dugdale's statement to Aubrey was based on the Papal confirmations of 1502 and 1517, proof must be forthcoming, that the first antiquary of his age not only recognised the Steinmetzen as the parents, or at least as the precursors, of the Freemasons, but that he styled the former *Italians*, and made a trifling mistake of three centuries in his chronology! True, the anachronism disappears if we admit the possibility of his having been influenced by the legendary documents of earlier date (1277-1334)—though, as a matter of fact, since the masons of southern Germany only formed themselves into a *brotherhood* in 1459, no Papal writing of earlier date can have been sent to them—but the error as to nationality remains, and under both suppositions, even adding the *Indulgence* of Cologne[2] (1248), it is impossible to get over the circumstance, that Dugdale speaks of a *Society* or *body* of men who were to travel over Europe and build churches. The Steinmetzen, indeed, built churches, but the system of travelling—which, by the way, only became obligatory in the *sixteenth* century[3]—was peculiar to the *journeymen* of that association, and did not affect the *masters*, to whom, in preference to their subordinates, we must suppose the Pope's mandate to travel and erect churches, would have been addressed.

Except on the broad principle, that "an honest man and of good judgment, believeth still what is told to him, and that which he finds written," I am at a loss to understand how the glosses of the Germans have been so readily adopted by English writers of reputation.[4]

The suggestion of Dr Kloss, that the tradition of the "Bulls" was fabricated for the purpose of adorning the "legend of the guilds," and fathered upon Ashmole and Wren—on the face of it a very hasty induction from imperfect *data*—may be disposed of in a few words.

Kloss evidently had in his mind Dr Anderson's "Constitutions" of 1723 and 1738, the "Memoir" of Ashmole in the "Biographia Britannica," 1747, and Wren's opinion, as related in the "Parentalia," 1750. The "Guild" theory, as it has since been termed, was first broached in the publications of Dr Anderson, by whom no doubt the legends of the craft *were* "embellished," somewhat, in the process of conversion into a simple traditionary history. Still, in the conjecture that the story of the "Bulls" was prompted by, and in a measure grew out of, the uncritical statements in the "Constitutions," his commentator has gone far astray, as this tradition has come down on unimpeachable authority from 1686, and probably dates from the first half of the seventeenth century. From the works already cited, of 1747 and 1750 respectively, Kloss no doubt believed that the opinions of Ashmole and Wren acquired publicity, and as the earlier conception of Sir William Dugdale was then entombed in MS., the conclusions he drew were less fanciful than may at first sight appear. The statement attributed to Wren can claim no higher antiquity, as printed matter, than 1750; and though the opinion of Ashmole appears to have first seen the light in 1719, Preston, in his quotation from Dr

[1] *Ante*, Chaps. III., p. 176, and XII., p. 18.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. III., p. 177.

[3] Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 89.

[4] Mr Papworth says: "From a comparison of the circumstances, Dugdale's information most probably referred to the "Letters of Indulgence" of Pope Nicholas III. in 1278, and to others by his successors, as late as the fourteenth century, granted to the lodge of masons working at Strasbourg Cathedral" (Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, Dec. 2, 1862).

Rawlinson's memoir of that antiquary, prefixed to the "Antiquities of Berkshire," published in 1719, not only omits the passage relating to the *origin* of the Freemasons, but deprives the excerpt he presents of any apparent authority, by introducing it as a mere statement by "the writer of Mr Ashmole's life, *who was not a mason.*"[1]

The tradition we have examined forms one of the many historical problems, for the complete solution of which no sufficient materials exist. Yet as no probability is too faint, no conjecture too bold, or no etymology too uncertain, to escape the credulity of an antiquarian in search of evidence to support a masonic theory; writers of this class, by aid of strained and fanciful analogies, have built up some strange and incredible hypotheses, for which there is no manner of foundation either in history or probability. "Quod volumus, facile credimus:" whatever accords with our theories is believed without due examination. It is far easier to believe than to be scientifically instructed; we see a little, imagine a good deal, and so jump to a conclusion.

Returning from the dissertation into which I have been led by the statement in the "Parentalia," the next evidence in point of time bearing on Wren's membership of the Society, is contained in a letter written July 12, 1757, by Dr Thomas Manningham, a former Deputy Grand Master (1752-56) of the earlier or constitutional Grand Lodge of England, in reply to inquiries respecting the validity of certain additional *degrees* which had been imported into Holland. This document, found in the archives of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands in 1868, was shortly afterwards published by Mr S. H. Hertzveld of the Hague.[2] The letter runs:—"These innovations are of very late years, and I believe the brethren will find a difficulty to produce a mason acquainted with any such forms, twenty, nay, ten years. My own father has been a mason these fifty years, and has been at Lodges in Holland, France, and England. He knows none of these ceremonies. Grand Master Payne, who succeeded Sir Christopher Wren, is a stranger to them, as is likewise one old brother of ninety, who I conversed with lately. This brother assures me he was made a mason in his youth, and has constantly frequented lodges till rendered incapable by his advanced age," etc.

"Here," says a valued correspondent,[3] "are three old and active masons, who must have been associated with Sir Christopher Wren, and known all about his masonic standing, with whom Dr Manningham was intimately associated, and who must have given him correct information as to Wren, in case he had it not of his own knowledge."

The genuineness of the Manningham letter has been disputed. On this point I shall not touch. Where Hughan, Lyon, and Findel, are in accord, and the document has received the "hall-mark" of their approval, I am unwilling on light grounds to *reject* any evidence deemed admissible by such excellent authorities.

Still, if we concede to the full the genuineness of the letter, the passage under examination will, on a closer view, be found to throw no light whatever upon the immediate subject of our inquiry. The fact—if such it be—of Sir Richard Manningham[4] (the father

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 213.

[2] In the "Vrijmetselaars Yaarbookje," the parts referring to the above letter were kindly sent me by Mr Hertzveld. The letter is printed *in extenso* by Findel, p. 315, and in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, vol. xxiv., p. 148.

[3] Mr S. D. Nickerson, Secretary, Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

[4] According to the register of Grand Lodge, Sir Richard Manningham was a member of the lodge "at the Horne," Westminster, in 1723 and 1725.

of the writer) having been, in 1757, "fifty years" a member of the craft, and the assurance of the "old brother of ninety," that he had been "made a mason in his youth," are interesting, no doubt, as increasing the aggregate of testimony which bears in favour of the masonic proceedings from 1717 onwards, having been continued without break from a much earlier period. But with Wren, or the circumstances of his life, they have nothing to do.

The expression "Grand Master Payne, who *succeeded* Sir Christopher Wren, *is* a stranger to them," is both inaccurate and misleading. In the first place, he did *not* succeed Wren, and the statement, besides carrying its own condemnation, shows on the face of it, that it was based on the "Constitutions" of 1738. Secondly, the word "*is*," as applied to Payne in July 1757, is singularly out of place, considering that he died in the previous January, indeed, it seriously impairs the value of Dr Manningham's recollections in the other instances where he permits himself the use of the present tense.

The memoir of Wren in the "Biographia Britannica" which appeared in 1763, was written by Dr Nicolls, and merely deserves attention from its recording, without alteration or addition, the items of masonic information contained in the two extracts from the "Parentalia," already given. There are no further allusions to the Freemasons, nor is the subject of the memoir represented to have been one of that body.

The fable of Wren's Grand Mastership—inserted by Anderson in the "Constitutions" of 1738—was repeated, with but slight variation, in all subsequent issues of that publication to which a history of masonry was prefixed.[1] It was also adopted by the schismatic Grand Lodge of 1753, as appears from the "Ahiman Rezon," or "Book of Constitutions," published by the authority of that body in 1764. Laurence Dermott, the author or compiler of the first four editions of this work[2]—and to whose force of character and administrative ability must be attributed the success of the schism, and the triumph of its principles—agrees with Anderson that Wren was Grand Master, and that he neglected the lodges, but endeavours "to do justice to the memory of Sir Christopher by relating the real cause of such neglect." This he finds in the circumstance of his dismissal from the office of surveyor general, and the appointment of Mr Benson. "Such usage," he argues, "added to Sir Christopher's great age, was more than enough to make him decline all public assemblies; and the master masons then in London were so much disgusted at the treatment of their old and excellent Grand Master, that they would not meet nor hold any communication under the sanction of his successor." "In short," he continues, "the brethren were struck with a lethargy which seemed to threaten the London Lodges with a final dissolution."[3]

As Wren was not superseded by Benson until 1718, the year *after* the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, at which latter period (1717) occurred the so-called "revival of Masonry," the decay, if one there was, preceding and not succeeding that memorable event, we need concern ourselves no further with Dermott's hypothesis, though I cite it in this place,

[1] The last of these appeared in 1784, and no later edition was published by the *first* Grand Lodge of England during the remainder of its separate existence (1784-1813). After the union (1813) the historical portion was omitted.

[2] *I.e.*, those of 1756, 1764, 1778, and 1787.

[3] Ahiman Rezon; or, a Help to a Brother, 1764, p. xxiii. "The famous Sir Christopher Wren, Knight, Master of Arts, formerly of Wadham College, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham and Oxford, Doctor of the Civil Law, President of the Royal Society, Grand Master of the Most Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, Architect to the Crown, who built most of the churches in London, *laid the first stone* of the glorious Cathedral of St Paul, and lived to finish it"

because the "Ahiman Rezon" has been regarded as a work of great authority, and its very name has been appropriated by many Grand Lodges to designate their books of Constitutions.

"The Compleat Freemason, or *Multa Paucis* for Lovers of Secrets," an anonymous work published in 1764 or the previous year, has been followed in many details by Preston and other writers of reputation.[1] In this publication, the number of legendary Grand Masters is vastly enlarged. Few Kings of England are excluded, the most noticeable being Richard I. and James II. We are here told that "the King, with Grand Master Rivers, the Architects, Craftsmen, Nobility, Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Bishops, levelled the Footstone of St Paul's Cathedral in due Form, A.D. 1673." Also, that "in 1710, in the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne, our worthy Grand Master Wren, who had drawn the Design of St Paul's, had the Honour to see it finished in a magnificent Taste, and to celebrate with the Fraternity, the Capestone of so noble and large a Temple." We learn further, that masonry, which in the reign of James II. "had been greatly obstructed, and no Lodges frequented but those in or near the places where great works were carried on," after the accession of William and Mary (1689),[2] "made now again a most brilliant appearance, and numbers of Lodges were formed in all parts of London and the suburbs." Sir Christopher Wren, "by the approbation of the King from this time forward, continued at the head of the Fraternity," but after the celebration of the capestone in 1710, "our good old Grand Master Wren, being struck with Age and Infirmities, did, from this time forward, [1710] retire from all Manner of Business, and, on account of his Disability, could no more attend the Lodges in visiting and regulating their Meetings as usual. This occasioned the Number of regular Lodges to be greatly reduced; but they regularly assembled in Hopes of having again a noble Patron at their Head."[3]

Preston, in his "Illustrations of Masonry,"[4] of which twelve editions were published during his lifetime—the first in 1772, the last in 1812—follows Anderson in his description of Wren's official acts as Grand Master, but adduces much new evidence bearing upon Sir Christopher's general connection with the craft, which, if authentic, not only stamps him as a Freemason, but also as an active member of the Lodge of Antiquity. Preston, whose masonic career I shall at this stage only touch upon very briefly, having published the first edition of his noted work in 1772, delivered a public course of lectures at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street in 1774, and the 15th of June in the same year having attended the "Lodge of Antiquity" as a visitor, the members of that lodge not only admitted him to membership, but actually elected him master at the same meeting. According to his biographer, Stephen Jones, "he had been a member of the Philanthropic Lodge at the Queen's Head, Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, above six years, and of several other lodges

[1] *Multa Paucis* has two important statements, which will be hereafter examined—one, that *six* lodges were present at the "revival" in 1717; the other, that Lord Byron (1747-52) neglected the duties of his office. The latter, copied into the "Pocket Companions" and works of a like character, has been accepted by eminent German writers, and held to account in some degree for the great schism by which the masons of England were, for more than half a century, arrayed in hostile camps. See Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in England, Irland, und Schotlland, 1848, p. 157; and Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 174.

[2] "The King was soon after made a Free-Mason in a private Lodge; and, as Royal Grand Master, greatly approved of the choice of Grand Master Wren" (Multa Paucis, p. 78).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 78, 81, 82.

[4] Styled by Findel, "one of the best and most extensively known works in the masonic literature of England."

before that time, but he was now taught to consider the importance of the office of the first master under the English Constitution."[1] It will form part of our inquiry to examine into the composition of this Lodge before Preston became a member, for although during his mastership, which continued for some years, it made a great advance in reputation, and in 1811 exceeded one hundred in number, including many members of both Houses of Parliament, the brilliancy of its *subsequent* career will not remove the doubts which suggest themselves, when Preston recounts traditions of the lodge, which must have slumbered through many generations of members, and are inconsistent and irreconcilable with its comparatively humble circumstances during whatever glimpses are afforded us of its early history. Nor are our misgivings allayed by Preston's method of narration. Comparing the successive editions of his work, we find such glaring discrepancies, that, unless we believe that his information was acquired, as he imparts it, piecemeal, or, like Mahomet and Joseph Smith, each fresh effort was preceded by a special revelation, we must refuse credence to statements which are unsupported by authority, contradictory to all known testimony, and even inconsistent with each other.

The next edition of the "Illustrations" published after Preston's election to the chair of the Lodge of Antiquity appeared in 1775, where, at p. 245, this Masonic body is referred to as "the old Lodge of St Paul, over which Sir C. Wren presided during the building of that structure."

According to the same historian,[2] in June 1666, Sir Christopher Wren, having been appointed Deputy under the Earl of Rivers, "distinguished himself more than any of his predecessors in office in promoting the prosperity of the few lodges which occasionally met at this time,* [particularly the old Lodge of St Paul's, now the Lodge of Antiquity, which he patronized upwards of eighteen years."[3]]

A footnote—indicated in the text at the place where an asterisk (*) appears above—adds, "It appears from the records of the Lodge of Antiquity that Mr Wren, *at this time*, attended the meetings regularly, and that, during his presidency, he presented to the lodge three mahogany candlesticks, at that time truly valuable, which are still preserved and highly prized as a *memento* of the esteem of the honourable donor."

Preston follows Anderson in his account of the laying of the foundation stone of St Paul's by the king, and states that, "during the whole time this structure was building, Mr Wren acted as master of the work and surveyor, and was ably assisted by his wardens, Mr Edward Strong and his son."[4] In a note on the same page we read, "The mallet with which the king levelled this foundation stone *was lodged by Sir Christopher Wren* in the old Lodge of St Paul, now the Lodge of Antiquity, where it is still preserved as a great curiosity."[5]

"In 1710," says Preston, "the last stone on the top of the lantern was laid by Mr Christopher Wren, the son of the architect. This noble fabric ∴ ∴ was begun and completed

[1] Freemasons' Magazine, 1795, vol. iv., p. 8.

[2] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 219.

[3] The passage within crotchets, and the footnote by which it is followed above, are not given in the editions for 1781 and 1788, and appear for the *first time* in that for 1792.

[4] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 228.

[5] In the two preceding editions the words in italics do not appear, and the note simply runs: "The mallet with which this foundation-stone was laid, is now in the possession of the Lodge of Antiquity in London, and preserved there as a great curiosity" (Illustrations of Masonry, 1781, p. 214; 1788, p. 226).

in the space of thirty-five years by one architect—the great Sir Christopher Wren; *one principal mason*—Mr Strong; and under one Bishop of London."[1]

It will be seen that Preston's description of the completion of the cathedral, does not quite agree with any other version of this occurrence which we have hitherto considered. The "Constitutions" of 1738 date the event in 1708, *imply* that Wren himself laid the last stone, and are silent as to the presence of Freemasons. The "Parentalia" alters the date to 1710, deposes the father in favour of the son, *implies* that Wren was absent, and brings in the Freemasons as a leading feature of the spectacle. "Multa Paucis" follows the "Constitutions" in allowing Wren "to see" his work "finished," leaves the question open as to by whom the stone was laid, adopts the views of the "Parentalia" as to the year of the occurrence and the presence of the Freemasons, and goes so far as to make Sir Christopher participate in the Masonic festivities with which the proceedings terminated.

Preston, in this particular instance, throws over the "Book of Constitutions," and pins his faith on the narrative of Christopher Wren in the "Parentalia," though it should not escape our notice that he omits to reproduce the statement in the latter work relating to the presence of the Freemasons, which, of all others, it might be expected that he would. I may here briefly remark, that whilst claiming as "Freemasons" and members of the Lodge of Antiquity, several persons connected with Wren in the construction of St Paul's, no connection with the Masonic craft is set up on behalf of the architect's son,[2] nor does Preston allude to him throughout his work, except in the passage under examination. This, whilst establishing with tolerable certainty that in none of the records from which the author of the "Illustrations of Masons" professed to have derived his Masonic facts concerning the *father*, was there any notice of the *son*, at the same time lands us in a fresh difficulty, for in the evidence supplied by the "Parentalia," written, it may be assumed, by a non-Mason, we read of the Strongs and *other Free and Accepted Masons* being present at the celebration of the capestone in 1710, a conjunction of much importance, but which, assuming the statement of Christopher Wren to be an accurate one, is passed over *sub silentio* by William Preston.

The next passage in the "Illustrations," which bears on the subject of our inquiry, occurs where mention is made of Wren's election to the presidency of the Society in 1685. The account is word for word with the extract already given from the "Constitutions" of 1738, but to the statement that Wren, as Grand Master, appointed Gabriel Cibber and Edward Strong his wardens, Preston *adds*, "both these gentlemen were members of the old Lodge of St Paul with Sir Christopher Wren."[3]

Throughout the remainder of his remarks on the condition of Masonry prior to 1717, Preston closely follows the "Constitutions" of 1738. He duly records the initiation of William III. in 1695, the appointment as Grand Wardens of the two Edward Strongs, and concludes with the familiar story of the decay of Freemasonry owing to the age and infirmities of Sir Christopher drawing off his attention from the duties of his office.

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, pp. 236, 237. It will be seen that Preston wholly ignores *Thomas* Strong, the elder brother of Edward Strong, senior.

[2] *Query*, Does Christopher Wren owe this immunity, to the consideration that his membership of the society might have been awkward to reconcile, with the *theory* of the lodges having languished from about 1710 to 1717, owing to the neglect of his father?

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 244. The above is shown as a footnote, and does not appear in the 1788 and earlier editions.

Arranged in order of time—*i.e.*, of publication—the *new* evidence given by Preston may be thus briefly summarised:—

In 1775 it is first stated that Wren presided over the old Lodge of St Paul's during the building of the cathedral.

Between 1775 and 1788 the only noteworthy circumstance recorded, is the possession by the Lodge of Antiquity of the "historic" mallet, employed to lay the foundation stone of St Paul's.

In 1792, however, a mass of information is forthcoming: we learn that Wren patronised the Lodge of Antiquity for eighteen years, that he presented it with three candlesticks during the period of his mastership, and "lodged" with the same body—of which Gabriel Cibber and Edward Strong were members—the "mallet" so often alluded to.[1]

I shall next quote from a memoir of the family of Strong,[2] compiled seven years before the appearance of the first book of "Constitutions" (1723), though not published until 1815. It is inscribed: "London, May the 12th, 1716. Memorandums of several works in masonry done by our family: viz., by my grandfather, Timothy Strong; by my father, Valentine Strong; by my brother, Thomas Strong; by myself, Edward Strong; and my son, Edward Strong."

Timothy Strong was the owner of quarries at Little Berrington, in Gloucestershire, and at Teynton, in Oxfordshire, in which many masons and labourers were employed. Several apprentices were also bound to him. He was succeeded in his possessions by his son Valentine, who built some fine houses, and dying at Fairford, in Oxfordshire, in 1662, was buried in the churchyard there, the following epitaph appearing on his monument:—

Here lyeth the body of Valentine Strong, Free Mason.
He departed this life
November the . . .
A.D. 1662.

Here's one that was an able workman long,
Who divers houses built, both fair and Strong;
Though Strong he was, a Stronger came than he,
And robb'd him of his life and fame, we see:
Moving an old house a new one for to rear,
Death met him by the way, and laid him here.

According to the "Memoir," Valentine Strong had six sons and five daughters.[3] All his six sons were bred to the mason's trade, and about the year 1665 Thomas, the eldest, "built

[1] In which edition of the "Illustrations" it was *first* stated that the cathedral was completed by *one principal mason*, I cannot at this moment say, nor is the point material.

[2] Copied from a transcript of the original MS. in the possession of John Nares, Esq., of John Street, Bedford Row (R. Clutterbuck, The History and Antiquity of the County of Hertford, 1815, p. 167). John Nares, a Bencher of the Inner Temple, was descended from Edward Strong the younger, through his daughter Susannah, wife of Sir John Strange, Master of the Rolls, whose daughter, Mary, married Sir George Nares, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and bore him the above.

[3] *Viz.*, "Ann, Thomas, William, Elizabeth, Lucy (who died young), Sarah, Valentine, Timothy, Edward, John, and Lucy, the second of that name."

lodgings for scholars at Trinity College, Oxford, under the direction of Dr Christopher Wren, of Wadham College. In the year 1667, artificers were invited by Act of Parliament to rebuild the city of London; and accordingly, the aforesaid Thomas Strong provided stone at the quarries which he had the command of, and sent the same to London, and sold great quantities to other masons. He also took up masons with him to London to work with him, to serve the city in what they wanted in his way of trade. In the year 1675 he made the first contract with the Lords and others, the Commissioners for rebuilding the cathedral church of St Paul's in London, and on the 21st of June in that year *laid the first stone in the foundation with his own hand.*"[1]

Thomas Strong died in 1681, unmarried, leaving all his employment to his brother Edward, who he made his sole executor.

The "Memoir" continues, "about the year 1706 Edward Strong, *jun.*, began the lanthorn on the dome of St Paul's, London; and on the 25th of October 1708 Edward Strong, *sen.*, laid the last stone upon the same."[2]

It will be seen that the testimony of Edward Strong is directly opposed to that of Christopher Wren in the matter of the *last* stone. On this point their evidence is of equal authority, both were present at the occurrence they describe, and whilst on the one hand it may be contended that the claim of the younger Wren to have laid the stone has been admitted by later writers, on the other hand this is more than balanced by the opinion of Strong's relatives, as recorded on his monument *immediately after his decease.* As regards the *first* stone, however, in the testimony of Edward Strong, we have the only deposition of an *eye-witness* of the proceedings of 1675. Christopher Wren was but four months old when the foundation stone was laid, and without detracting in the slightest degree from his honesty and general accuracy of statement, it is impossible to accord what *he was told*[3] a higher measure of belief than we yield to the evidence of a witness of equal veracity who describes *what he actually saw.*

Throughout the "Memoir" there is no reference to the "Lodge of St Paul," or the "Free and Accepted Masons," of which Preston and Christopher Wren respectively declare Edward Strong to have been a member.

Elmes, in his first biography of Wren,[4] alludes to Freemasonry at some length, cites Preston, from whom he largely quotes, as its best historian, and faithfully repeats the stories of Wren's Grand Mastership, of the mahogany candlesticks, of the mallet, and of the appointment of Edward Strong as Grand Warden. Happily he gives his authorities, which are the "Illustrations of Masonry," the "Ahiman Rezon," and Rees' "Cyclopædia," therefore we may

[1] Seymour, in his "Survey of London" (1734), describes Strong as laying the first stone, and Longland the second, on June 21, 1675.

[2] Upon the monument erected to the memory of Edward Strong in the Church of St Peter, at St Albans, he is described as "Citizen and Mason of London," and the inscription adds—"In erecting the edifice of St Paul's several years of his life were spent, even from its foundation *to his laying the last stone;* and herein equally with its ingenious architect, Sir Christopher Wren, and its truly pious diocesan, Bishop Compton, he shared the felicity of seeing both the *beginning* and *finishing* of that stupendous fabric" (Freemasons' Magazine, Oct. 8, 1864, p. 261, citing Peter Cunningham in the *Builder*).

[3] This refers to a manuscript (British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., No. 698), which will be presently examined. The "Parentalia," it will be recollected (*ante*, p. 13), does not state by whom the stone was laid.

[4] Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, 1823, pp. 484, 485, 493.

safely pass on to a consideration of the points which are chiefly in dispute, and at the same time glean indiscriminately from the pages of his *two* biographies.[1]

Elmes cites "Clutterbuck's History of Hertford," containing the "Memoir of the Strongs," and in part reconciles the discrepant statements of Edward Strong and the younger Wren by making Sir Christopher lay the *first* stone of St Paul's, *assisted* by Thomas Strong, though the honour of laying the last stone, "with masonic ceremony," he assigns exclusively to the architect's son, who, he says, was "attended by his venerable father, Mr Strong, the master-mason of the cathedral, and the lodge of Freemasons, of which Sir Christopher was for so many years the acting and active master."[2]

This writer then proceeds to state that, "in the Lansdowne collection of manuscripts in the British Museum is one by the eldest son of Sir Christopher, countersigned by the great architect," which he cites in full, and describes as "a remarkable breviate of the life of one of the greatest men of any time."[3]

On the first leaf of the manuscript, at the top of the page, is scrawled, "Collata, Oct. 1720, C. W.," which, despite the authority of Elmes, I unhesitatingly pronounce to be in the same handwriting as the body of the MS. The entry, or entries, with which we are concerned are the following:—

1675. Novæ Basilicæ Dvi Paulæ Lon. Primum posuit lapidem:—1710. Supremum in Epitholio et *exegit.*

This memorandum, however, is somewhat oddly wedged in between entries of 1700 and 1718 respectively, and it is curious, to say the least, that all the other jottings, of which there are fifteen, are arranged in strict chronological order. This manuscript at most merely supplements the evidence of Christopher Wren, and tends to show that, in 1720—to use his own words in another place—"he was of opinion" that the first stone of St Paul's had been laid by his father. It is perhaps of more value in this inquiry from what it *does not* rather than from what it does contain, as the omission of any entry whatever under the year 1691 will justify the conclusion that Christopher Wren was aware of no remarkable event in his father's life having occurred at that date.

Passing over intermediate writers, by whom the same errors have been copied and re-copied with wearisome iteration, I shall next give an extract from a work of high authority and recent publication, and then proceed to summarize the leading points upon which our attention should be fixed whilst considering the alternative hypothesis with regard to Wren's "adoption" by the Freemasons in 1691, first launched by Mr Halliwell in 1844.

The Dean of St Paul's, in his interesting history of that cathedral, wherein he frequently gives Elmes and the "Parentalia" as his authorities, informs us that "the architect himself had the honour of laying the first stone (June 21, 1675). There was no solemn ceremonial; neither the King nor any of the Court, nor the Primate, nor the Bishop, nor even, it should seem, was Dean Sancroft or the Lord Mayor present. In the year 1710 Sir Christopher Wren, by

[1] The later of these is styled "Sir Christopher Wren and his Times," by James Elmes, 1853. It is "a new work in a more general and less technical style than the former" (Author's Preface).

[2] Elmes, Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, 1823, pp. 353, 493; Sir Christopher Wren and his Times, 1852, pp. 281, 428.

[3] Chronologica Series, Vitæ et Actorum Dni Christopheri Wren, Eq. Aur., etc., etc. (British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., No. 698, fol. 136).

the hands of his son, attended by Mr Strong, the master mason, who had executed the *whole* work, and the body of Freemasons, of which Sir Christopher was an active member, laid the last and highest stone of the lantern of the cupola."[1]

A retrospect of the evidence from 1738 to 1823, or in other words from Anderson's "Constitutions" of the former year down to the publication of Elmes's first biography of Wren, shows that whilst Masonic writers,[2] without exception, have successively copied and enlarged the story of Wren's connection with the Society, their views acquire no corroboration, but on the contrary are inconsistent with all that has come down to us respecting the great architect in the writings of his contemporaries[3] and in the pages of the "Biographia Britannica."

The fable of Wren's Grand Mastership I shall not further discuss, except incidentally and in connection with the testimony of Preston, it being sufficiently apparent—as tradition can never be alleged for an absolute impossibility—that he could not have enjoyed in the *seventeenth* century a title which was only created in the second decade of the *eighteenth* (1717). It is also immaterial to the elucidation of the real point we are considering, whether Charles II., Thomas Strong, or the architect himself laid the first stone, or whether Edward Strong or the younger Wren laid the last stone of the cathedral.

Preston's statements, however, demand a careful examination. These are professedly based on *records* of the Lodge of Antiquity, and there is no middle course between yielding them full credence or rejecting them as palpable frauds. The maxim "Dolus latet in generalibus" occurs to the mind when perusing the earlier editions of the "Illustrations of Masonry." In 1775 Preston informs us "that Wren presided over the old Lodge of St Paul's during the building of the cathedral," and not until 1792, a period of seventeen years—during which *five* editions of his book were published—does he express himself in sufficiently clear terms to enable us to critically examine the value of his testimony. At last, however, he does so, and we read, "It appears from the *records* of the Lodge of Antiquity that Mr Wren at this time [1666] attended the meetings regularly,"[4] also that he patronized this lodge upwards of eighteen years. Now this statement is either a true or a false one. If the former, the Aubrey hypothesis of 1691 receives its *quietus;* if the latter, no further confidence can be reposed in Preston as the witness of truth. Next there is the evidence respecting the mallet and the candlesticks, which is very suggestive of the story of the "Three Black Crows," and of the progressive development of the author's imagination, as successive editions of his work saw the light. Finally there is the assertion that Gabriel Cibber and Edward Strong were members of the lodge.

These statements I shall deal with *seriatim.* In the first place, the regular attendance of Sir Christopher at the meetings of his lodge, is contradicted by the silence of all contemporary history, notably by the diary of Elias Ashmole, F.R.S., who, in his register of occurrences for 1682, would in all probability, along with the entry relating to the Feast at the Mason's Hall, have brought in the name of the then President of the Royal Society,[5] had he been (as

[1] Dr H. H. Milman, Annals of St Paul's Cathedral, 1869, pp. 404, 432. Strong is also described as the "master mason" who "assisted in laying the first stone and in fixing the last in the lantern" (*Ibid.*, p. 410).

[2] Constitutions, 1738; Multa Paucis; Ahiman Rezon; and the Illustrations of Masonry.

[3] Ashmole, Plot, Aubrey, Christopher Wren, and Edward Strong.

[4] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 219.

[5] "Nov. 30, 1681. Sir Christopher Wren chosen President [of the Royal Society], Mr Austine, Secretary, with Dr Plot, the ingenious author of the 'History of Oxfordshire'" (Evelyn, Diary, 1852, vol. ii., p. 161).

contended) an active member of the fraternity. Indeed, it is almost certain that Sir Christopher would himself have been present, or, at least, his absence accounted for,[1] whilst we may go farther, and assume from Dr Plot's known intimacy with Wren—who is said to have written Chapter IX. of his "Natural History of Oxfordshire"[2]—that had the latter's interest in Freemasonry been of the extensive character deposed to by Preston, Plot would have known of it, whereas the language he permits himself to use in regard to the Freemasons in 1686[3] is quite inconsistent with the supposition that he believed either Wren or Ashmole[4] to be members of a Society which he stigmatised in such terms of severity.

The next reflection that suggests itself, is the inference to be drawn, if we believe Preston, that during the years over which Wren's membership of the lodge extended, the same records from which he quotes must have justified his constantly using the expression "Grand Master," as it is hardly conceivable that a member of the lodge holding the high position of President of the *Society* would invariably have his superior rank in the *craft* ignored in the minutes and proceedings of the *lodge*. As a matter of fact, however, we know that Wren could not have held, in the seventeenth century, a title which did not then exist, and the conclusion is forced upon us either that the "records" spoken of were as imaginary as the "Grand Mastership," or that their authority was made to cover whatever in the shape of tradition or conjecture filled Preston's mind when writing the history of his lodge.

The latter hypothesis is the more probable of the two. It is irrational to suppose that Preston, to strengthen his case, would have cited the authority of writings which did not exist. Some members, at least, of the Lodge of Antiquity, might have been in a position to contradict him, and an appeal to imaginary or lost documents would have been as senseless an insult to their understandings as it would to those of readers of these pages, were I to appeal to the "Book of Merlin" or the manuscripts sacrificed by "scrupulous brethren" (1720) as a proof of the Masonic Union of 1813.

In his use, however, of the word "records," the author of the "Illustrations" sets an example which has been closely followed by Dr Oliver,[5] and whenever either of these writers presents a statement requiring for its acceptance the exercise of more than ordinary credulity, it will invariably be found to rest upon the authority in the one case of an old *record*, and in the other of a *manuscript* of the Society.[6]

A learned writer has observed, "such is the power of reputation justly acquired that its

[1] The absence of Edward Strong, *senior*, from whose epitaph "Citizen and Mason of London" I assume to have been a member of the "Mason's Company," a view strengthened by the circumstance that Edward Strong, *junior*, certainly was one in 1724, is hard to reconcile with the positive assertion of Preston, that he was also a *Freemason!* The younger Strong was not a member of any lodge in 1723.

[2] Elmes, 1852, p. 409.

[3] Natural History of Staffordshire, pp. 316-318.

[4] Dr Plot was first introduced to Ashmole in 1677 (through John Evelyn), and the latter appointed him the first curator of his museum in 1683. Ashmole's diary records: "Nov. 19, 1684. Dr Plot presented me with his book, De Origine Fontium, which he had dedicated to me. May 23, 1686. Dr Plot presented me with his Natural History of Staffordshire" (Memoirs of Elias Ashmole, published by Charles Burman, 1717).

[5] Styled by Mackey, in his "Encyclopædia of Freemasonry," "the most learned mason and the most indefatigable and copious masonic author of his age."

[6] "Records of the Society" are cited by Preston in proof of the initiations of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Henry VI.; and the latter, *on the same authority*, is said to have perused the ancient Charges, revised the Constitutions, and, with the consent of his council, honoured them with his sanction! (Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, pp. 189, 200. See also pp. 174, 184, 185).

blaze drives away the eye from nice examination." The success of the famous "Illustrations" was so marked, and its sale so great, as to raise the authority of the author beyond the range of criticism or detraction.[1] Some remarks, however, of Dr Armstrong, Bishop of Grahamstown, on the kindred aberrations of the late Dr Oliver, are so much in point that I shall here introduce them. After contending in a strain of severe satire that the Freemasons were not in the least joking, in what many men considered as a joke, the Bishop continues: "Look for instance at the Rev. G. Oliver, D.D. He is quite in earnest. There is really something wonderfully refreshing in such a dry and hard-featured an age as this to find so much imagination at work. After having pored through crabbed chronicles and mouldy MSS., with malicious and perverse contractions, ragged and mildewed letters, illegible and faded diaries, etc., *it is quite refreshing to glide along the smooth and glassy road of imaginative history.* Of course, where there is any dealing with the more hackneyed facts of history, we must expect a little eccentricity and some looseness of statement—we cannot travel quickly and cautiously too. Thus the doctor of divinity, before mentioned, somewhat startles us by an assertion respecting the destruction of Solomon's temple: 'Its destruction by the Romans, as predicted, was fulfilled in the most minute particulars; and on the same authority we are quite certain it will never be rebuilt.' He is simply mistaking the second temple for the first"![2]

Preston, like Oliver, may be justly charged with having written Masonic history negligently and inaccurately, and from unverified rumours. Indeed, their works almost warrant the conclusion that, by both these writers, the rules of historical evidence were deemed of so pliable a nature as to accommodate themselves to circumstances. Yet although it is affirmed by a great authority that "unless some boldness of divination be allowable, all researches into early history ∴ must be abandoned;"[3] when there is a want of solid evidence, a writer does not render his history true by treating the incidents as if they were real.

It will illustrate this last position if I pass to the story of the mallet and the candlesticks, as in Preston's time "still preserved, and highly prized as *mementos* of the esteem of the honourable donor." The statements that Charles II. levelled the foundation stone of the cathedral with the mallet, and that the fact of the candlesticks having been presented by Wren is attested by the *records* of the lodge, I shall pass over without further comment, and apply the few remarks I have to add in examining into the inherent probability of either mallet or candlesticks having been presented to the lodge by Sir Christopher. The question involves more than would appear at first sight, as its determination must either render the Aubrey prediction of no value, by proving that Wren was a Freemason before 1691, or by a contrary result, leaving us free to essay the solution of the alternative problem, unhampered by the confusion which at present surrounds the subject as a whole.

It appears from the "Illustrations of Masonry" that about fifty years after the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, a *tradition* was current in the Lodge of Antiquity that Wren

[1] Woodford says of Preston: "He may be fairly called the father of masonic history, and his work will always be a standard work for Masons. He was a painstaking and *accurate* writer; and though we have access to MSS. which he never saw, yet, on the whole, his original view of masonic history remains correct" (Kenning's Cyclopædia, p. 566). Although dissenting from this estimate of the enduring value of Preston's writings, I readily admit that, at the period of original publication, the "Illustrations of Masonry" was, by a long way, *the best book of its kind.*

[2] The Christian Remembrancer, No. lvii., July 1847.

[3] B. G. Niebuhr, History of Rome, 3d English ed., 1837, vol. i., p. 152.

had been at one time a member, and that certain articles still in its possession were presented by him. The importance of this—the first lodge on the roll—is much dwelt upon, and *more suo*, Preston silences all possible cavillers in the following words:—"By an *old record* of the Lodge of Antiquity it appears that the new Grand Master was *always* proposed and presented for approbation in that Lodge before his election in the Grand Lodge."[1]

Let us examine how these traditions are borne out by the existing records of the Grand Lodge of England.

The earliest minutes of this body, now preserved, commence in 1723, and in the first volume of these proceedings, are given lists of lodges and their members for the years 1725 and 1730, after which last date no register of members was again kept by the central authority until Preston's time, whose name appears in the earliest return of members from the LODGE OF ANTIQUITY,[2] to be found in the archives of the Grand Lodge. The first entry in the volume referred to runs as follows:—

"This Manuscript was begun the 25th November 1723," and it gives "a List of the Regular Constituted Lodges, together with the Names of the Masters, Wardens, and members of Each Lodge." The four lodges, who in 1717 founded the Grand Lodge, met in 1723:—

1. At the GOOSE AND GRIDIRON,[3] in St Paul's Churchyard.
2. At the QUEEN'S HEAD, Turnstile: *formerly* the CROWN, in Parker's Lane.
3. At the QUEEN'S HEAD, in Knave's Acre: *formerly* the APPLE TREE, in Charles St., Covent Garden.
4. At the HORNE, at Westminster: *formerly* the RUMMER and GRAPES, in Channel Row.

With the exception of Anthony Sayer[4]—the *premier* Grand Master—Thomas Morris and Josias Villenau, the first named of whom is cited in the roll of No. 3, and the others in that of No. 1,[5] *all* the eminent persons who took any leading part in the early history of Freemasonry, immediately after, what by a perversion of language has been termed "the Revival," were members of No. 4. In 1723 No. 1 had twenty-two members; No. 2, twenty-one; No. 3, fourteen; and No. 4, *seventy-one*. The three senior lodges possessed among them no member of sufficient rank to be described as "Esquire," whilst in No. 4 there were *ten* noblemen, *three* honourables, *four* baronets or knights, *seven* colonels, *two* clergymen, and *twenty-four* esquires. Payne, Anderson, and Desaguliers were members of this lodge.

It appears to me that if Wren had been at any time a member of No. 1, some at least of the distinguished personages who were Freemasons at the period of his death (1723) would have belonged to the same lodge. But what do we find? Not only are Nos. 1, 2, and 3 composed of members below the social rank of those in No. 4, but it is expressly stated in a publication of the year 1730, that "the first and oldest constituted lodge, according to

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 257.

[2] This name was taken by the lodge in 1770. See "The Four Old Lodges," 1879, *passim*.

[3] Original No. 1 removed from the GOOSE AND GRIDIRON between 1723 and 1729, from which latter year (except for a short time whilst at the PAUL'S HEAD, Ludgate Street) its description on the list was the KING'S (or QUEEN'S) ARMS, St Paul's Churchyard, with the additional title, from 1760, of the WEST INDIA AND AMERICAN LODGE. In 1770 it became the LODGE OF ANTIQUITY. At the union in 1813, the two first lodges drew lots for priority, with the result of the *older* lodge—original No. 1—becoming No. 2, which number it still retains.

[4] Sayer was Grand Master in 1717, and S.G.W. in 1719.

[5] Thomas Morrice was J.G.W. in 1718, 1719, and 1721. Josiah Villeneau was S.G.W. in 1721. Both were members of No. 1, according to the lists of 1723 and 1725.

the Lodge Book in London," made a "visitation" to another lodge, on which occasion the deputation consisted of "operative Masons."[1]

To the objection that this fact rests on the authority of Samuel Prichard, I reply, that statements which are incidentally mentioned by writers, without any view to establish a favourite position, are usually those the most entitled to credit.

If, as Preston asserts, the Grand Master was always presented for the approbation of No. 1 *before* his election in Grand Lodge—an arrangement, by the way, which would have rendered nugatory the general regulations of the craft[2]—how came it to pass (not to speak of the singularity of the *first* Grand Master having been selected from the ranks of No. 3) that no member of the senior lodge was placed on the Masonic throne before the Society had "the honour of a noble brother at its head?" Are we to suppose that from an excess of humility or diffidence the brethren of this lodge passed a self-denying ordinance, or otherwise disqualified themselves, for the supreme dignity which (in Preston's view of the facts), we must conclude, would be pressed upon their acceptance?

The difficulty of reconciling Preston's statements with the early elections to the office of Grand Master, seems, indeed, to have been felt by Dr Oliver, who, unable to build an hypothesis on matter of fact, and make it out by sensible demonstration, forthwith proceeds to find a fact that will square with a suitable hypothesis. This is accomplished by making Desaguliers a member of No. 1, a supposition wholly untenable, unless we disbelieve the actual entries in the register of Grand Lodge, but which shows, nevertheless, that the secondary position actually filled by the lodge during the period of transition (1717-1723) between the *legendary* and the *historical* eras of the craft, must have appeared to Dr Oliver inconsistent with the pretensions to a supremacy over its fellows advanced by William Preston.

The early minutes of Grand Lodge furnish no evidence of any special privilege having been claimed by the masonic body, over which in later years it was Preston's fortune to preside. They record, indeed, that on May 29, 1733, the Master of the Lodge at the PAUL'S HEAD in Ludgate Street, asserted his right to carry the Grand Sword before the Grand Master; upon which occasion the Deputy Grand Master observed "that he (the D. G. M.) could not entertain the memorial without giving up the undoubted right of the Grand Master in appointing his own officers."[3] But the senior English Lodge met at the KING'S ARMS, St Paul's Churchyard, in 1733, and did not remove to the PAUL'S HEAD until 1735.

The tradition of the mallet[4] and candlesticks was first made known to the world, as we

[1] Masonry Dissected, by Samuel Prichard, late member of a constituted lodge, 1730. This pamphlet will be again referred to.

[2] When an *election* was necessary, it was ordered by the General Regulations of 1721, that "the new Grand Master shall be chosen immediately by ballot, every master and warden writing his man's name, and the last Grand Master writing his man's name too; and the man whose name the last Grand Master shall first take out, casually or by chance, shall be Grand Master for the year ensuing; and, *if present*, he shall be proclaimed, saluted, and congratulated, as above hinted, and *forthwith installed* by the last Grand Master, according to usage" (Article XXXIV.).

[3] Grand Lodge minutes.

[4] An inscription on a silver plate, let into the head of the mallet by order of the Duke of Sussex in 1827, records that with it "King Charles II. levelled the foundation-stone of St Paul's Cathedral A.D. 1673;" also its presentation to the "Old Lodge of St Paul's, by *Bro.* Sir Christopher Wren, R.W.D.G.M., Worshipful Master of the Lodge" (Freemasons' Magazine, May 26, 1866, p. 407). It is to be regretted that in this inscription—behind which few will care to go—there are no less than *six* misstatements!

have seen, after Preston became Master of the Lodge. Its authenticity, or in other words, the probability of its having been so jealously concealed from the public ear for upwards of a century, has now to be considered. At the outset of this history,[1] I quoted the *dictum* of a high authority, that "a tradition should be proved by authentic evidence, to be not of subsequent growth, but to be founded on a contemporary recollection of the fact recorded."[2] In this case the requisite proof that the tradition was derived from contemporary witnesses is forthcoming, *if* the numerous *records* whereupon Preston bases his statements are held to satisfactorily attest the facts they are called in aid of, without troubling ourselves to weigh the *pros* and *cons* which may be urged for and against their admission as evidence. Putting these aside, however, as the finger-posts of an imaginative history, we find the tradition rests upon the unsupported statement of a credulous and inaccurate writer—unable to distinguish between history and fable—and whose accounts of Locke's initiation, the Batt[3] Parliament, the admission of Henry VI., and of Henry VII. having presided in person over a lodge of Masters,[4] are alone sufficient to discredit his testimony. All historical evidence must indeed be tested by the canon of probability. If witnesses depose to improbable facts before a court of justice, their veracity is open to suspicion. The more improbable the event which they attest, the stronger is the testimony required. The same rules of credibility apply to historical as to judicial evidence.[5] In the present case a tradition is first launched—*to our actual knowledge*—nearly a century later than the events it inshrines, and a story improbable in itself, becomes even less credible, through the suspicious circumstances which surround its publication. The means of information open to the historian, his veracity, accuracy, and impartiality, here constitute a medium through which the evidence has come down to us, and upon which we must more or less implicitly rely. The immediate proof is beyond our reach, and instead of being able to examine it for ourselves, we can only stand at a distance, and by the best means in our power, estimate its probable value. This secondary evidence may sometimes rise almost to absolute certainty, or it may possess scarcely an atom of real weight.

As it is of little importance by what authority an opinion is sanctioned, if it will not itself stand the test of sound criticism, the veracity and accuracy of Preston, even if he is accorded a larger share of those qualities than I am willing to admit, will count for very little, in the judgment of all by whom the chief qualification of an historian is deemed to be "an earnest craving after truth, and an utter impatience, not of falsehood merely, but of error."[6]

The statement that in the reign of George I. masonry languished, owing to the age and infirmities of Sir Christopher Wren, "drawing off his attention from the duties of his office," is obviously an afterthought, arising out of the necessity of finding some plausible explanation of the embarrassing *fact* that such an earnest Freemason as, *after his death*, the great architect is made out to have been, should have so jealously guarded the secret of his early membership,

[1] *Ante*, Chap. I., p. 4.

[2] Lewis, On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, p. 90.

[3] *Ante*, Chap. VII., p. 366, note 2.

[4] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, pp. 162, 191, 199, 202.

[5] *Cf.* Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, 1852, vol. i., p. 291; and Taylor, Process of Historical Proof, 1828, pp. 57, 85.

[6] Dr Arnold, Lectures on Modern History, 1842 (viii.), p. 377. As all later writers follow Preston in his account of the early history of the Grand Lodge of England, it will be seen, as we proceed, that the value of his evidence cannot

that it remained unsuspected even by his own family, and was quite unknown to the compilers of the first book of "Constitutions," including the many "learned brothers" called in to assist, some of whom no doubt were members of the lodge possessing the mallet and candlesticks on which so much has been founded. If this story had not been generally accepted by the historians of masonry,[1] I should pass it over without further comment. Together with other mythical history, we may safely anticipate that it will soon fall back into oblivion, but meanwhile, out of respect to the names of those writers by whom the belief has been kept alive, I shall briefly state why, in my judgment, the general opinion is altogether an erroneous one.

In the first place, assuming Wren to have been a Freemason at all—and in my opinion the evidence points in quite another direction—he would have had much difficulty in neglecting an *office*, which at the time named did not exist! Next, if we concede a good deal more, and grant the possibility of his being the leading spirit, by whatever name styled, of the Society; all that has come down to us in the several biographies of Wren, by writers other than those whose fanciful theories are merely supported by extravagant assertions, testifies to his complete immunity at the period referred to—1708-1717—from the ordinary infirmities of advanced age. He remained a member of Parliament until 1712. In 1713 he published his reply to the anonymous attacks made upon him in the pamphlet called "Frauds and Abuses at St Paul's." The same year he also surveyed Westminster Abbey for his friend, Bishop Atterbury, the Dean; and wrote an excellent historical and scientific report on its structure and defects, communicating his opinions on the best mode of repairing it, together with other observations.[2] An instance of his activity of mind in 1717—the year in which the Grand Lodge of England was established—is afforded by his reply to the commissioners for rebuilding St Paul's, who were bent on having a balustrade erected on the top of the church in opposition to the wishes of the great architect.[3] "The following year" (1718), says Elmes, "witnessed the disgraceful fall of Sir Christopher Wren in the 86th year of his age, and the 49th of his office as surveyor-general of the royal buildings;[4] his mental faculties unimpaired, and his *bodily health* equal to the finishing, as the head of his *office*,[5] the works he had so ably began."[6]

Wren lived *five* years longer, and employed this leisure of his age in philosophical studies. Among these, he overlooked part of his thoughts for the discovery of the longitude at sea, a review of some of his former tracts in astronomy and mathematics, and other meditations and researches.[7]

Having examined the question of Wren's alleged membership of the society, apart from the entry in the "Natural History of Wiltshire," the alternative supposition of his admission in 1691 will now be considered, and I shall proceed to analyse the statement of John Aubrey, which has been given in full at an earlier page.

[1] Anderson; the author of "Multa Paucis;" Dermott; Preston; Findel; etc., etc.

[2] Elmes, Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren, 1823, pp. 505, 506. This report is given in the "Parentalia."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 510.

[4] "1718 [April 26]. Exauctoratus est: Anno æt *octogesimo sexto*, et præfecturæ quæ operum regiorum *quadragesimo* nono" (British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., No. 698, fol. 186).

[5] The "office" Sir Christopher is *said* to have neglected certainly could not have been that of Surveyor-general.

[6] Elmes, Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren, 1823, p. 510. Dean Milman says: "Wren, being still in *full possession of his wonderful faculties*, was ignominiously dismissed from his office of Surveyor of Public Works" (Annals of St Paul's Cathedral, 1869, p. 443).

[7] Elmes, Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren, 1823, p. 513.

In my opinion, it is the sole shred of evidence upon which a belief in Wren's *admission* is, for a moment, entertainable, though its importance has been overrated, for reasons that are not far to seek.

The Aubrey *Memorandum*, as we have seen,[1] was not printed until 1844. Up to that period the statements in the "Constitutions" of 1738, that Sir Christopher was a Freemason, at least as early as 1663, had remained unchallenged. The new evidence appeared not to dislodge the fact itself, but merely to indicate that its date had been set too far backwards. The old tradition was, therefore, modified, but not overthrown; and, though the change of front involved in reality what might be termed a new departure in masonic history, writers of the craft saw only a confirmation of the old story, and the idea, that under the influence of a pre-existing belief in Wren's connection with Freemasonry, they were adopting a *rival theory*, utterly destructive of the grounds on which that belief was based, does not seem to have occurred to them.

The position of affairs may be illustrated in this way. Let us imagine a trial, where, after protracted and convincing evidence had been given in favour of the plaintiff, it had all to be struck out of the judge's notes, and yet the trial went on before the same jury? The Aubrey theory requires, indeed, to be discussed on its own merits, since it derives no confirmation from, and is in direct opposition to, the belief it displaced. Suppose, therefore, by the *publication* of Aubrey's *Memorandum* in 1844, the *first intimation* had been conveyed that Wren was a Freemason, would it have been credited? Yet, if the statement and inference are entitled to credence, *all* authorities placing the initiation at a date prior to 1691 are, to use the words of Hallam, *equally mendacious*. Down goes at one swoop the Andersonian myth, and with it all the improvements and additions which the ingenuity of later historians have supplied. The case would then stand on the unsupported testimony of John Aubrey—a position which renders it desirable to take a nearer view of his personal character and history.[2]

Aubrey was born at Caston Piers, in Wiltshire, March 12, 1626; educated at Trinity College, Oxford; admitted a student of the Middle Temple, April, 16, 1646;[3] and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1662. He may be regarded as essentially an *archæologist*, and the first person in this country who fairly deserved the name. Historians, chroniclers, and topographers there had been before his time; but he was the first who devoted his studies and abilities to archæology, in its various ramifications of architecture, genealogy, palæography, numismatics, heraldry, etc. With a naturally curious and inquiring mind, he lost no opportunity of obtaining traditionary and personal information. So early as the days of Hearne, this peculiarity had procured for him the character of a "foolish gossip;" indeed, Ray, the distinguished naturalist, in one of his letters to Aubrey, cautions him against a too easy credulity. "I think," says Ray—"if you give me leave to be free with you—that you are a little inclinable to credit strange relations." Hearne speaks of him, "that by his intimate

[1] *Ante*, p. 5.

[2] Except when other references are given, the sketch which follows in the text is derived from Britton's "Memoir of Aubrey," 1845; the "Natural History of Wiltshire," 1847 (Preface); and the editorial notices prefixed to Aubrey's various works.

[3] In the same year Ashmole was initiated, and Sir Christopher Wren was entered as a fellow commoner at Wadham College, Oxford. "1646, Oct. 16. I was made a Freemason at Warrington in Lancashire" (Ashmole's Diary). "1646. Admissus in Collegio de Wadham Oxoniæ, commensalis generosus" (C. Wren in Lansdowne MS., No. 698).

acquaintance with Mr Ashmole, in his latter years, he too much indulged his fancy, and wholly addicted himself to the whimseys and conceits of astrologers, soothsayers, and suchlike ignorant and superstitious writers, which have no foundation in nature, philosophy, or reason." Malone observes: "However fantastical Aubrey may have been on the subjects of chemistry and ghosts, his character for veracity has never been impeached."

It may be doubted whether the contemptuous language applied towards Aubrey in the diary of Anthony à Wood, expresses the real sentiments of the latter whilst the two antiquaries were on friendly terms, and the article containing it seems to have been written so late as 1693 or 1694. Of Aubrey, Wood says: "He was a shiftless person, roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crazed; and, being exceedingly credulous, would stuff his many letters sent to A. W. with folliries and misinformations, which sometimes would guid him into the paths of errour."[1] Anthony à Wood also used to say of him when he was at the same time in company: "Look, yonder goes such a one, who can tell such and such stories, and I'le warrant Mr Aubrey will break his neck down stairs rather than miss him."[2]

Toland, who was well acquainted with Aubrey, and certainly a better judge than Wood, gives this character of him: "Though he was extremely superstitious, or seemed to be so, yet he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his account of matters of fact. But the *facts* he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted."[3]

The Aubrey evidence consists of two items, which must be separately considered. The first, commencing "Sir William Dugdale told me many years ago," I accept as the *statement* of that antiquary, on the authority of an ear-witness, and its genuineness derives confirmation from a variety of collateral facts which have been sufficiently glanced at. The second is not so easily dealt with. If in both cases, instead of in one only, Sir William Dugdale had been Aubrey's informant, and the stories thus communicated were, each of them, corroborated by independent testimony, there would be no difficulty. The announcement, however, of Wren's approaching admission stands on quite another footing from that of the entry explaining the derivation of the Freemasons. Upon the estimate of Aubrey's character, as given above, we may safely follow him in matters of fact, though his guidance is to be distrusted when he wanders into the region of speculation. His anecdotes of eminent men exhibit great credulity, and are characterised by much looseness of statement.[4] Thus, he describes Dr Corbet, Bishop of Oxford, at a confir-

[1] Athenæ Oxonienses (Dr P. Bliss, 1813-20), vol. i., p. lx. Malone remarks: "This example of bad English and worse taste was written after twenty-five years' acquaintance" (Historical Account of the English Stage). As a contrast may be cited a very friendly letter from Aubrey to Wood, dated Sept. 2, 1694, preserved in the Bodleian Library, wherein he reproaches him for having "cut out a matter of forty pages out of one of his volumes, as also the index." He concludes: "I thought you so dear a friend, that I might have entrusted my life in your hands; and now your unkindness doth almost break my heart. So God bless you. 'Tuissimus.'—A."

Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i., p. cxv.

[3] J. Toland, History of the Druids (R. Huddlestone), 1814, p. 159. Toland, one of the founders of modern deism, and the author of "Christianity not Mysterious" (1696), was born Nov. 30, 1669, and died March 11, 1722. By Chalmers he is styled "a man of uncommon abilities, and perhaps the most learned of all the infidel writers" (General Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv., p. 434).

[4] "It must be confessed that the authenticity, or at least the accuracy, of Aubrey's anecdotes of eminent men has been much suspected" (Saturday Review, Sept. 27, 1879, p. 383). Aubrey's "highly credulous nature" is referred to in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and by Rees he is styled "a good classical scholar, a tolerable naturalist, and a most laborious antiquarian; but credulous and addicted to superstition" (New Cyclopædia, 1802-20).

mation, being about to lay his hand on the head of a man very bald, as turning to his chaplain and saying, "Some dust, Lushington—*to keepe his hand from slipping!*"[1] Two dreams of Sir Christopher Wren are related. In the year 1651, at his father's house in Wiltshire, he sees the battle of Worcester. In 1671, when lying ill at Paris, he dreamt that he was in a place where palm-trees grew, and that a woman in a romantic habit reached him dates. The next day he sent for dates, which cured him.[2] Dr Richard Nepier, Aubrey informs us, was a person of great abstinence, innocence, and piety. "When a patient, or querent, came to him, he presently went to his closet to pray, and told to admiration the recovery or death of the patient. It appears by his papers that he did converse with the angel Raphael, who gave him the responses."[3]

The Memorandum of 1691, it will be seen, comes to us on the sole authority of a very credulous writer, and, if we believe it, entails some curious consequences. To Aubrey's mere prediction of an approaching event, we shall yield more credence than his contemporaries did to the authenticity of his anecdotes. Thus affording an instance of our believing as a prophet one whom we might reasonably distrust as an historian.

Bayle says that a hearsay report should be recorded only in one of two cases—if it is very probable, or if it is mentioned in order to be refuted.[4] By another authority it is laid down that "a historical narrative must be well attested. If it is merely probable, without being well attested, it cannot be received as historical."[5] Judged by either of these standards, the belief that Wren was adopted a Freemason in 1691 being at once improbable and ill-attested, must fall to the ground.

The wording of the Memorandum is peculiar. On a certain day, Sir Christopher Wren "*is to be*"—not *was*—"adopted a brother." Two comments suggest themselves. The first, that even had *one* copy only of the manuscript been in existence, the *prediction* that a particular event was *about* to happen can hardly be regarded as equivalent to its *fulfilment*. The second, that in transferring his additional notes from the original manuscript to the fair copy, which may have happened at any time between 1691 and the year of his death (1697), Aubrey, who was on good terms with Wren, would have supplemented his meagre allusion to the latter's initiation by some authentic details of the occurrence, derived from the great architect himself, *had there been any to relate.*

Candour, however, demands the acknowledgment, that the transcription by Aubrey of his original entry may be read in another light, for although Wren's *actual* admission is not made any plainer, the repetition of the first statement—unless the fair copy was of almost even date with the later entries in the earlier MS., which is, I think, the true explanation—will at least warrant the conclusion, that nothing had occurred in the interval between the periods in which

[1] Aubrey, Lives of Eminent Men, 1813, vol. ii., p. 293.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.

[3] Aubrey, Miscellanies upon Various Subjects, 1784, p. 223. According to the same authority, "Elias Ashmole had all these papers, which he carefully bound up. Before the responses stands this mark, viz., R. Ris., which Mr Ashmole said was *Responsum Raphaelis.*"

[4] General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, English Edition, 1734-38, *art.* "Baldus," note *c.* The same writer also points out the danger of trusting to hearsay reports in historical questions (*art.* "Chigi," note *g.*). Sir G. Lewis says: "All hearsay evidence, all evidence derived from the repetition of a story told orally by the original witness, and perhaps passed on orally through two or three more persons, is of inferior value, and to be placed on a lower degree of credibility" (On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, 1852, p. 185).

[5] Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, p. 292.

the entries were respectively made, to shake the writer's faith in the credibility of his original announcement.

It has been said, that we must give up all history if we refuse to admit facts recorded by only one historian,[1] but in the problem before us, whilst there is the evidence of a single witness, he deposes to no *facts*. What, moreover, rests on the unsupported testimony of a solitary witness, must stand or fall by it, whether good, bad, or indifferent. Here we have what is at best a *prognostication*, respecting an eminent man, and it comes to us through the medium of a credulous writer whose anecdotes of celebrities are, by all authorities alike, regarded as the least trustworthy of his writings. Yet by historians of the craft it has been held to transform tradition into fact, and to remove what had formerly rested on Masonic legend to the surer basis of actual demonstration. "Who ever," says Locke, "by the most cogent arguments, will be prevailed upon to disrobe himself at once of all his old opinions, and turn himself out stark naked in quest afresh of new notions?"[2] The Aubrey memorandum, may, indeed, record a popular rumour, and its authority can be carried no higher; but even on this supposition, and passing over the weakness of its attestation, the event referred to as impending can only be rendered remotely probable, by clearing the mind of *all* that has been laid down by other writers on the subject of Wren's connection with the Society.

A commentator observes—"the very words which Aubrey uses, the terms he employs, the place of admission, the names of the co-initiates, all combine to show that we have here the only account on which we can safely rely. However it may interfere with other statements, however antagonise received dates, I feel convinced that Aubrey gives us the true chronology of Sir Christopher Wren's admission to the secrets and mysteries of Freemasonry."[3] With slight variation of language similar conclusions have been expressed by later masonic writers.[4]

Many of the arguments already adduced in refutation of the earlier hypothesis bear with equal force against the pretensions of its successor. For example, if Wren was a Freemason at all, the curious fact that his membership of the Society was unknown to the craft, or at least had passed out of recollection in 1723;[5] and the strictly operative character of the "Old Lodge of St Paul," in 1723, 1725, and 1730, are alike inexplicable under either hypothesis.

If Wren, Sir Henry Goodric, and other persons of mark, were really "adopted" at a "great Convention of the Masons" in 1691, the circumstance seems to have pressed with little weight upon the public mind, and is nowhere attested in the public journals. Such an event, it might be imagined, as the initiation of the king's architect, at a great convention, held in the metropolitan cathedral—the *Basilica* of St Paul—could not readily be forgotten. Nevertheless, this formal reception of a distinguished official (if it ever occurred) escapes all notice at the hands of his contemporaries, relatives, or biographers.

Sir Henry Goodric*ke*—associated with Wren in Aubrey's memorandum—a knight and baronet, was born October 24, 1642, married Mary, the daughter of Colonel W. Legg, and

[1] Dr Watson, An Apology for the Bible, 1796, p. 239.

[2] Locke, Essay on the Human Understanding, 1828, book iv., chap. xx., § 11.

[3] Freemasons' Magazine, March 7, 1863, p. 190.

[4] Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 129; Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 139; Steinbrenner, Origin and Early History of Freemasonry, pp. 126, 133; The Four Old Lodges, p. 46. See, however, the title "Wren" in Kenning's "Cyclopædia."

[5] *I.e.*, in 1723, the date of publication of the first book of "Constitutions." The humble part played by the senior lodge in 1717 is also worthy of attention.

sister to George, Lord Dartmouth, but died without issue after a long illness at Brentford in Middlesex, March 5, 1705. He was Envoy Extraordinary from Charles II., King of England, to Charles II., King of Spain, Privy Councillor to William III., and a Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. Newspapers of the time, and the ordinary works of reference, throw no further light upon his general career, nor—except in the "Natural History of Wiltshire"—is he mentioned in connection with the Freemasons or with Sir Christopher Wren.

In the preceding remarks, it has been my endeavour, to ascertain the general character of the sources, from which the belief in Wren's adoption has been derived, and to indicate how it came to assume the form in which it now exists. Originating with Anderson, it has nevertheless received so much embellishment at the hands of Preston, as to have virtually descended to us on his authority, with its vitality practically unimpaired by the discrepant testimony of John Aubrey. In both instances the story depends upon the authority of the narrator, and the word of the antiquary is, in my judgment, quite as trustworthy as that of the author of the famous "Illustrations of Masonry." Both witnesses appear to me to have been misled, the one by partiality for his lodge and pride in its history, the other by innate credulity.

When Preston began to collect materials for his noted work, which embraced an account of masonry in the century preceding his own, all memory of events dating so far backwards had perished, and no authentic oral traditions could have been in existence. The events he describes, are antecedent to the period of regular masonic history and contemporaneous registration; and it may I think be assumed with certainty, that the stories which he relates of Wren prove at most, that in the second half of the eighteenth century, they were *then* believed by the LODGE OF ANTIQUITY. "Unless," says Sir G. Lewis, "an historical account can be traced, by probable proof, to the testimony of contemporaries, the first condition of historical credibility fails."[1]

The first link in the chain of tradition—if tradition there was—had long ago disappeared, and despite Preston's asseverations to the contrary, there was no channel by which a contemporary record of any such events could have reached him.

Aubrey's memorandum has been sufficiently examined, but in parting with it I may remark, that his story of Wren's forthcoming adoption, appears to me quite as incredible as the other tales relating to the great architect, extracted from his anecdotes of eminent men.

It is quite certain, that what in one age was affirmed upon slight grounds, can never after come to be more valid in future ages by being often repeated. "All that is to be found in books is not built upon sure foundations, and a man shall never want crooked paths to walk in, wherever he has the footsteps of others to follow."[2] "Perhaps," says Locke, "we should make greater progress in the discovery of rational and contemplative knowledge, if we sought it in the fountain, in the consideration of things themselves, and made use rather of our own thoughts than other men's to find it; for we may as rationally hope to see with other men's eyes, as to know by other men's understandings."[3]

[1] An Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History, vol. i., p. 16.

[2] Locke, On the Conduct of the Understanding, § 20. "We take our principles at haphazard, upon trust, and without ever having examined them, and then believe a whole system, upon a presumption that they are true and solid; and what is all this but childish, shameful, senseless credulity" (*Ibid.*, § 12).

[3] Essay on the Human Understanding, book i., chap. iv., § 23.

The popular belief that Wren was a Freemason, though hitherto unchallenged, and supported by a great weight of authority, is, in my judgment, unsustained by any basis of well-attested fact. The admission of the great architect—at any period of his life—into the masonic fraternity, seems to me a mere figment of the imagination, but it may at least be confidently asserted, that it cannot be proved to be a reality.

General Assemblies.

As the question of legendary Grand Masters is closely connected with that of the "Annual Assemblies," over which they are said to have presided, the few observations I have to add upon the former of these subjects will be introductory of the latter, to the further consideration of which I am already pledged.[1]

According to the "Constitutions" of 1723, [Queen] "Elizabeth being jealous of any Assemblies of her Subjects, whose Business she was not duly appriz'd of, attempted to break up the *annual Communication* of *Masons*, as dangerous to her Government: But, as old Masons have transmitted it by Tradition, when the noble Persons her Majesty had commissioned, and brought a sufficient Posse with them at *York* on *St John's* Day, were *once admitted into the Lodge*, they made no use of Arms, and return'd the Queen a most honourable Account of the ancient Fraternity, whereby her political Fears and Doubts were dispell'd, and she let them alone as a People much respected by the Noble and the Wise of all the polite Nations."[2]

In the *second* edition of the same work, wherein, as we have already seen, Wren is first pronounced to have been a Mason and a Grand Master, Dr Anderson relates the anecdote somewhat differently. The Queen, we are now told, "hearing the Masons had certain *Secrets* that could not be reveal'd to her (for that she could not be *Grand Master*), and being jealous of all Secret Assemblies, sent an armed Force to break up their annual *Grand Lodge* at *York* on St John's Day, 27 Dec. 1561." The Doctor next assures us that—"This Tradition was firmly believ'd by all the old English Masons"—and proceeds: "But Sir Thomas Sackville, Grand Master, took Care to make some of the Chief Men sent, *Free-masons*, who, then joining in that *Communication*, made a very honourable Report to the Queen; and she never more attempted to dislodge or disturb them as a peculiar sort of Men that cultivated Peace and Friendship, Arts and Sciences, without meddling in the Affairs of Church or State."[3]

Finally, we read that "when Grand Master Sackville demitted, A.D. 1567, Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, was chosen in the North, and in the South Sir Thomas Gresham."

Identical accounts appear in the later "Constitutions" for 1756, 1767, and 1784.

The story again expands under the manipulation of William Preston, who narrates it as an historical fact, without any qualification whatever, and it is conveniently cited in confirmation of there having been in still earlier times a Grand Lodge in York—a theory otherwise unsupported, save by "a record of the Society, written in the reign of Edward IV., *said* to have been in the possession of Elias Ashmole, and *unfortunately destroyed*"! Preston follows the "Constitutions" in making the Earl of Bedford and Sir Thomas Gresham succeed Sackville, but *adds*: "Notwithstanding this new appointment of a Grand Master for the South, the General

[1] *Ante*, Chap. II., p. 106. [2] Dr James Anderson, The Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 38.

[3] Anderson, The New Book of Constitutions, 1738, p. 80. Throughout this extract, the *italics* are those of Dr Anderson.

Assembly continued to meet in the city of York *as heretofore*, where all the records were kept; and to this Assembly appeals were made on every important occasion."[1]

The more historical version, and that preferred by Kloss, who rationalises this masonic incident, though he leaves its authenticity an open question, is, that *if* Elizabeth's design of breaking up a meeting of the Freemasons at York was frustrated by the action of "Lord" Sackville, "it does not necessarily follow that his lordship was present as an Accepted Mason," since "he may have been at the winter quarterly meeting of the St John's Festival as an enthusiastic amateur of the art of architecture, which history pronounces him actually to have been."[2] Although the *legend* is mentioned by numerous writers both in the last and present centuries, room was found for a crowning touch in 1843, which it accordingly received at the hand of Clavel, who, in his "Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie,"[3] not only gives full details of this meeting at York, but also an elegant copper-plate engraving representing the whole affair!! "Surely," as a hostile critic has remarked, "the 'three Black Crows' were nothing to this story of masonic tradition."[4]

Among the facts which Preston conceives to have become well authenticated by his own version of the Sackville tradition are the following: That a General or Grand Lodge was established at the city of York in the tenth century, and that no similar meeting was held elsewhere until after the resignation by Sir Thomas Sackville of the office of Grand Master in 1567; that a General Assembly and a Grand Lodge are one and the same thing; and that the Constitutions of the English Lodges are derived from the General Assembly (or Grand Lodge) at York.

These pretensions, though re-asserted again and again in times less remote from our own, are devoid of any historical basis, and derive no support whatever from *undoubted* legends of the craft.

The "Old Charges" or "Constitutions," now—and *pace* Preston, probably for several centuries—the only surviving *records of the early Society*, indeed inform us that *one* meeting was held at York, but the clauses in several of these documents which allude to *moveable* yearly assemblies, of themselves forbid the supposition that the annual convention took place only in that city.

The earliest of these old scrolls—the Halliwell and the Cooke MSS.—do not mention York at all. The next in order of seniority—the Lansdowne, No. 3 on the general list[5]—however, recites that Edwin obtained from his father, King Athelstane, "a Charter and Commission once every yeare to have Assembley within the Realme, *where they would within England*, ∴ ∴ and he held them an Assembly at Yorke, and there he made Masons and gave them Charges, and taught them the manners, and Comands the same to be kept ever afterwards."

MS. 11,[6] the Harleian, 1942, a remarkable text, has, in its 22d clause, "You shall come to the yearely Assembly, *if you know where it is*, being within tenne miles of youre abode." As a similar clause is to be found in MS. 31, the injunction in either case is meaningless, if the Annual Assemblies were invariably held at York. On this point the testimony of the "Old Charges" must be regarded as conclusive. I admit that the difficulty of extracting historical

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, pp. 174 (*note*), 205, 207.

[2] Kloss, Die Freimaurerei in ihrer Wahren Bedeutung, p. 299; Findel, History of Freemasonry, pp. 80, 110.

[3] Paris, 1843, p. 92, pl. 7. [4] Mr W. Pinkerton in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. iv., p. 455.

[5] *Ante*, Chap. II., p. 61. Printed in full by Hughan in his "Old Charges," p. 33.

[6] See the corresponding numbers in Chap. II.; and Hughan's "Old Charges of British Freemasons," *passim*.

fact out of legendary materials is great, if not insuperable, yet where statements confessedly rest upon the insecure foundation of legend or tradition, the quality of the legendary or traditionary materials with which that foundation has been erected, becomes a fair subject for inquiry. We here find, according to the *written* legends in circulation many years before there was a Grand Lodge, that the masons of those times cherished a tradition of Prince Edwin having obtained permission for them to hold Annual Assemblies in any part of England; also that their patron presided at one of these meetings, which took place at York. This the Harris MS. rightly styles the *second* Assembly of Masons in England,[1]—St Alban, if we believe the Lansdowne and other MSS., having set on foot the first General Assembly of British Masons, though the *Annual* commemoration of this event, together with its celebration as a yearly festival, was the work of Prince Edwin.

As we have already seen,[2] the "Old Charges" require all to attend at the Assembly who are within a certain radius—fifty miles or less—of the place where it is holden; yet York escapes notice in these mandatory clauses, which, to say the least, is inconsistent with the fact of its being the one city where such meetings were always held.

The legends of Freemasonry have been divided into three classes, viz., Mythical, Philosophical, and Historical, and are thus defined:

I. The myth may be engaged in the transmission of a narrative of early deeds and events having a foundation in truth, which truth, however, has been greatly distorted and perverted by the omission or introduction of circumstances and personages, and then it constitutes the *mythical legend.*

II. Or it may have been invented and adopted as the medium of enunciating a particular thought, or of inculcating a certain doctrine, when it becomes a *philosophical legend.*

III. Or, lastly, the truthful elements of actual history may greatly predominate over the fictitious and invented materials of the myth; and the narrative may be, in the main, made up of facts, with a slight colouring of imagination, when it forms an *historical legend.*[3]

This classification is faulty, because under it a legend would become either *mythical* or *historical,* according to the fancies of individual inquirers; yet, as it may tend to explain another passage by the same author, wherein a problem hitherto insoluble is represented as being no longer so, I give it a place. Of the "Legend of the Craft," or, in other words, the history of Masonry contained in the "Old Charges" or "Constitutions,"[4] Mackey says: "In dissecting it with critical hands, we shall be enabled to dissever its historical from its mythical portions, and assign to it its true value as an exponent of the masonic sentiment of the Middle Ages."[5]

At what time the oral traditions of the Freemasons began to be reduced into writing, it is impossible to even approximately determine. The period, also, when they were moulded into a continuous narrative, such as we now find in the ordinary versions of the MS. Constitutions, is likewise withheld from our knowledge. This narrative may have been formed out of insulated traditions, originally independent and unconnected—a supposition rendered highly probable by the absurdities and anachronisms with which it abounds. The curiosity of the early Freemasons would naturally be excited about the origin of the Society. Explanatory

[1] Freemasons' Chronicle, April 29, 1883.

[2] *Ante,* Chap. II., p. 100.

[3] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, p. 456.

[4] See the "Buchanan MS.," No. 15, *ante,* Chap. II., p. 93.

[5] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, p. 459.

legends would be forthcoming, and, in confounding, as they did, architecture, geometry, and Freemasonry, Dr Mackey considers that "the workmen of the Middle Ages were but obeying a natural instinct which leads every man to seek to elevate the character of his profession, and to give it an authentic claim to antiquity."[1]

That the utmost licence prevailed in the fabrication of these legends is apparent on the face of them. As the remote past was unrecorded and unremembered, the invention of the etiologist was fettered by no restrictions; he had the whole area of fiction open to him; and that he was not even bound by the laws of nature, witness the story of Naymus Grecus, whose eventful career, coeval with the building of King Solomon's Temple, ranged over some eighteen centuries, and was crowned by his teaching the science of masonry to Charles Martel!

Legend-making was also a favourite occupation in the old monasteries—the lives of the saints, put together possibly as ecclesiastical exercises, at the religious houses in the late Middle Ages, giving rise to the saying "that the title *legend* was bestowed on all fictions which made pretensions to truth."[2] The practice referred to is amusingly illustrated in the following anecdote:—Gilbert de Stone, a learned ecclesiastic, who flourished about the year 1380, was solicited by the monks of Holywell, in Flintshire, to write the life of their patron saint. Stone, applying to these monks for materials, was answered that they had none in their monastery; upon which he declared that he could execute the work just as easily without any materials at all, and that he would write them a most excellent legend, after the *manner* of the legend of Thomas à Becket. He has the character of an elegant Latin writer, and, according to Warton, "seems to have done the same piece of service, perhaps in the same way, to other religious houses!"[3]

Although nothing is more dangerous than to rationalise single elements of a legendary or mythical narrative,[4] the circumstance that an annual pledge day was celebrated at York in connection with the Minster operations, coupled with the ordinary guild usage of making one day of the year the "general" or "head" day of meeting,[5] raises a presumption that the "Annual Assemblies" mentioned in the "Old Charges" were really held.

It has been laid down, that a person who believes a story to have been constructed, centuries after the time of the alleged events, from legendary materials and oral relations, is not entitled to select certain points from the aggregate, upon mere grounds of apparent internal credibility, and to treat them as historical.[6] In such a case there is no criterion for distinguishing between the fabulous and the historical parts of the narrative, and it is impossible to devise a test whereby the fact can be separated from the fiction. Before the authenticity of any part of a legendary narrative can be admitted, some probable account must be forthcoming of the

[1] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, p. 459.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 456; and Lewis, An Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History, vol. i., chap. xi., § 9.

[3] Warton, History of English Poetry, 1778, vol. ii., p. 190, citing MSS. James, xxxi., p. 6 (ad Iter Lancastr. num. 39, vol. 40), Bodleian Library.

[4] See A. Schwegler, Römische Geschichte, 1853-58, vol. i., p. 456.

[5] "The periodical recurrence of an anniversary, ∴ ∴ the permanence of some legal form or institution, may serve to stereotype an oral tradition. ∴ ∴ Commemorative festivals may serve as a nucleus, round which the scattered fragments of tradition are, for a time, collected and kept at rest" (Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 220). See Smith, English Gilds, Introduction, p. xxxiii.; and *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 374, *note* 1.

[6] Lewis, An Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History, vol. i., p. 439.

means by which a fragment of tradition or of fact has been preserved, or the internal character and composition of the narrative must in some one or more of its details be borne out by external attestation.

Now, although the story of the Annual Assemblies is nearer the time of authentic masonic history than those of Nimrod, Euclid, Naymus Grecus, and Charles Martel, still the interval is so wide that oral tradition cannot be considered as a safe depository for its occurrences. This portion of the general narrative presents, however, as already indicated, some features with respect to its historical attestation, which places it on a different footing from the rest of the legend.

Conjectures which depart widely from traditional accounts are obviously not admissible; yet, if we refrain from arbitrary hypotheses, and strictly adhere to the history which we meet with in the "legend of the craft," it is impossible that a clear idea of the past of Freemasonry can be formed. Most of the events have a fabulous character, and there is no firm footing for the historical inquirer. Even masonic writers, who, as a rule, have a great deal of history which no one else knows, though they are often deplorably ignorant of that with which all other men are acquainted, do not venture on an *exposition*, but content themselves with furnishing a *description* of the traditionary belief for which the "Old Charges" are our authority.

It has been observed, that "to divest all tradition of authority would be depriving human life of a necessary instrument of knowledge and of practice." Without the aid of tradition—say the Rabbins—we should not have been able to have known which was the first month of the year, and which the seventh day of the week. A story is related of a Caraite who, rejecting traditions, tauntingly interrogated Hillel, the greatest of the Rabbins, on what evidence they rested. The sage, pausing for a moment, desired the sceptic would repeat the three first letters of the alphabet. This done, that advocate for traditions in his turn asked, "How do you know how to pronounce these letters in this way, and no other?" "I learnt them from my father," replied the Caraite. "And your son shall learn them from you," rejoined Hillel; "and this is tradition"!

In the words of a learned writer: "Tradition casts a light in the deep night of the world; but in remote ages, it is like the pale and uncertain moonlight, which may deceive us by flitting shadows, rather than indeed show the palpable forms of truth."[1]

[1] Isaac Disraeli, The Genius of Judaism, 1833, p. 107.

CHAPTER XIII.

EARLY BRITISH FREEMASONRY.

ENGLAND.—II.

THE CABBALA—MYSTICISM—THE ROSICRUCIANS—ELIAS ASHMOLE.

THE point we have now reached in the course of our researches, is at once the most interesting and the most difficult of solution, of all those problems with which the thorny path of true Masonic inquiry is everywhere beset. It is, I think, abundantly clear that the Masonic body had its first origin in the trades-unions of mediæval operatives. At the Reformation these unions, having lost their *raison d'être*, naturally dissolved, except some few scattered through the country, and these vegetated in obscurity for a period of close upon two centuries, until we find them reorganised and taking a new *point de départ* about the year 1717. But, by this time, the Masonic bodies appear under a new guise. While still retaining, as was natural, many forms, ceremonies, and words which they derived from their direct ancestors, the working masons, yet we find that operative masonry was, and probably long had been, in a state of decay, and a new form, that of speculative masonry, had been substituted in its place. During these two centuries of darkness we also have abundant proof that the world, or, at least, the world of Western Europe, the world which was agitated by the Reformation, was full of all kind of strange and distorted fancies, the work of disordered imagination, to an extent probably never known before, not even in the age which witnessed the vagaries of the Gnostics and the later Alexandrian school. These strange fancies, or at least some of them, had been floating about with more or less distinctness from the earliest period to which human records extend, and, as something analogous, if not akin, appears in speculative masonry, it has been supposed, either that there existed a union between the sects or societies who practised, often in secret, these tenets, and the decaying Masonic bodies; or that some men, being learned in astrology, alchemy, and Cabbalistic lore generally, were also Freemasons, and took advantage of this circumstance to indoctrinate their colleagues with their own fantastic belief, and so, under the cloak, and by means of the organisation of Freemasonry, to preserve tenets which might otherwise have fallen into complete oblivion. Especially has this been supposed to have been the case with the celebrated antiquary Elias Ashmole. Unfortunately, the materials at our disposal are almost *nil*; the

evidence, even as regards Ashmole, is of the slightest, and really amounts to nothing. Hence it is only possible to deal with these fanciful speculations in general terms, and to offer some remarks as to the origin of the forms and ceremonies, before alluded to, about which I may venture to say that much misplaced ingenuity has been expended, causing no small amount of unnecessary mystery. This has, in my opinion, arisen mainly from the erroneous mode in which the subject has hitherto been treated. For it must never be forgotten that in working out Masonic history we are in reality tracing a pedigree, and to attain success we must, therefore, adhere as strictly as possible to those principles by means of which pedigrees are authenticated. The safest way is to trace steadily backwards or upwards, discarding as we go on everything that does not rest on the clearest and strongest available evidence, and so forging step by step the links in the chain till the origin is lost in the mists of remote antiquity. But, if we proceed in the contrary direction, if we commence from the fountain head, and, coupling half-a-dozen families together, making use of similarity of names, connections with the same locality, and therefore possible intermarriages, family traditions, or rather suppositions, *et hoc genus omne*, we shall construct a genealogy, flattering indeed to the family vanity, and meant to be so, but which would vanish like a cobweb before the searching gaze of The College of Arms.[1]

With all deference, it would seem that the latter course has principally commended itself to the Historians of Masonry. Commencing from the very earliest times they have pressed every possible fact or tradition into their service, and, by the aid of numberless analogies and resemblances, some forced, some fortuitous, and others wholly fictitious, they have succeeded in building up a marvellous legend, which, while it may serve to minister to their own vanity, and astonish a few readers by the mystical marvels it unfolds, has only tended to excite the supercilious contempt of the great majority of mankind,—a contempt which is at once too intense and too disdainful, to condescend to examine the rational grounds for pride that all true masons may justly claim. As I have hinted above, the direct male line of Masonic descent is traceable to the lodges of operative masons who flourished towards the close of the mediæval period, and, whatever connection the Masonic lodges may have with the older and more mysterious fraternities and beliefs, can be compared only to a descent by marriage through the female line, if, indeed, they can claim as much. For the direct descent of one body of men who, though occasionally varying in aims and often in name, is still one society tracing direct from the founder, is a very different thing from a variety of societies with no particular connection the one with the other, but adopting, in many instances, similar or identical symbols, language, and ceremonies, and formed successively to promote certain aims, the tendency to which is inherent in the human race.[2]

[1] To give one example, no name of what may be termed the poetical class is perhaps more common than Geraldine. But it cannot, therefore, be inferred that all Geraldines are members of one mighty and wide reaching family, which would be a mythical and mystical *reductio ad absurdum*. The probability is that the fame of the "Fair Geraldine" has recommended the name to novel writers, and that through them the name, being of a somewhat beautiful and poetical nature, has recommended itself to fond mothers as a fitting appellation for their darlings. But the families in which the name is, so to speak, indigenous, exist at this day, and the connection of every one of them with the Eponymus of the race (the individual from whom the name originally came) can be traced step by step without a break. This is very different from mere vague conjecture.

[2] *E.g.* The Cocoa Tree is the original Tory Club and still exists. The October has long perished. Besides these, we have White's, whose political function has ceased, the Carlton, Conservative, Junior Carlton, St Stephen's, Beaconsfield,

Hence I shall not attempt to deny that many of the rites, symbols, and beliefs, prevalent among Masons may have been handed down from the earliest times; either they have been imitated the one from the other, being found useful, without any further connection; or they may have been the product of the human mind acting in a precisely similar manner under similar circumstances, in widely different periods and countries,[1] and without any possible suspicion of imitation or other more close connection. Any one who reflects on the wonderful vitality, even when transmitted to foreign countries, of superstitions, forms, ceremonies, and customs, and even of jokes, stories, and games, will be very slow to believe that the above imply any necessary lineal connection as indispensable to their continuance. They are handed down from one to the other in a manner which is as impossible to trace as it is certain in its existence. An observant friend informs me that he has seen a ragged child playing a purely Greek game in the churchyard of St Margaret's, Westminster, and also claims to have traced a particularly broad story told, after dinner, of an American, through a French epigram, to the Greek Anthology. The governmental Broad Arrow is believed, not without reason, to have had a cuneiform origin, having been the mark set by Phœnician traders upon Cornish tin, and, having been discovered on certain blocks of tin, was adopted by the Duchy of Cornwall, and was from thence pressed into the service of the Imperial government.[2] On the other hand, many things occur independently to people of a similar turn of mind when placed under similar circumstances, but without the slightest communication between each other. Le Verrier and Adams both discovered the existence of the planet Neptune at the same time by different methods, and wholly independent of each other. It is highly improbable that the inventor of steamboats, whoever he was—I believe it was really Watt, but it was certainly *not* Fulton—knew of the extremely rare tract in which Jonathan Hull foreshadowed the discovery in the year 1727, and who, by the way, was not the earliest. Did Watt or Hull know anything of Hero of Alexandria? It has been disputed whether Harvey or an earlier philosopher (Levasseur, *circa* 1540) was the actual discoverer of the circulation of the blood, though the balance is much in Harvey's favour;[3] but it is in the highest degree improbable that either knew of the work of Nemesius, a Christian philosopher of the fourth century, who wrote a treatise on "The Nature of Man," a work of unparallelled physical knowledge for those times, and in which he seems to have had some idea of the circulation of the

and now the Constitutional. These are all the outcome of Tory politics, but can scarcely be said to be the offspring the one of the other. The Carlton was certainly not the offspring of White's, and it is somewhat doubtful whether any of the latter five, save the Junior, are descendants of the Carlton. So with the Service Clubs, no one would say that they are the descendants of the "Senior," though they certainly spring from the wants felt by men in the two services. Alike as regards the Royal Geographical Society, which is the direct descendant of the Royal, and the latter the direct descendant of the Travellers, all three being founded with a view to promote geographical research, and each being started when its predecessor was found to fail.

[1] In Japan the Daimios' servants have their master's arms embroidered on their coats, which was a mediæval European fashion, but which could scarcely have been communicated to Japan. *Per contra*, European residents at Yokohama now adopt the Japanese mode.

[2] As this mark is placed on convict dresses, and as two of the great convict establishments are at Portland and Dartmoor, near the scene of Phœnician trading operations, an ingenious theory might, and probably some day will, be worked out to the effect that the Broad Arrow had its origin in the mark with which the Phœnicians branded their slaves, a mark which has come down in the same capacity to the present day!

[3] *Cf.* P. Flourens, Histoire de la découverte de la circulation du Sang, 1857.

blood.[1] In the same way the same disputes have agitated the philosophical and speculative world from the beginning of time, the same philosophical opinions have died out only to be repeated under the same or a slightly different form; and the "thinkers" of the present day might be startled, and perhaps humbled, if such a thing were possible—on finding that their much vaunted objections against the Scriptures have been advanced times without number by various heresiarchs of old—and refuted as often.

The object of the present chapter will therefore be, 1st, to present in as clear and succinct a manner as possible the origin, history, and development of mysticism or theosophism; 2nd, to endeavour to give some account of the mystical or theosophistical societies contemporary, and it may be connected, with the new development of Freemasonry; of the possibility, for we can say no more, of such having been the case; together with a short account of the shadowy and half-mythical Rosicrucians.

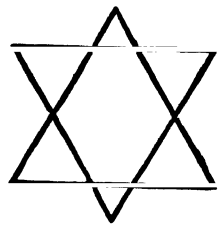
To commence, *ab initio*, Alexandria was an emporium, not only of merchandise, but of philosophy; and opinions as well as goods were bartered there to the grievous corruption of sound wisdom, from the attempt which was made by men of different sects and countries—Grecian, Egyptian, and Oriental—to frame from their different tenets one general system of opinions. The respect long paid to Grecian learning, and the honours which it now received from the hands of the Ptolemies, induced others, and even the Egyptian priests, to submit to this innovation. Hence arose a heterogeneous mass of opinions which, under the name of Eclectic Philosophy, caused endless confusion, error, and absurdity, not only in the Alexandrian school, but also among the Jews, who had settled there in very large numbers, and the Christians; producing among the former that spurious philosophy which they call the Cabbala,[2] and, among the latter a certain amount of corruption, for a time at least, in the Christian faith itself.

From this period there can be no doubt but that the Jewish doctrines were known to the Egyptians, and the Greek to the Jews. Hence Grecian wisdom being corrupted by admixture with Egyptian and Oriental philosophy assumed the form of Neo-Platonism, which, by professing a sublime doctrine, enticed men of different countries and religions, including the Jews, to study its mysteries and incorporate them with their own. The symbolical method of instruction which had been in use from the earliest times in Egypt was adopted by the Jews, who accordingly put an allegorical interpretation upon their sacred writings. Hence under the cloak of symbols, Pagan philosophy gradually crept into the Jewish schools, and the Platonic doctrines, mixed first with the Pythagorean, and afterwards with the Egyptian and Oriental, were blended with their ancient faith in their explanations of the law and the traditions. The society of the Therapeutæ was formed after the model of the Pythagorean system; Aristobulus, Philo, and others, studied the Grecian philosophy, and the Cabbalists formed their mystical system upon the foundation of the tenets taught in the Alexandrian schools. This Cabbala

[1] *Cf.* Friend's History of Physic; and J. A. Fabricius, Syll. Script. de Ver. Rel. Christ., c. 2, § 30.

[2] The observations on the various philosophical systems, which next follow, are mainly derived from Brucker's "Historia Critica Philosophiæ," 1767 (of which Enfield's "History of Philosophy" is an abridged translation). This work was the result of a course of investigation, in which the life of an industrious student was principally occupied for the long term of *fifty years* (Præf. ad., vol. vi.). See further Dr Ginsburg, The Kabbalah: Its doctrines, development, and literature, 1865; Gardner, Faiths of the World; and Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, chap. xxxvi., and Appendix A.

was a mystical kind of traditionary doctrine, quite distinct from the Talmud, in which the Jews, while professing to follow the footsteps of Moses, turned aside into the paths of pagan philosophy. They pretended to derive their Cabbala from Esdras, Abraham, and even from Adam, but it is very evident, from the Cabbalistic doctrine concerning Divine emanations, that it originated in Egypt, where the Jews learned, by the help of allegory, to mix Oriental, Pythagorean, and Platonic dogmas with Hebrew wisdom. Two methods of instruction were in use among the Jews, the one public or exoteric, the other secret or esoteric. The exoteric was that which was openly taught from the law of Moses and the traditions of the Jewish Fathers. The esoteric treated of the mysteries of the Divine nature and other sublime subjects, and was called the Cabbala, which, after the manner of the Egyptian and Pythagorean mysteries, were revealed only to those who were bound to secresy by the most solemn oaths. Even the former was by no means free from extraneous influences, or from the Egyptian traditions; as far down as the time of Maimonides, 1131-1204. Their notions and practices concerning the name of God were singular. Seventy-two names were reckoned in all—agreeing singularly with the tradition of the seventy-two translators of the Septuagint—and from which, by different arrangements in sevens, they produced seven hundred and twenty. The principal of these was the Agla, which was arranged in the following figure with Cabbalistic characters in each space.



This was called "Solomon's Seal," or the "Shield of David," and was supposed, by some strange and occult process of reasoning, to be a security against wounds, an extinguisher of fires, and to possess other marvellous properties.[1]

The esoteric doctrine or Cabbala, from a word signifying to receive, because it was supposed to have been received by tradition, was, as might have been expected, more marvellous still. It is said to have been derived from Adam, to whom, while in Paradise, it was communicated by the angel Rasiel—wherein may perhaps be traced the origin of the notion, that Masonry is as old as Adam. The learning was bequeathed to Seth, and having been nearly lost in the degenerate days that followed, was miraculously restored to Abraham, who committed it to writing in the book Jezirah. This revelation was renewed to Moses, who received a traditionary and mystical, as well as a written and preceptive law from God,[2] which, being again lost in the calamities of the Babylonish captivity, and once again delivered to Esdras, was finally transmitted to posterity through the hands of

[1] Fabr. Cod. Apoc. V.T., t. ii., p. 1006; t. iii., p. 143. The hexagonal figure shown above, which consists of two interlacing triangles, is variously described as the Hexagon, Hexagram, and Hexapla, and answers to the Pentalpha, Pentagon, or Pentagram. *Cf.* Kenning's Cyclopædia, p. 307; Mackey's Encyclopædia, p. 700; and *ante*, chap. IX., p. 463.

[2] It is so easy in all times and places to imagine some mysterious tradition which suits one's own fancies when there exists no sort of ground for it in written and authentic records.



RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD LEIGH,

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF WARWICKSHIRE

Thomas C Jack, London & Edinburgh

Simeon ben Setach and others.[1] It is, to say the least of it, strange that it should have been perpetually lost and revealed until about the time when it was first forged.

It is tolerably clear that the abstruse and mysterious doctrines of the Cabbala could not have been developed from the simple principles of the Mosaic Law, and must have been derived from an admixture of Greek, Egyptian, and Oriental fancies. It is indeed true that many have imagined that in the Cabbala they have discerned a near resemblance to the doctrines of Christianity, and have therefore concluded that the fundamental principles of this mystical system were derived from Divine revelation. But this is traceable to a prejudice beginning with the Jews and continued by the Christian Fathers, that all Pagan wisdom had an Hebrew origin; a notion which probably took its rise in Egypt, where, as we have seen, Pagan tenets first crept in among the Jews. When they first embraced these tenets, neither national vanity nor their reverence for the law of Moses would permit their being under any obligation to the heathen, and they were therefore forced to derive them from a fictitious account of their own sacred writings, and supposed that from them all other nations had derived their learning. Philo, Josephus, and other learned Jews, to flatter their own and their nation's vanity, industriously propagated this opinion, and the more learned Christian Fathers adopted it without reflection, on the supposition that if they could trace back the most valuable doctrines of heathenism to a Jewish origin, they could not fail to recommend the Jewish and Christian religions to Gentile philosophers, and unfortunately many in modern times, on the strength of these authorities, have been inclined to give credence to the idle tale of the Divine origin of the Cabbala.

The real truth, as far as can be ascertained, is briefly as follows: The Jews, like other Oriental, and indeed many Western, nations, had from the most remote period their secret doctrines and mysteries. It was only Christianity which laid open the whole scheme of salvation to the meanest, and therein showed more conclusively than by any other possible proof its Divine origin. It had no strange mysteries that it feared to disclose to the eye of the world, and, secure in its immeasurable majesty, it could not be derogatory to stoop to the meanest of creation. When the sects of the Essenes and Therapeutæ were formed, foreign tenets and institutions were borrowed from the Egyptians and the Greeks, and, in the form of allegorical interpretations of the law, were admitted into the Jewish mysteries. These innovations were derived from the Alexandrian schools where the Platonic and Pythagorean doctrines had already been much altered from being mixed with Orientalism. The Jewish mysteries thus enlarged by the addition of heathen dogmas, were conveyed from Egypt to Palestine, when the Pharisees, who had been driven into Egypt under Hyrcanus, returned to their own country. From this time the Cabbalistic mysteries continued to be taught in the Jewish schools, till at length they were adulterated by Peripatetic doctrines and other tenets which sprang up in the Middle Ages, and were particularly corrupted by the prevalence of the Aristotelian philosophy.[2] The Cabbala itself may be divided into three portions, the Theoretical, which treats of the highest order of metaphysics, that relating to the Divinity and the relations of the Divinity to man; the Enigmatical, consisting of certain symbolical transpositions of the words or letters of the Scriptures, fit only for the amusement of children;

[1] Buxtorf, Bib. Rabb., p. 184; Reuchlin de Arte Cabb., l. i., p. 622; Wolf, Bib. Heb., pt. i., p. 112.

[2] Knorr, Cabb. Denud., t. ii., p. 389; Wachter, Elucid. Cabb., c. ii., p. 19.

and the Practical, which professed to teach the art of curing diseases and performing other wonders by means of certain arrangements of sacred letters and words.

Without wearying my readers with a long account of the Cabbalistic doctrines, which would be as useless and unintelligible to them as they probably were to the Jews themselves, I shall content myself with giving as brief a summary as is possible of the common tenets of the Oriental, Alexandrian, and Cabbalistic systems, first premising that the former is evidently the parent of the two latter. All things are derived by emanation from one principle. This principle is God. From Him a substantial power immediately proceeds, which is the image of God and the source of all subsequent emanations. This second principle sends forth, by the energy of emanation, other natures, which are more or less perfect, according to their different degrees of distance in the scale of emanation, from the first source of existence, and which constitute different worlds or orders of being, all united to the eternal power from which they proceed. Matter is nothing more than the most remote effect of the emanative energy of the Deity. The material world receives its form from the immediate agency of powers far beneath the first source of being. Evil is the necessary effect of the imperfection of matter. Human souls are distant emanations from the Deity; and, after they are liberated from their material vehicles, will return, through various stages of purification, to the fountain whence they first proceeded. Besides the Cabbala, properly so called, many fictitious writings were produced under the ægis of great names which tended greatly to the spread of this mystical philosophy, such as the Sepher Happeliah, "The Book of Wonders;" Sepher Hakkaneh, "The Book of the Pen;" and Sepher Habbahir, "The Book of Light." The first unfolds many doctrines said to have been delivered by Elias to the Rabbi Elkanah; the second contains mystical commentaries on the Divine commands; the third illustrates the more sublime mysteries. Two of the most eminent Rabbis who studied these things were Akibha and Simeon ben Jochai. The former, after the destruction of Jerusalem, opened a school at Lydda, where, according to Jewish accounts, he had 24,000 disciples; and afterwards, in an evil moment, joined the celebrated impostor Bar Cochbas, sometimes called Barochebas, in the reign of the Emperor Adrian. After sustaining a siege of three years and a half in the city of Bitterah, the pretended Messiah was taken and put to the sword with all his followers; Akibha and his son Pappus, who were taken with them, were flayed alive, being in all probability regarded with justice as the mainsprings of the insurrection. His principal work, the "Jezirah," was long regarded by the Jews, who asserted that he had received it from Abraham, as of almost Divine authority. He was succeeded by his disciple Simeon ben Jochai,[1] who was said to have received revelations faithfully committed to writing by his followers in the book "Sohar," which is a summary of the Cabbalistic doctrine expressed in obscure hieroglyphics and allegories.

From the third century to the tenth, from various causes but few traces of the Cabbalistic mysteries are to be met with in the writings of the Jews, but their peculiar learning began to revive when the Saracens became the patrons of philosophy, and their schools subsequently migrated to Spain, where they attained their highest distinction. By this time the attention paid both by Arabians and Christians to the writings of Aristotle excited the emulation of

[1] Called by the Jews, the prince of the Cabbalists. The Rabbi Saadias Gaon, *circa* 927 A.D., wrote a work entitled "The Philosopher's Stone," which is not, as might be expected, Alchemic, but Cabbalistic.

the Jews, who, notwithstanding the ancient curse pronounced on all Jews who should instruct their sons in the Grecian learning, a curse revived A.D. 1280 by Solomon Rashba, continued in their philosophical course, reading Aristotle in Hebrew translations made from the inaccurate Arabic (for Greek was at this period little understood) and became eminent for their knowledge of mathematics and physics. In order to avoid the imputation of receiving instruction from a pagan, they invented a tale of Aristotle having been a convert to Judaism, and that he learned the greater part of his philosophy from the books of Solomon.[1] The greatest of the mediæval Jewish philosophers were undoubtedly two Spaniards. Aben Esra, born at Toledo in the twelfth century, and Moses ben Maimon, better known as Maimonides, born at Cordova A.D. 1131, and who possessed the rare accomplishment of being a good Greek scholar. The writings of these mediæval Jewish philosophers are very numerous, as may be seen by a glance at such works—among many—as Wolf's "Bibliotheca Hebræa," the earlier work of Bartolocci, "Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica," the later volumes of the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," etc. After having long been almost totally neglected, a vague and transient interest has of late been excited in this kind of learning, by a few articles which have appeared from time to time in various magazines and reviews, and are well suited to the modern appetite for acquiring a smattering of novel learning without trouble, but there can be but little doubt that the great mass consists of a farrago of useless and unintelligible conceits, which has deservedly sunk into oblivion, for though in all probability it possesses numerous grains of wheat, yet they are too much encumbered with chaff to render their laborious disinterment a matter of use or profit.

Of the Alexandrian Neo-Platonic, or as it may be and is sometimes called, the Eclectic school, not to mention Apollonius of Tyana, who had all the gifts of a first-class impostor, but who is rather to be numbered with those who attempted to revive the Pythagorean system, or Simon Magus, who was a charlatan fighting for his own hand; we have the famous school, founded originally by Plotinus,[2] and continued by Porphyry, who wrote his life; Amelius, another pupil, Iamblichus of Chalcis in Cœlo-Syria, Porphyry's immediate successor, under whose guidance the school spread far and wide throughout the empire, but was obliged to remain more or less secret under the Christian Emperors Constantine and Constantius.[3] Œdesius, the successor of Iamblichus; then Eunapius, the weak and credulous biographer of the sect; Plutarch, the son of Nestorius, *ob.* A.D. 434; Syrianus; Proclus, at once one of the most eminent, and, at the same time, most extravagant of the whole, *ob.* 485; Marinus; Isodorus of Gaza; and Damascius. These philosophers, who, though men of talent, were half dreamers, half charlatans, dissatisfied with the original Platonic doctrine, that the intuitive contemplation of the Supreme Deity was the summit of human felicity, aspired to a deification of the human mind. Hence they forsook the dualistic system of Plato for the Oriental one of emanation, which supposed an indefinite series of spiritual natures derived from the Supreme source; whence, considering the human mind as a link in this chain of intelligence, they conceived that by passing through various stages of purification, it might at length ascend

[1] Wolf, Bibl. Hebr., p. 383.

[2] Plotinus, the father of Neo-Platonism, was born at Lycopolis in Egypt about 203 A.D. He lectured at Rome for twenty-five years, and died at Puteoli in Campania about 270 A.D.

[3] Sozomen, Hist. Eccl., l. i., c. 5.

to the first fountain of intelligence, and enjoy a mysterious union with the Divine nature. They even imagined that the soul of man, properly prepared by previous discipline, might rise to a capacity of holding immediate intercourse with good demons, and even to enjoy in ecstasy an intuitive vision of God,—a point of perfection and felicity which many of their great men, such as Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus, were supposed to have actually attained.

Another striking feature in this sect was their hatred and opposition to Christianity, which induced them to combine all important tenets, both theological and philosophical, Christian or Pagan, into one system, to conceal the absurdities of the old paganism by covering it with a veil of allegory, and by representing the heathen deities as so many emanations of the Supreme Deity, while in the hopes of counteracting the credit which Christianity derived from the exalted merit of its Founder, the purity of the lives of His followers, and the weight which must necessarily attach to authentic miracles, these philosophers affected, and probably felt, the utmost purity and even asceticism, and by studying and practising the magical or theurgic arts sought to raise themselves on a level with our Saviour Himself. Lastly, for the purpose of supporting the credit of Paganism against Christianity they palmed upon the world many spurious books under the names of Hermes, Orpheus, and other celebrated but shadowy personages.

On the whole, if we can conceive—which I admit to be difficult—our modern spiritualists to be possessed of real talent, and to be animated by real but mistaken enthusiasm, working together for a definite purpose, and with a decided objection to imposture, we shall be able to form a pretty fair notion of this famous sect. Neo-Platonism did not survive the reign of Justinian, and in fact received the *coup de grâce* at the hands of that emperor. In respect, indeed, of the action of Justinian in breaking up the academy at Athens, we can but echo the laudation bestowed on an earlier Roman—"That he caused the school of folly to be closed."[1] Some scattered and vague reminiscences may have come down indirectly through the philosophy of the Jews to the Middle Ages, but the direct influence must have been very slight, or more probably *nil*, as will be evident when we consider the almost total ignorance of Greek, in which language their works were written. At the revival of learning, however, they were eagerly caught up, especially the supposed works of Hermes Trismegistus.[2]

Another ill effect followed the establishment of this strange and dreamy philosophy. In its infancy not a few of the fathers were so far deluded by its pretensions that they imagined that a coalition might advantageously be formed between it and Christianity; and this the

[1] "Cludere ludum *insipientiæ* jussit."

[2] Hermes Trismegistus, or the "Thrice Great," was, if not an utterly mythical personage, some extremely early Egyptian philosopher, who, for his own ends, passed himself off as either a favoured pupil or incarnation of the Egyptian god Thoth, identical with the Phœnician Taaut, and, or assumed to be (for the Greeks and Romans fitted all foreign gods to their own), the Greek Hermes and the Latin Mercury. Trismegistus is the reputed author of 20,000 volumes, hence there can be no wonder that when Mr Shandy extolled him as the greatest of every branch of science, "'and the greatest engineer,' said my Uncle Toby." The sacred books of the Egyptians were attributed to him, and were called the *Hermetic Books*. All secret knowledge was believed to be propagated by a series of wise men called the "Hermetic Chain." Hermes and his reputed writings were highly esteemed by all kinds of enthusiasts, who called themselves from him "Hermetici." The learned Woodford, whilst admitting "that a great deal of nonsense has been written about the Hermetic origin of Freemasonry," stoutly contends "that the connection, as between Freemasonry and Hermeticism, has yet to be explained" (Kenning's Cyclopædia, *s. v.* Hermes).

more so as several of the philosophers became converts to the faith, the consequence naturally being, that Pagan ideas and opinions became gradually intermingled with the pure and simple doctrines of the gospel, without the slightest advantage being gained to counterbalance so great an evil; nay, philosophy herself became a loser, for in attempting to combine into one system the leading tenets of each sect they were obliged, in many cases, to be understood in a sense different from that intended by the original authors. Moreover, finding it impracticable to produce an appearance of harmony among systems essentially different from each other without obscuring the whole, they exerted their utmost ingenuity in devising fanciful conceptions, subtle distinctions, and vague terms; combinations of which, infinitely diversified, they attempted only too successfully to impose upon the world as a system of real and sublime truths. Lost in subtleties, these pretenders to superior wisdom were perpetually endeavouring to explain by imaginary resemblances and arbitrary distinctions what they themselves probably never understood. Disdaining to submit to the guidance of reason and common sense, they gave up the reins to the imagination, and suffered themselves to be borne away through the boundless regions of metaphysics where the mental vision labours in vain to follow them, as may be seen by a very cursory examination of the writings of Plotinus and Proclus, not to mention others, on the Deity and the inferior divine natures, where, amidst the undoubted proofs of great talent, will be found innumerable examples of egregious trifling under the name of profound philosophy. But in justice to the Alexandrian Neo-Platonists, it should be allowed that they are by no means the only sinners in this respect. Even the greatest of the Fathers are full of the weakest reasonings, and the majority of our modern thinkers, much as we may vaunt them, differ only in being less acute and less learned.[1]

In spite of the popular notion, the Arabians themselves not only were barbarous in their origin, but never in the times of their most exalted civilisation made any great advances in science, their most eminent philosophers having sprung from conquered, though, perhaps, kindred races. But towards the end of the eighth century, the Caliphs, beginning with Al-Mansor, Al-Rashid, Al-Mamon, and others, having reached a height of luxury and magnificence perhaps never equalled either before or since, were not unnaturally desirous of adding to the lustre of their reigns by encouraging science and literature; and they accordingly invited learned Christians to their court. But by this time the Eclectic sect was nearly, if not quite, extinct, so that nearly the whole Christian world professed themselves followers of Aristotle, deriving their ideas of his philosophy, however, not from the fountain-head, but from the adulterated streams of commentators, who were deeply infected with the spirit of the Alexandrian schools; and hence arose confusion twice confounded, for the system of Aristotle was now added to those other systems which were already, we cannot say blended, but jumbled together. Add to this that the Arabians were obliged to have recourse to Arabic versions, and these not taken directly from the original Greek, but from Syriac translations, made by Greek Christians at a period when barbarism was overspreading the Greek world and philo-

[1] "The sect of the Rationalists," says the learned Rabbi Aben Tibbon, "is composed of certain philosophical sciolists, who judge of things, not according to truth and nature, but according to their own imaginations, and who confound men by a multiplicity of specious words without meaning; whence their science is called 'The Wisdom of Words'" (In Lib. Morch). Human folly is alike in all ages.

sophy was almost extinct. The first translators themselves were ill qualified to give a true representation of the Aristotelian philosophy, so obscurely delivered in the first instance by its author, and of which the text had been for many centuries corrupt beyond the ordinary degrees of corruption, which had been further obscured by hints of commentators, who, following with extreme vigour the usual pursuits of the tribe, had succeeded in making obscurity more obscure and in intercepting rays of light wherever practicable. What then could be hoped from the second class of translators who implicitly followed such blind guides? The truth is, that the Arabian translators and commentators executed their task neither judiciously nor faithfully; often mistaking, even when there was no excuse for it, the sense of their author, adding many things which were not in the original, and omitting many passages that they did not understand. These errors, greatly increased, were transferred into the subsequent Latin versions, and became the cause of innumerable misconceptions and absurdities in the Christian schools of the west; where the doctrines of Aristotle, after having passed through the hands of the Alexandrians and Saracens, and to a certain extent also of the Jews, produced that wonderful mass of subtleties and dialectic ingenuity — the Scholastic Philosophy.

Aristotle, or rather the half mythical Aristotle, which was all that these Saracens could obtain, was implicitly followed, as were some other Greek works in mathematics, medicine, and pure physics, which also they were obliged to view through the intermedium of imperfect translations. The mathematical sciences were cultivated with great industry by the Arabians, and in arithmetic, and especially in algebra, which derives its name from them, their inventions and improvements are valuable; but in geometry, instead of improving on, they rather deteriorated from the works of the Greeks. In medicine, to which they paid much attention, their chief guides were Hippocrates and Galen, but by attempting to reconcile their doctrine with that of Aristotle they naturally introduced into their medical system many inconsistent tenets and useless refinements.[1] So with botany, though they made choice of no unskilful guide, and spent much labour in interpreting him, yet they frequently mistook his meaning so egregiously, that in the Arabian translation a botanist would scarcely suppose himself to be reading Dioscorides, nor were they more successful in other branches of natural history. Their discoveries in chemistry, it is true, were not inconsiderable, but they were concealed under the occult mysteries of alchemy. Even in astronomy, where they obtained the highest reputation, they made but few improvements upon the Greeks, as appears from the Arabic version of Ptolemy's "Almagest" and from their account of the number of fixed stars.[2] In astrology, indeed, they attained pre-eminence, but this cannot be called a science, and owes its existence to ignorance, superstition, and imposture.

The Saracens wanted confidence in their own abilities, and they, therefore, chose to put themselves under the guidance of Aristotle or any other master rather than to speculate for themselves; and hence, with all their industry or ingenuity they contributed but little towards enlarging the field of human knowledge. Not that there were not great men among the Arabians, or that philosophy owed nothing to their exertions, but at the same time we must confess that the advances which the Saracens made in knowledge were inconsiderable; they certainly fell far short of the Greeks in general know-

[1] Friend, Hist. Med., pt. ii., pp. 12, 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, pt. ii., p. 11.

ledge or in philosophical acuteness, and that it is only in a very few particulars that they made any addition to the fund of general knowledge. *Per contra,* we must accuse them of materially adding to that development of mystery which formed so prominent a feature in the revived learning of the sixteenth century.

We have now explored, I admit, in a very imperfect manner, the sources from which the mystical learning of the Reformation period was derived, and shall be the better able to estimate the value of these dreamy tenets from which, by a kind of morganatic marriage, the learning and tradition of the Freemasons are supposed to have been derived. We see that all ancient learning, Oriental, Jewish, Pythagorean, Platonic, Aristotelian, combined with that of Egypt, was strangely compounded into one, which gave birth to the Cabbala and the Arabian philosophy. Neo-Platonism had perished, save in so far as its influence was indirectly exerted in the formation of the Arabian and the mediæval Jewish schools; and our task now will be to endeavour to ascertain how far this ancient learning, descending from one family to the other, influenced the Reformation mystical philosophers, and whether it had sufficient influence on certain classes in the Middle Ages, to form a body of men who could transmit whole and entire, the old world doctrines to a generation living in a totally altered state of society.

As before stated, the Alexandrian school perished, it may be said, with the edict of Justinian closing the schools of Athens towards the middle of the sixth century. The Saracenic began three, and the new Jewish five, centuries later, and there is little in the writings of Western Europe, to suppose that an uninterrupted sequence of Alexandrian doctrines existed during the interval. But both Jew and Saracen, apart from what they may have derived from earlier sources, had, doubtless, many strange fancies of their own, which, while influencing the future, may have been influenced by the remotest past. The intercourse between the East and the West was constant and complete. In the Anglo-Saxon times, to take but one example, pilgrimages to the Holy Land were customary,—witness the travels of Arculfus, Willibald, and Sæwulf. Indeed, one cause of the Crusades was the ill-treatment of pilgrims by the new dynasties which held sway in Palestine. The learning of both Jews and Saracens in Spain spread certainly throughout the south of France, and how much farther it is difficult, at this period, to ascertain. The universal diffusion of the Jews, and the influence of the Crusades themselves, doubtless assisted in this new development, and when the romantic ardour of the Cross—an ardour so perfectly consonant with the spirit of the times—had ceased, the mercantile enterprise of the Genoese and Venetians doubtless kept the flame alive. Hence we may easily conclude that the Jewish and Saracenic ideas to a certain extent penetrated the intellectual feeling of Western Europe; but we may well pause, before giving our consent to the notion, however popular, that one mysterious and deathless body of men, worked in silence and in darkness, for the transmission of ancient fancies to generations yet unborn. Mathematicians, astrologers, and alchemists, especially when we remember the peculiarly romantic tendency of the Middle Ages, doubtless existed here and there, and the *quasi* knowledge which they imperfectly learned from their Oriental teachers, may have been cultivated by some few votaries, but the metaphysical speculations, the philosophy of the Middle Ages was, save in its origin, essentially different, and depended more on Augustine than upon Aristotle. Metaphysics, *i.e.*, abstract speculations as to the soul and its relations to the Divinity, is one thing; Theurgy, a magic alchemy and astrology, the attempt to bring these theoretical speculations to some practical point, such as controlling

the secret powers of nature, is another—and we may as well attempt to connect the speculations of Reid or Sir William Hamilton, with the vagaries of Mesmer or Cagliostro.

Alchemists, astrologists, *et hoc genus omne*, doubtless existed in the Middle Ages, but not, I imagine, to any great extent. We must remember the power of the Church, the tremendous engine of confession, and the fact that in an age in which, though often unduly decried, physical learning and science, properly so called, was at a very low ebb. Gerbert,[1] Roger Bacon, and Sir Michael Scott were all accounted as wizards. No actual magical lore, save what might have existed among the most superstitious and ignorant of the commonalty, had a chance of raising its head without being at once detected. It is a *reductio ad absurdum* to suppose that the mediæval masons who were mere mechanics, and were perhaps more than any other class of operatives under the immediate eye of the Church, could have been chosen to transmit such secrets, or that they would have had a chance of doing so if they had been so chosen. But I shall doubtless be met with the argument that mystic signs, such as the Pentalpha, etc., have been repeatedly found among masonic marks on stones, to say nothing of rings and other similar trinkets. To this I reply, that it is a very common thing for men to copy one from the other without knowing the reason why, and that the greater part of these supposed mysterious emblems, were transmitted from one to the other without any higher reason than that they were common and handy, and had, so to speak, fashion on their side. What, for instance, could be more absurd than to suppose that poor and illiterate masons should copy the signs of magical lore on stones under the very eyes of their employers—the clergy,—even supposing they knew their value, to be then turned in and buried within massive walls, on the chance of their being discovered by some remote generation which would have lost all sense of their symbolism? As well suppose that a nun bricked up in a niche, if ever such there were, was placed there as a warning to remote posterity and not as a punishment for present sin.[2]

So matters stood at the era of the Reformation. This era, of which the Reformation was only a part, formed a prodigious leap in the human intellect, a leap for which preparations had long been made. The phase of thought, peculiar to the Middle Ages, had long been silently decaying before the fall or impending fall of Constantinople had driven the Greek learned to Italy, before the invention of printing had multiplied knowledge, and long before the Reformation itself had added the climax to the whole, for the Reformation was only the final outcome of the entire movement.

For good or for evil, the mind of man in Western Europe—for the revolution was limited in area, far more so than we are apt to think—was then set free, and, as few people are capable of reasoning correctly, the wildest vagaries ensued as a matter of course.

[1] Afterwards Sylvester II. He was the first French Pope.

[2] It has been already mentioned (*ante*, Chap. IX., p. 456, note 3) that at the present day, if a stonemason, on moving from his own neighbourhood, finds his mark employed by another workman, the etiquette or usage of the trade requires that the new comer shall distinguish his work by a symbol differing in some slight respect from that of the mason whose trade mark, so to speak, is identical with his own. The Cabbalistic signs, doubtless originating in the East, must have always been very convenient for this purpose. A friend informs me that some two years ago, when the south-western portion of the nave of Westminster Abbey was in process of restoration, he saw a stone in the cloisters which had been taken down, and which bore the name of the mason and the date in full (*circa* March 30, 1663), the whole being enclosed by a line or border. A mere diagram was infinitely simpler and easier to cut, especially for those who could neither read nor write.

It was not only in theology that a new starting point was acquired; science, politics, art, literature,—everything, in short, that is capable of being embraced by the mind of man, shared in the same movement, and, as a matter of course, no phase of human folly remained unrepresented. The mind of man thus set free was incessantly occupied in searching after the ways of progress, but mankind saw but through a glass darkly; they were ignorant of fundamental principles; they drew wild inferences and jumped at still wilder conclusions, while the imagination was seldom, if ever, under control, and they were in the dark as to the method of inductive science, *i.e.*, the patient forging of the links in the chain from particulars to generals. This, one of the most precious of earthly gifts yet vouchsafed to the human intellect, had escaped the Greek philosophers and the perhaps still subtler scholastic doctors, and awaited the era of the Columbus of modern science, Lord Bacon. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that everything of ancient lore, more especially when it possessed a spark of mystery, should have been eagerly examined, and that as the printing press and the revival of Greek learning aided their efforts, everything that could be rescued of the Neo-Alexandrian school, of the jargon of the Cabbalists, the alchemists, and the astrologers, should have been pressed into the service, and resulted in the formation, not exactly of a school, but of a particular phase of the human mind, which was, as I have before said, even more extraordinary than that of the visionaries of Alexandria. It was not confined to the philosophers strictly so-called, —there was no folly in religion, politics, or arts, which was not eagerly embraced during the same period, until finally the storm died away in a calm which was outwardly heralded by the peace of Westphalia, the termination of the Fronde, and the English Restoration.[1]

First in point of date—for we may pass over the isolated case of Raymond Lully, *ob.* 1315, now principally remembered as the inventor of a kind of Babbage's calculating machine applied to logic, but who was also a learned chemist and skilful dialectician—comes John Picus de Mirandola, born of a princely family, 1463. Before he was twenty-four years of age he had acquired so much knowledge that he went to Rome and proposed for disputation nine hundred questions in dialectics, mathematics, philosophy, and theology, which he also caused to be hung up in all the open schools in Europe, challenging their professors to public disputation, and offering "*en prince*" to defray the expenses of any one travelling to Rome for that purpose. Naturally, he merely excited envy and jealousy, and after a few years he gave himself up to solitude and devotion, and formed a resolution to distribute his property to the poor, and to travel barefooted throughout the world, in order to propagate the gospel. But death put an end to this extravagant project in the thirty-second year of his age.[2] Pro-

[1] The whole of this period, both in the matters which led up to it, and the phases through which it passed, have had almost their counterpart in the French Revolution and its causes, and the stormy and perplexed state which nations are now in and have during the century been passing through.

[2] The custom, of which the famous nine hundred questions afford a typical illustration, was a common enough form of literary distinction in those days, though this is probably the most celebrated instance. By far the greater part were from Aristotle or the Cabbala. The secret of the whole is simple enough. He, and others like him, studied certain authors, and then offered to be examined in them, themselves setting the examination papers. Any one would be glad to go into a civil service examination on these terms. But the subjects must have been uncommonly well "got up." Most people will remember the story of Sir T. More, who, when a young man, answered the pedant who at Brussels offered to dispute "*de omni scibili*" by the proposition "An averia capta in Withernamia sint irreplegibilia?" (whether cattle taken in Withernam be irrepleviable?). Only an English common lawyer could have answered it; but the barbarous Latin in which it was couched made it appear still more terrible.

bably the blade had worn out the scabbard. I do not pretend to any deep learning in the doctrines of this school, or rather of the various classes of enthusiasts who sprang up—we cannot exactly say flourished—during this period. It is tolerably clear that very few formed any connected school, but that each was eagerly searching after truth, or following will o' the wisps, as his own fancies prompted; and if several pursued the same mode of investigation it was more from chance than design. What store of metaphysics they had was most probably gathered from their predecessors,—their physics, that is the empirical arts which they professed, from themselves, based on what they could gather from the Cabbalists and Saracens. Hence it would seem that the mystical descent of the Freemasons must be derived, if it be so derived at all, from a bastard philosophy springing from a somewhat mixed and doubtful ancestry. Men's minds being thoroughly upset, any one of ill-regulated or ardent imagination naturally became excited, and launched out into every kind of absurdity. The superior and more educated classes believed in alchemy, magic, astronomy, and fortune telling of a superior order; the common people believed almost universally in witchcraft. For this witchcraft was not the effect of the "gross superstition of the dark ages" and of ignorance, as is generally assumed by the glib talkers and writers of the day, but was rather the effect of the "outburst of the human intellect" and "the shaking-off of the thraldom of ignorance." It is strange that it prevailed mainly, if not entirely, in those countries most shaken by the throes of the Reformation—England, Scotland, France, and Germany (there is little heard of it, I believe, in Ireland), and seems most likely to have been a kind of lasting epidemic of nervous hysteria.[1] Its existence was believed in by the ablest of our judges; it was the subject of a special treatise by His Most Gracious Majesty James I., who was by no means the fool it is the fashion to suppose him; and if his opinion be not deemed of much weight it was equally supported, and that at a comparatively late period by one of the acutest geniuses England has yet produced—Glanvill—in his "Sadducismus Triumphatus." Indeed, there was nothing very extraordinary in this universal belief, for earth and air were full of demons, and the black and other kindred arts objects of universal study. Not to mention Nostradamus, Wallenstein, who was probably mad, had his astrologer, and a century earlier, Catherine de Medicis, who was certainly not, had hers. Between the two flourished the famous Dr Dee and Sir Kenelm Digby,[2] whose natural eccentricity wanted no artificial stimulus, followed in the same path as did Dr Lamb, who was knocked on the head by the populace early in Charles the First's reign, from which arose the cant phrase, "Lamb him,"[3] *teste* Macaulay. Lilly, the astrologer, who seems to have been half enthusiast, half fool, and whole knave, gives in his

[1] The poor women accused of witchcraft constantly asserted the truth of their having dealings with the Evil One, although they well knew that the confession would subject them to a cruel death. They must, therefore, in some way have been deluded into the belief. Again, they constantly asserted that they bore marks on their persons made by the fiend, and on their being examined this was generally found to be the case. This is another proof of nervous hysteria.

[2] Sir K. Digby being in the East, and finding, or fancying that he found, his virtue in danger, preserved his fidelity to his wife, the beautiful Venetia Stanley, to whom he was passionately attached, by writing a panegyrical biography of her. As he does not appear, however, from the same narrative to have been over scrupulous of his wife's honour, the performance seems to have savoured slightly of supererogation.

[3] To "lamb into a fellow" is a very old school phrase. If this is derivable from the former, it is another illustration, and a curious one, of the way things are handed down without any visible connection. For even the proverbially omniscient schoolboy can scarcely be supposed to be well acquainted with, or much interested in, the details of the life and death of the ill-starred Dr Lamb.

autobiography several most curious accounts of the various astrologers of his contemporaries then flourishing in London, every one of whom would now, most certainly, and with great justice, be handed over to the police. He also mentions that he himself (he seems to have towered above his colleagues) was consulted as to some of the attempted escapes of Charles I., which, according to him, only failed owing to the king having wilfully neglected his advice, while, on the other hand, he was thanked at Windsor by some of the leading officers of the Republican army for the astrological predictions, with which he had occasionally revived their drooping hopes. Before perusing Lilly's autobiography,[1] I was of opinion that these pious sectaries always "wrestled with the Lord in prayer," or, at the worst, tried a "fall" in the Bible akin to the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, but it would seem that, as they deceived others, so they themselves should be deceived. Lilly's business was so extensive that he complains, towards the end of his work, that he had not proper time to devote to his prayers, and, accordingly, retired to Hersham, near Walton-on-Thames, a place he had long affected. Having, through the interest of his friend Ashmole (of whom hereafter), obtained the degree of M.D. from Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, he practised physic with much success at Kingston-on-Thames, and, dying in 1681 (he was born in 1602), was buried in the chancel of Walton Church. Whatever his success, however, he did not take in everybody, for the honour of human nature, be it said, that Pepys records:—

"Oct. 24, 1660.—So to Mr Lilly's, with Mr Spong, where well received, there being a clubb to-night among his friends. Among the rest, Esquire Ashmole, who, I found, was a very ingenious gentleman. With him we two sang afterwards in Mr Lilly's study. That done we all parted: and I home by Coach taking Mr Rooker with me, who did tell me a great many fooleries which may be done by nativities, and blaming Mr Lilly for writing to please his friends and to keep in with the times (as he did formerly to his own dishonour) and not according to the rules of art, by which he could not well erre as he had done."[2] And again:—

"June 14, 1667.—We read and laughed at Lilly's prophecies this month in his Almanack for this year."[3]

Among the numerous philosophers, all of them more or less eminent, and many endowed with really powerful genius who were led astray by these fancies, may be mentioned Johann Reuchlin,[4] born at Pforzheim in Suabia A.D. 1455, who professed and taught a mystical system compounded of the Platonic, Pythagorean, and Cabbalistic doctrines principally set forth in his works.[5] Henry Cornelius Agrippa, born near Cologne in 1486, a man of powerful genius and vast erudition, but of an eccentric and restless spirit, and who finally closed a roving and chequered existence at Grenoble in 1535.[6] His occult philosophy is rather a sketch of the Alexandrian mixed with the Cabbalistic theology than a treatise on

[1] Life of William Lilly, with Notes by Mr Ashmole. Ed. 1774.

[2] Samuel Pepys, Diary and Correspondence. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Reuchlin's zeal for the Hebrew learning once nearly got him into great trouble. One Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, of Cologne, with the not always disinterested zeal of converts, succeeded in obtaining an order from the Emperor that all Jewish books should be collected at Frankfort and burnt. The Jews, however, succeeded in inducing the Emperor to allow them first to be examined, and Reuchlin was appointed for that purpose, and his recommendation that all should be spared save those written against the Faith was carried out; by which means he incurred the intense hatred of the more bigoted churchmen. *Ob.* 1522.

[5] "De Verbo Mirifico" (1494), and "De Arte Cabbalistica" (1516).

See H. Morley, Life of Cornelius Agrippa von Mettesheim, Doctor and Knight, commonly known as a Magician, 1856.

magic, and explains the harmony of nature and the connection of the elementary, celestial, and intellectual worlds on the principles of the emanative system. Two things may be especially noted of him. He started in life as a physician with the wild project of recommending himself to the great by pretending to a knowledge of the secrets of nature, and especially of the art of producing gold. The other, that in the course of his wanderings he came for a short time to England, where he is said to have founded an hermetic society.[1] Jerome Cardan, an Italian physician, born at Pavia in 1501, and who died about 1576, was a wonderful compound of wisdom and folly. An astrologer all his life, his numerous predictions, and the cures which he undertook to perform by secret charms, or by the assistance of invisible spirits, made him pass for a magician, while they were in reality only proofs of a mind infatuated by superstition. His numerous works, collected and published by Spon, in 10 vols. (fol., Lugd., 1663), show him to have been a man of great erudition, fertile invention, and capable of many new and singular discoveries both in philosophy and medicine. Innumerable singularities, both physical and metaphysical, are found in his works, accompanied by many experiments and observations on natural phenomena, but the whole is thrown together in such a confused mass as to show clearly that, though he had no lack of ideas, he was incapable of arranging them, an incapacity which will render nugatory the most ingenious and original conceptions. His works [2] exemplify this combined strength and weakness, for if he could only have preserved a clear head and cool judgment, he would doubtless have contributed largely to the progress of true science. Thomas Campanella, a Dominican, born in Calabria in 1568, was also undoubtedly a man of genius, and it must be equally without doubt, that his imagination greatly predominated over his judgment, when we find that he not only gave credit to the art of astrology, but believed that he was cured of a disease by the words and prayers of an old woman; that demons appeared to him, and that he persuaded himself that when any danger threatened him, he was, between sleeping and waking, warned by a voice which called him by name. Still, in spite of his childish credulity and eccentricity, Campanella could reason soberly, and is especially worthy of praise, for the freedom with which he exposed the futility of the Aristotelian philosophy, and for the pains which he took to deduce natural science from observation and experience. He died in a Dominican monastery at Paris, A.D. 1639, in the seventy-first year of his age. Numerous other philosophers who have attained the highest eminence were, at least occasionally, not exempt from a belief in these follies, and that in comparatively modern times. Henry More, the famous Platonist, one of the most brilliant of the *alumni* of Cambridge, the friend and colleague of Cudworth, 1614-1687, shows in his works a deep tincture of mysticism, a belief in the Cabbala, and the transmission of the Hebrew doctrines through Pythagoras to Plato. Locke, 1632-1704, the father of modern thought and philosophy, was, early in life, for a time seduced by the fascinations of these mysteries; and the eminent Descartes, 1596-1650, in his long search after truth—which he did not ultimately succeed in finding—for a time admitted the same weakness.

[1] "In the year 1510 Henry Cornelius Agrippa came to London, and, as appears by his correspondence (*Opuscula*, t. ii., p. 1073), he founded a secret society for alchemical purposes similar to one which he had previously instituted at Paris, in concert with Landolfo, Brixianus, Xanthus, and other students at that university. The members of these societies did agree on *private signs of recognition*; and they founded, in various parts of Europe, corresponding associations for the prosecution of the occult sciences" (Monthly Review, second series, 1798, vol. xxv., p. 304).

[2] "De Rerum Subtilitate," and "De Rerum Varietate" afford a conspicuous illustration.

So far I have treated of philosophers who yielded principally to the weaknesses of astrology, magic, and a belief in demons; we now come to those who, also, in their new born ardour for the pursuit of material science, explored, or rather attempted to explore, the realms of chemistry, and to the vague generalities with which men commencing a study, and groping therefore in the dark, feeling their way gradually with many errors, added the mystical views of their contemporaries. The idea of demons, which is probably at the root of all magic, inasmuch as it supposes an inferior kind of guardians of the treasures of the earth, air, and planets, who can be communicated with by mortals, and, human vanity will add, controlled by them, is in all probability derived from the Cabbalists, whose doctrine of emanation was peculiarly suited to it, and from the Saracens (the two streams having united as already shown) who had plenty of jins and demons of their own, as may be gathered from the "Arabian Nights." To this possibly the old Teutonic, Celtic, and Scandinavian legends may have been superadded, so that the whole formed a machinery to which the earlier chemists, confused in their knowledge, and hampered with the superstitions of their times, attributed the control of the various forces of nature,—a system, of which a French caricature is given, by the author of the memoirs of the Count de Gabalis, of whom more anon.

The first, and perhaps the greatest, certainly the most celebrated of these, was Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus, a man of strange and paradoxical genius, born at Einsidlen, near Zurich, in 1493. His real name[1] is said to have been Bombastus, which, in accordance with the pedantry of the times, he changed to Paracelsus, which expresses the same thing in somewhat more learned language. Brought up by his father, who was also a physician, his ardour for learning was so great that he travelled over the greater part of Europe, and possibly even portions of Asia and Africa, in search of knowledge, visiting, not only the learned men, but the workshops of mechanics, and not only the universities, but the mines, and esteeming no person too mean nor any place too dangerous, provided only that he could obtain knowledge. It may easily be believed that such a man would despise book learning, and, in fact, he boasted that his library would not amount to six folio volumes. It may also be imagined that such a man would strike out bold and hazardous paths, often depending more on mere conjecture or fancy than on close reasoning founded on experiment, and also that such treatment might occasionally meet with striking success. So great, in fact, was his fame, a fame founded on undoubted successes, that it was not long before he rose to the summit of popular fame, and obtained the chair of medicine in the college of Bâsle. Among other nostrums he administered a medicine which he called Azoth, and which he boasted was the philosopher's stone given through the Divine favour to man in these last days. Naturally his irregular practices, and still more, no doubt, his irregular successes, stirred up all the fury of the regular practitioners—than whom no body of men, not even excluding the English Bar, have ever maintained a stricter system of trades' unionism—a fury which the virulence with which he censured the ignorance and indolence of the ordinary physicians by no means tended to allay. After a while he was driven from Bâsle and settled in Alsace, where, after two years, he returned in 1530 to Switzerland, where he does not appear to have stayed long, and, after wandering for many years through Germany and Bohemia, finished his life in the hospital of St Sebastian at Salzburg A.D. 1541.

[1] I doubt Bombastus being the real name. It was probably the Latinised term of an honest Swiss patronymic which, having been once *Latinised*, could take no great harm by being further *Grecised*.

The true character of Paracelsus has been the subject of great disputes. His admirers and followers have celebrated him as a perfect master of all philosophical and medical mysteries, and have gone so far, in some cases, as to assert that he was possessed of the grand secret of transmuting the inferior metals into gold. But, in this case, why did he die in a public hospital, therein following the example of most gold finders? Others, on the contrary, have charged his whole medical practice with ignorance, imposture, and impudence. J. Crato, in an epistle to Zwinger, declares that in Bohemia his medicines, even when apparently successful, left his patients in such a state that they soon after died of palsy or epilepsy, which is quite credible seeing that he was in all probability a bold and reckless innovator whose maxim was the vulgarism "kill or cure." The hostility of the regular practitioners is easily understood, and as easily pardoned. Erastus, who was one of his pupils for two years, wrote a work detecting his impostures. He is said to have been ignorant of Greek, and to have had so little knowledge of Latin that he dared not speak it before the learned—as, however, he despised the learning of Galen and Hippocrates, this may not have been altogether to his hindrance—and even his native tongue was so little at command, that he was obliged to have his German writings corrected by another hand. He has also been charged—but this will carry no real weight—with the most contemptible ignorance, the most vulgar scurrility, the grossest intemperance, and the most detestable impiety. The truth seems to be, that he was a rough and original genius who struck out a path for himself, but who, in so doing, neglected too much the accumulated wisdom of antiquity, wherein he erred in an opposite direction to the generality of the profession at that period, and neglected still more the common decencies and civilities of life. His chief merit, and that was a great one, consisted in improving the art of chemistry, and in inventing or bringing to light several medicines which still hold their place in the "Pharmacopœia." He wrote or dictated many works so entirely devoid of elegance, and, at the same time, so unmethodical and obscure, that one is almost tempted to credit the statement of his assistant Oponinus, who said that he was usually drunk when he dictated. They treat of an immense variety of subjects—medical, magical, and philosophical. His "Philosophia Sagax" is a most obscure and confused treatise on astrology, necromancy, chiromancy, physiognomy (herein anticipating Lavater), and other divining arts; and, though several of his works treat of philosophical subjects, yet they are so involved as to render it an almost impossible task, to reduce them to anything like philosophical consistency. He did, however, found a school which produced many eminent men, some of whom took great pains to digest the incoherent dogmas of their master into something like a methodical system. A summary of his doctrine may be seen in the preface to the "Basilica Chymica" of Crollius, but it is little better than a mere jargon of words.

A greater visionary, without, moreover, any scientific qualities to counterbalance his craziness, was Jacob Boehmen, a shoemaker of Gorlitz in Upper Silesia, born in 1575, and of whom it may safely be said, that no one ever offered a more striking example of the adage *ne sutor ultra crepidam.* It has sometimes been said that he was a disciple of Fludd, but beyond a probable acquaintance with the writings of Paracelsus, whose terms he frequently uses, he seems to have followed no other guides than his own eccentric genius and enthusiastic imagination. His conceptions, in themselves sufficiently obscure, are often rendered still more so, by being clothed in allegorical symbols, derived from the chemical art, and every attempt

which has been made to explain and illustrate his system has only raised a fresh *ignis fatuus* to lead the student still further astray. Indeed, it is impossible to explain that which possesses no system or design, and which contains simply the crazy outpourings of an ignorant fanatic who represented a mediæval Joanna Southcote, with German mysticism superadded. A more scientific theosophist was John Baptista van Helmont, born at Brussels 1577, who became lecturer on surgery in the academy of Louvain at the age of seventeen. Dissatisfied with what he had learned, he studied with indefatigable industry mathematics, geometry, logic, algebra, and astronomy; but, still remaining unsatisfied, he had recourse to the writings of Thomas à Kempis, and was induced by their perusal to pray to the Almighty to give him grace to love and pursue truth, on which he was instructed by a dream to renounce all heathen philosophy, and particularly stoicism, to which he had been inclined, and to wait for Divine illumination. Being dissatisfied with the medical writings of the ancients, he again had recourse to prayer, and was again admonished in a dream to give himself up to the pursuit of Divine wisdom. About this time he learned from a chemist the practical operations of the art, and devoted himself to the pursuit with great zeal and perseverance, hoping by this means to acquire the knowledge which he had in vain sought from books. The medical skill thus acquired he employed entirely in the service of the poor, whom he attended *gratis*, and obtained a high reputation for humanity and medical skill. His life ultimately fell a sacrifice to his zeal for science and philanthropy, for he caught cold attending a poor patient at night, which terminated his existence in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Van Helmont improved both the chemical and the medical art, but his vanity led him into empirical pretensions. He boasted that he was possessed of a fluid which he called *Alcahest* or pure salt (to be again referred to), which was the first material principle in nature, and was capable of penetrating into bodies and producing an entire separation and transmutation of their component parts. But this wonderful fluid was never shown even to his son, who also practised chemistry, and was rather more crazy than his father, inasmuch as to his progenitor's fancies he added the dreams of the Cabbala. His "Paradoxical Dissertations" are a mass of philosophical, medical, and theological paradoxes, scarcely to be parallelled in the history of letters.

The last of these writers, which I shall have occasion to mention, and that more particularly, is Robert Fludd, or De Fluctibus, born in 1574 at Milgate in Kent, and who became a student at Oxford in 1591. Having finished his studies he travelled for six years in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany; and on his return was admitted a physician, and obtained great admiration, not only for the depth of his chemical, philosophical, and theological knowledge, but for his singular piety.

So peculiar was his turn of mind, that there was nothing ancient or modern, under the guise of occult wisdom, which he did not eagerly gather into his magazine of science. All the mysterious and incomprehensible dreams of the Cabbalists and Paracelsians were compounded by him into a new mass of absurdity. In hopes of improving the medical and chemical arts he devised a new system of physics, loaded with wonderful hypotheses and mystical fictions. He supposed two universal principles—the northern or condensing, and the southern or rarefying, power.[1] Over these he placed innumerable intelligences and geniuses,

[1] This was in a vague idea true, putting north and south for heat and cold, which is physically and geographically absurd.

herein only magnifying what had been done by his predecessors, and called together whole troops of spirits from the four winds, to whom he committed the charge of diseases. Disease being blown about by wind is a theory perfectly consonant with the germ theory. We have only to go a step farther, and suppose that these winds are under the guidance of spirits, which brings us back to the old Cabbalistic and Oriental doctrine of emanation. He used his thermometer in an endeavour to discover the harmony between the macrocosm and the microcosm,[1] or the world of nature and of man; he introduced many marvellous fictions into natural philosophy and medicine, and attempted to explain the Mosaic cosmogony in a work entitled "Philosophia Moysaica,"[2] wherein he speaks of three principles—darkness as the first matter, water as the second, and the Divine light as the most central essence—creating, informing, vivifying all things; of secondary principles—two active, cold and heat; and two passive, moisture and dryness; and describes the whole mystery of production and corruption, of regeneration and resurrection, with such vague conceptions and obscure language as leaves the subject involved in impenetrable darkness. Some of his ideas, such as they were, seem to have been borrowed from the Cabbalists and Neo-Platonists. One specimen of them will probably suffice my readers. He ascribes the magnetic virtue to the irradiation of angels. The titles of his numerous works are (with a few exceptions) given in full by Anthony à Wood in the "Athenæ Oxonienses."

The writings of Fludd were all composed in Latin; and whilst it is remarkable that the works of an English author, residing in England, should be printed at Frankfort, Oppenheim, and Gouda, this singularity is accounted for by the author himself. Fludd, in one respect, resembled Dee; he could find no English printers who would venture on their publication. When Foster insinuated that his character as a magician was so notorious, that he dared not print at home, Fludd tells his curious story: "I sent my writings beyond the seas, because our home-born printers demanded of me five hundred pounds to print the first volume, and to find the cuts in copper; but beyond the seas it was printed at no cost of mine, and as I could wish; and I had sixteen copies sent me over, with forty pounds in gold, as an unexpected gratuity for it."[3] Fludd's works seem to have exercised a strange fascination over the mind of the scholar and antiquary from whose pages I have last quoted. Disraeli observes: "We may smile at jargon in which we have not been initiated, at whimsical combinations we do not fancy, at analogies where we lose all semblance, and at fables which we know to be nothing more; but we may credit that these terms of the learned Fludd conceal many profound and original views, and many truths not yet patent."[4]

His extravagances were especially reprobated by Père Mersenne—who expressed his astonishment that James I. suffered such a man to live and write—and Kepler. The former, being either unable or unwilling to continue the contest, turned it over to Gassendi, who

[1] "Two works, 'The Macrocosm,' or the great visible world of nature, and 'The Microcosm,' or the little world of man, form the comprehensive view, designed, to use Fludd's own terms, as 'an Encyclophy, or Epitome,' of all arts and sciences" (Isaac Disraeli, Amenities of Literature, 1841, vol. iii., p. 232). According to the same authority, "the word here introduced into the language is, perhaps, our most ancient authority for the modern term *Encyclopædia*, which Chambers curtailed to *Cyclopædia*."

[2] "Goudæ, 1638, fol. Printed in English at Lond. 1659, fol." (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii., 1815, p. 622). Fludd makes Moses a great Rosicrucian.

[3] Isaac Disraeli, Amenities of Literature, vol. iii., p. 240.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 237.



SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS-WYNN, BARONET,

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF NORTH WALES AND SHROPSHIRE.

Thomas C Jack, London & Edinburgh.

wrote a reply which is supposed to have had the effect of crushing, not only Fludd, but also the whole body of Rosicrucians, whose great supporter he was.

Soane, indeed, in his "New Curiosities of Literature," [1] asserts that they were forced to shelter themselves under the cloak of Freemasonry, a view which was first broached in Germany,[2] and with slight variation has been adopted by many English writers, notably by Mr King, who finds "the commencement of the real existence of Freemasonry" in "the adaptation to a special purpose of another society, then in its fullest bloom,—the Rosicrucians." [3] Gassendi's strictures on Fludd's philosophy I have not seen, but their purport is sufficiently disclosed in the "Athenæ Oxonienses." [4] According to the Oxford antiquary,—"Gassendus, upon Marsennus his desiring him to give his judgment of Fludd's two books wrote against him, drew up an answer divided into three parts. The first of which sifts the principles of the whole system of his whimsical philosophy, as they lie scattered throughout his works. The second is against 'Sophiæ cum Moriâ Certamen,' and the third answers the 'Summum Bonum' as his." [5]

Although the silence of Bayle, of Chauffepié, of Prosper Marchand, of Niceron, and of other literary historians, with regard to Fludd, is not a little remarkable, it is none the less certain that his writings were extensively read throughout Europe, where at that time they were infinitely more inquisitive in their occult speculations than we in England. Passing, however, for the present from any further consideration of the philosophy of this remarkable Englishman—who died in 1637 [6]—I may yet briefly state, that one of our profoundest scholars, the illustrious Selden, highly appreciated the volumes and their author.[7]

It has been before observed that the earth and air were at this time supposed to be full of demons, and that this was probably owing to the Cabbalistic and Saracenic doctrines of countless angels and spirits, the whole springing ultimately from the Oriental doctrine of emanation. Much curious information on this subject, and which will serve to show to what lengths the belief was carried, may be found in the works below noted.[8] Some of the older authors wrote regular natural histories of demons, something after the manner of Buffon or Cuvier. There is one very curious form of exorcism which is given as having actually occurred. The exorcist,

[1] Vol. ii., 1848, p. 63.

[2] *Cf.* J. G. Buhle, Ueber den Ursprung und die Vornehmsten Schicksale des Ordens der Rosenkreuzer und Freimaurer, 1804.

[3] The Gnostics and their Remains, 1865, p. 177.

[4] Vol. ii., col. 621.

[5] Of the "Summum Bonum," Wood says, "Although this piece goes under another name (Joachim Frizium), yet not only Gassendus gives many reasons to show it to be of our author's composition (Fludd), but also Franc. Lanovius shows others to the same purpose; and Marsennus himself, against whom it was directed, was of the like opinion" (*Ibid.*, col. 620).

[6] The periods during which the various philosophers flourished, who are said to have been addicted to Rosicrucian studies, become very material. *E.g.*, Ashmole, whose Hermetic learning has been ascribed, in part, to the personal instruction he received from Michael Maier and Robert Fludd, was only three years old at the death of the former (1620), and had not quite attained legal age when the grave closed over the latter (1637).

[7] *Cf.* J. Fuller, Worthies of England, ed. 1811 (J. Nichols), vol. ii., p. 503; Athenæ Oxonienses (Bliss), vol. ii., col. 618; Biographie Universelle, Paris, Tome xvi., 1816, p. 109; and Disraeli, Amenities of Literature, vol. iii., p. 237.

[8] Martin Delrio, Disquisitionum Magicarum; Wiertz de Dæm. Præst.; Reginal Scot, The Discoverie of Witchcraft, 1584 (the 2d ed., 1634, has a "Discourse of the Nature and Substance of Devils and Spirits"); Rev. J. Glanvill, Saducismus Triumphatus, or, Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions, 1667, etc. Amongst the more modern compilations which deal with the subject may be named Sir Walter Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, 1831; and the Dictionnaire Infernale of Collin de Plancy, 3me edit. 1844.

on arriving at night in the room which the ghost affected, proceeded to form a charmed circle. This done, and the ghost appearing, he proceeded to subject him to control by means of his incantations, after which the following dialogue ensued:—

Exorcist. Thou shalt lie in the Red Sea.
Ghost. Nay, that cannot be.
Exorcist. How so?
Ghost. The Spaniard will take me as I go.
(There being war with Spain at this time.)
Exorcist. Thou shalt have a convoy.
Ghost. Then I will depart, boy.
Exorcist. And there shalt thou stay
For ever and a day.

The ghost was to repeat this after him, but not being anxious for penal servitude for life, whatever a ghost's life may be, tried to get off by saying—

And there will I stay
For never any day,

and immediately flew up the chimney. If the ears of the exorcist could be deceived, the whole proceedings would have been rendered invalid; but the latter was far too much on the alert to be thus caught, and sprinkled some dew, which he had brought in order to be prepared against such eventualities, on his "skirts," just as they were disappearing up the chimney. This brought the ghost down, and he ramped and raved, threatened and stormed, in a frantic manner, "but I nothing heeded his braggarding [the ghost-layer is made to say], knowing well that he could not come within the charmed circle." The ghost, having spent the greater part of the night in this unprofitable exhibition of temper, at length began to see signs of dawn, after which he dared not stay, while he could not leave without permission of the exorcist, because of the dew on his skirts. He was therefore obliged to surrender at discretion, repeat the words like a good boy, or ghost, and depart to his watery limbo. What would have happened to him if the exorcist had not let him go, and he had been caught either by the dawn or cock-crowing, is not stated, but it must have been something terrible, though nameless. It is difficult to imagine such a tale being meant seriously to be believed. Yet not many years ago a gentleman in North Devon having a haunted farm which he was unable on that account to let, had recourse to the ingenious expedient of calling in a number of clergymen, who exorcised the ghost, and having driven it down to the seashore, allotted the usual task of tying up a sheaf of sand with a sand rope, and carrying it to the top of a cliff which overhung the shore to the height of 600 feet. A cave happened opportunely to be at the foot of the cliff, which was probably the reason why that particular locality was chosen, and when the wind and tide were high, the noise made by the breakers dashing through the cavern was fully believed by the natives to be the moaning of the ghost over his impossible task. Somehow or another, either the knot of exorcism was not tied quite fast enough, or the ghost was a kind of spiritual Davenport or Maskelyne, but he was supposed to have got free from his task and to be rapidly moving up hill to his old quarters, and an apprehension prevailed that it might become necessary to go through the ceremony of exorcism a second time! Whether this troublesome ghost was again

laid, and if so, with what result, I have not heard. Similarly in another locality, not far from the above,[1] there dwelt an old labourer and his wife in a cottage near a pool, which was supposed to be haunted, though nobody even in that district ever pretended to have seen anything, but this legend, coupled with the fact that the poor old man was in the habit of comforting himself with singing Wesley's hymns when he could not sleep through rheumatism, caused himself and wife to be set down as wizard and witch respectively, and to such an extent did this belief go, that there is not a doubt but that some villager or other would have shot the harmless old couple, only to do this a silver bullet was absolutely necessary, and as in the days I am speaking of the Agricultural Labourers' Union did not exist, the disposable funds were luckily not equal to so large an expenditure of capital for any purpose however laudable.

We are apt to laugh at the superstition of former times, but I do not know that we have so much to boast of ourselves. Paracelsus, Cardan, and other visionary philosophers, though incapable of reasoning correctly, or of restraining the flights of their imagination, were men of talent—not to say genius—and learning, which is certainly more than can be said of Cagliostro, and even possibly of Mesmer. Astrological almanacs *à la* Lilly still find abundant sale; if Catherine de Medicis and Wallenstein had their astrologers, Napoleon had Mdlle. Le Normand, and Alexander I. a mystical lady, whose name I forget, and who persuaded him to found the Holy Alliance—which really was in its inception an alliance against the atheistical and blasphemous doctrines of the Revolution—if the sixteenth century believed in Nostradamus, a good many towards the end of the nineteenth believe in Mother Shipton. Delrio and Wiertz are fairly matched by Mrs Crowe,[2] while mesmerism, spiritualism, animal magnetism, table turning, and the latest development, thought-reading, to say nothing of the fact that there are very few people who have not their pet ghosts when once you succeed in "drawing them out," do not constitute a very high claim for immunity from superstition; moreover, I do not believe that any of the charlatans of the period of which I have been treating, ever hit on a more absurd mode of divining the future than by making use of a small piece of slit wood with two wheels at one end and the stump of a pencil at the other [Planchette].

Reverting to Robert Fludd, or "De Fluctibus," the mention of this celebrated man brings me not unnaturally to the Rosicrucians or Brothers of the Rosy Cross, an impalpable fraternity of which he is known to have been a follower and defender, and by some has been supposed to have been the second, if not the actual founder. The celebrity of, and the mystery attached to this sect, together with the circumstances of its having by some been especially connected with Freemasonry, will, I trust, warrant my entering with some degree of minutiæ into the subject.

The fullest account we have, although we may differ from its conclusions, is contained in the essay of Professor J. G. Buhle, of which a German version appeared in 1804,[3] being an enlargement of a dissertation originally composed in Latin, and read by him before the

[1] The remark of a learned writer, that the further *West* he proceeded, the more convinced he was that the wise men came from the *East*, will here occur to the judicious reader.

[2] The Night Side of Nature, 1848.

[3] Ueber den Ursprung und die Vornehmsten Schicksale des Ordens der Rosenkreuzer und Friemaurer, *i.e.*, On the Origin and the Principal Events of the Orders of Rosicrucians and Freemasons.

Philosophical Society of Göttingen A.D. 1803. This work was attacked by Nicolai in 1806, and in 1824 De Quincey published an abridgment of it in the "London Magazine,"[1] under the title of "Historico-critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons."

Professor Buhle's work, which extended over more than 400 pages, has been cut down by De Quincey to about 90, but in such a manner as to render it often very difficult to detect what is due to Buhle and what to De Quincey,[2] and it is to this abridgment that I shall have recourse mainly for the following sketch of the rise and progress of Rosicrucianism. I must first, however, state the main argument. Denying the derivation of the order from the Egyptian, Greek, Persian, or Chaldean mysteries, or even from the Jews and Arabs, the writer asserts (and herein both Buhle and De Quincey are certainly in agreement) that though individual Cabbalists, Alchemists, etc., doubtless existed long previously, yet that no organised body made its appearance before the rise of the Rosicrucian sect, strictly so called, towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was founded really accidentally by Andreä; that Fludd, becoming enamoured of its doctrines, took it up in earnest, and that hence the sect, which never assumed any definite form abroad, became organised in England under the new name of Freemasonry; he then goes on to show the points of resemblance between the two,[3] which in his idea proves relationship. The essay concludes with a long dissertation disproving the assertion of Nicolai, that Masonry was established to promote the Restoration of Charles II., and another theory sometimes advanced, which derives its origin from the Templars, neither of which requires serious, if any, refutation.

His conclusions are—

1. The original Freemasons were a society that arose out of the Rosicrucian mania between 1633 and 1646, their object being magic in the Cabbalistic sense, *i.e.*, the occult wisdom transmitted from the beginning of the world and matured by Christ [when it could no longer be occult, but this by the way], to communicate this when they had it, and to search for it when they had it not, and both under an oath of secresy.

2. This object of Freemasonry was represented under the form of Solomon's Temple, as a type of the true Church, whose corner-stone is Christ. The Temple is to be built of men, or living stones; and it is for magic to teach the true method of this kind of building. Hence all Masonic symbols either refer to Solomon's Temple or are figurative modes of expressing magic in the Rosicrucian sense.

3. The Freemasons having once adopted symbols, etc., from the art of Masonry, to which they were led by the language of Scripture, went on to connect themselves in a certain degree with the order itself of handicraft masons, and adopted their distribution of members into apprentices, journeymen, and masters. — Christ is the Grand Master, and was put to death whilst laying the foundation of the Temple of human nature.

[1] Vol. ix. Reprinted in his collected works, 1863-71 ; vol. xvi. (Suspiria de Profundis).

[2] De Quincey's vanity and conceit are most amusing, surpassing even the wide latitude usually allowed to a literary man. *E.g.*, "I have done what I could to remedy these infirmities of the book ; and, upon the whole, it is a good deal less paralytic than it was"—again, "I have so whitewashed the Professor, that nothing but a life of gratitude on his part, and free admission to his logic lectures for ever, can possibly repay me for my services" (Preface).

[3] According to the Professor, "it was a distinguishing feature of the Rosicrucians and Freemasons that *they* first conceived the idea of a Society which should act on the principle of religious toleration."

This is the theory of Buhle and De Quincey, which is plausible but untenable, especially when confronted with the stern logic of facts, as I shall hereafter have occasion to show. But to return to the history, such as it is, of the Rosicrucians.[1]

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Cabbalism, Theosophy, and Alchemy had overspread the whole of Western Europe, and more especially, as might have been expected, Germany. No writer had contributed more to this mania than Paracelsus, and amongst other things which excited deep interest, was a prophecy of his to the effect, that soon after the death of the Emperor Rudolph II.—who was himself deeply infected—there would be found three treasures that had never been revealed before that time. Accordingly, shortly after his death, in or about 1610, occasion was taken to publish three books. The first was the "Universal Reformation of the whole wide World,"[2] a tale not altogether devoid of humour. The seven wise men of Greece, together with M. Cato, Seneca, and a secretary, Mazzonius, are summoned to Delphi by Apollo, at the desire of Justinian, to deliberate on the best mode of redressing human misery. Thales advises to cut a hole in every man's breast; Solon suggests communism; Chilo (being a Spartan) the abolition of gold and silver; Cleobulus, on the contrary, that of iron; Pittacus insists on more rigorous laws; but Periander replies that there never had been any scarcity of these, but much want of men to obey them. Bias would have all bridges broken down, mountains made insurmountable, and navigation totally forbidden, so that all intercourse between the nations of the earth should cease. Cato, who probably preferred drinking,

> "Narratur et prisci Catonis
> Sæpe virtus caluisse mero."[3]

wished to pray for a new deluge, which should sweep away all the women, and at the same time introduce some new arrangement by means of which the species should be continued without their aid.[4] This exasperates the entire assembly, and they proceed to fall on their

[1] Besides the Spanish Illuminati of the sixteenth century, who seemed to have derived their ideas from the works of Lully, which never had much influence out of Spain, and which sect, having been suppressed by the Inquisition, reappeared not long after at Seville, when, being about contemporary, they were confounded with the Rosicrucians. There was a somewhat similar sect, at an earlier date (1525), in the Low Countries and Picardy, headed by two artisans, named Quentin and Cossin. There arose also A.D. 1586, a Militia crucifera evangelica, who assembled first at Luneburg, and are sometimes confounded with the Rosicrucians. They were, however, nothing more than a party of extreme Protestants, whose brains became overheated with apocalyptic visions, and whose object was exclusively connected with religion. Our chief knowledge of them is derived from one Simon Studion, a mystic and theosophist who got himself into some trouble with alchemy, and more with heresy. He was born at Urach in Wurtemberg 1565, and, having graduated at Tübingen, settled as a teacher at Marbach. His work, "Naometria," which contains the information above mentioned, appears to be a farrago of the ordinary class, and has apparently never been printed.

[2] This, the first of the three, was borrowed, if not translated verbatim, from the "Generale Riforma dell'Universo dai sette Savii della Grecia e da altri Letterati, publicato di ordine di Apollo" ("The General Reform of the Universe by the Seven Sages of Greece and other Literati, published by the orders of Apollo"), which occurs in the "Raguaglio di Parnasso" of Boccalini, who was cudgelled to death in 1613 (Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia, vol. ii., pt. iii., p. 1378). So far Buhle, who says that there was an edition of the first "Centuria" in 1612. But as even the "Fama" is generally supposed to have an earlier date, for the actual time of its appearance is uncertain, it is possible that the Italian work was derived from the German. I shall not venture an opinion, nor is the subject of any vital importance.

[3] "And the virtue of the ancient Cato is said to have been often preserved by old wine" (Horace).

[4] See Milton's Paradise Lost, Book X.

knees and pray that "the lovely race of woman might be preserved, and the world saved from a second deluge." Which seems to have been about the only sensible thing they did. Finally, the advice of Seneca prevailed, namely, to form a new society out of all ranks, having for its object the general welfare of mankind, which was to be pursued in secret.[1] This was not carried without great debate and many doubts as to its success, but the matter was at length decided by the appearance of "the Age," who appeared before them in person, and described the wretched state of his health, and his generally desperate condition. Whatever success this *jeu d'esprit* may have had in its day, it has long been forgotten, and is now interesting only as having been a kind of precursor of the far more celebrated "Fama."

John Valentine Andreä, a celebrated theologian of Wurtemberg, and known also as a satirist and poet, is generally supposed to have been its author, although Burk has excluded it from the catalogue of his works. He was born 1586 at Herrenberg, and his zeal and talents enabled him early to accumulate an extraordinary amount of learning. Very early, also, in life he seems to have conceived a deep sense of the evils and abuses of the times, not so much in politics as in philosophy, morals, and religion, which he sought to redress by means of secret societies. As early as his sixteenth year he wrote his "Chemical Nuptials of Christian Rosy Cross," his "Julius, sive de Politia," his "Condemnation of Astrology," together with several other works of similar tendency. Between 1607-1612 he travelled extensively through Germany, France, Italy, and Switzerland, a practice he long continued, and even during the horrors of the Thirty Years' war exerted himself in founding schools and churches throughout Bohemia, Corinthia, and Moravia.[2] He died in 1654. "From a close review of his life and opinions," says Professor Buhle—and in his account of Andreä we may, I think, follow him with confidence—"I am not only satisfied that he wrote the three works (including the 'Confession,' which is a supplement to the 'Fama'), but I see why he wrote them." The evils of Germany were enormous, and to a young man such as Andreä was, when he commenced what we must admit to be his Quixotic enterprise, their cure might seem easy, especially with the example of Luther before him, and it was with this idea that he endeavoured to organise the Rosicrucian societies, to which, in an age of Theosophy, Cabbalism, and Alchemy, he added what he knew would prove a bait. "Many would seek to connect themselves with this society for aims which were indeed illusions, and from these he might gradually select the more promising as members of the real society. On this view of Andreä's real intentions

[1] It would have been more consonant with the character of this glib philosopher, who made nearly two millions and a half sterling by his profession of court philosopher, and who was a kind of philosophic Square on a gigantic scale, if he had proposed an universal loan society. The sudden recall of his loan of £400,000 was one of the main causes of the revolt of the unhappy Boadicea.

[2] Andreä was a very copious writer. The titles of his works amount to nearly 100. In many of these he strongly advocates the necessity of forming a society solely devoted to the regeneration of knowledge and manners, and in his "Menippus," 1617, he points out the numerous defects which in his own time prevented religion and literature from being as useful as they might be rendered under a better organisation. Of Robert Fludd, who was, notwithstanding all his extravagances, a very learned, able, and ingenious man, we have yet no sufficient biography. There is a short sketch of his life in the "Athenæ Oxonienses;" and Isaac Disraeli has agreeably skimmed the subject in his "Amenities of Literature," but that is all. [Abridged from a note in the "Diary" of Dr Worthington, published 1847 by the Chetham Society, a work useful only for two things—first, as showing the utterly trivial nature of the majority of the publications of book societies; secondly, as forming a vehicle for the valuable occasional notes of a very learned editor, the late James Crossley.]

we understand at once the ground of the contradictory language which he held about astrology and the transmutation of metals; his satirical works show that he looked through the follies of his age with a penetrating eye."[1] Buhle goes on to say, why did he not at once avow his books, and answers that to have done so at once would have defeated his scheme, and that afterwards he found it prudent to remain in obscurity. I do not myself see how an anonymous publication at first would have helped him, but if he were merely throwing up a straw he was right to conceal his name, and the storm of obliquy, excitement, hostility, and suspicion which followed shortly after, showed the wisdom and prudence of such a course. More than this, as a suspected person he even joined in public the party of those who ridiculed the whole as a chimera. But we nowhere find in his posthumous memoirs that he disavows the works;[2] and indeed the fact of his being the avowed author of the "Chemical Nuptials of Christian Rosy-Cross," a worthy never before heard of, ought of itself to be sufficient. Some, indeed, have denied his claim; for instance, Heidegger, who, in his "Historia Vitæ J. L. Fabricii," gives the work to Jung, a mathematician of Hamburg, on the authority of Albert Fabricius, who reported the story casually as derived from a secretary of the Court of Heidelberg. Others have claimed it for Giles Gutmann, for no other reason than that he was a celebrated mystic. Morhof has a remark, which, if true, might leave indeed Andreä in possession of the authorship without ascribing to him any influence in the formation of the order. "Not only," he says, "were there similar colleges of occult wisdom in former times, but in the[3] last, *i.e.*, the sixteenth century, the fame of the Rosicrucian fraternity became celebrated." But this is, at least, as far as I know, no sort of proof of this assertion, and the concurrent testimony of all who have written on the subject certainly is that the fraternity of Rosicrucians, if it ever existed at all, is never mentioned before the publication of the "Fama," in spite of isolated societies, such as that of Cornelius Agrippa in England, or of individual enthusiasts who pursued their dreams perhaps with more or less communication with one another. Moreover, the armorial bearings of Andreä's family were a St Andrew's Cross and four roses. By the order of the Rosy Cross he therefore means an order founded by himself—Christianus Rosæ Crucis, the Christian, which he certainly was, of the Rosy Cross.[4]

But so simple an explanation will not suit a numerous class of writers, for the love of mystery being implanted in human nature never wholly dies out, though it often changes its *venue*, and some, such as Nicolai, have considered the rose as the emblem of secrecy (hence under the rose, *sub rosa*), and the cross to signify the solemnity of the oath by which the vow of secrecy was ratified, hence we should have the fraternity of, or

[1] So far Buhle, but Andreä never seems to have made any effort to carry out the deep—not to say far-fetched—design here imputed to him. Many have thought the "Fama" a mere satire, to those who read it carefully it will appear a straw thrown up to ascertain which way the wind was blowing.

[2] Sir Philip Francis, in his later days, was most anxious to be thought the author of "Junius," going so far as to present his second wife, the great-aunt of my informant, with no other bridal gift—much, probably, to that lady's annoyance—than a copy of "Junius," magnificently bound in gilt vellum; to my mind, a tolerably conclusive proof against him. We do not hear of Colonel Barrè or Lord Grenville, both of whom are much more likely candidates for the somewhat doubtful honour, stooping to such tricks. Pitt, who was the soul of veracity, and who, by his mother's side, was a Grenville, said: "I *know* who the author of 'Junius' was, and he was *not* Francis."

[3] Fuere non priscis tantum seculis collegia talia occulta, sed et superiori seculo, *i.e.*, sexto decimo, de Fraternitate Rosæ Crucis fama percrebuit (Polyhist I., p. 131, ed. Lubecæ 1732).

[4] Like the Knight of the Fetterlock.

bound by the oath of silence, which is reasonable and grammatical if it were only true. But Mosheim[1] says that "the title of Rosy Cross was given to chymists who united the study of religion and chymistry, and that the term is alchemical, being not *rosa*, a rose, but *ros*,[2] dew. Of all natural bodies, *dew* is the most powerful dissolvent of gold, and a *cross* in the language of the fire philosophers, is the same as *lux*, light, because the figure of the cross X exhibits all the three letters of the word *lux* at one view. They called *lux* the *seed* or *menstruum* of the *Red Dragon*," or that gross and corporeal light, which, being properly digested and modified, produces gold. A *Rosicrucian* philosopher, therefore, is one who, by means of *dew*, seeks for light, *i.e.*, for the *Philosopher's Stone*—which, by the way, the Rosicrucians always denied to be their great aim, in fact, although they boasted of many secrets, they always maintained that this was the least. The other versions are false and deceptive, having been given by chemists who were fond of concealment. The true import of the title was perceived (or imagined to be so) by Gassendi in his "Examen Philosophiæ Fluddianæ," and better still, by the celebrated French physician Rènaudot in his "Conférences Publiques," iv. 87.

Many of these derivations are plausible enough, but unfortunately the genitive of *ros*, dew, is *roris*, so that the fraternity would in this case have been *roric*rucians.[3]

Soane, while admitting the family arms of Andreä, says, "The rose was, however, an ancient religious symbol, and was carried by the Pope in his hand when walking in procession on Mid Lent Sunday, and was worn at one time by the English clergy in their button holes."[4] Fuller, in his "Pisgah sight of Palestine," calls Christ "that prime rose and lily." "Est rosa flos Veneris" (the rose is the flower of Venus), because it represents the generative power "typified by Venus"—though how or why, except because exercised *sub rosa*, it is hard to conjecture? Ysnextie, the Holy Virgin of the Mexicans, is said to have sinned by eating roses, which roses are elsewhere termed *fructo del arbol*. Vallancey, in his "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," giving the proper names of men derived from trees, states: "Susan lilium vel rosa uxor Joacim;" and after relating what Mosheim had said as above, he goes on to say that Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria, asserts that Ros was by the Gnostics deemed

[1] Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii., pp. 216, 217.

[2] Why not "*rhos*," in Welsh "a marsh," which, to a certain extent, is the same thing, both having to do with dampness and moisture. It is a pity that so promising an opportunity for bringing in the Druids has hitherto been neglected; but I do not despair yet of seeing it utilised. Perhaps some may take the hint.

[3] Vaughan says: "The derivation of the name Rosicrucian from *ros* and *crux*, rather than *rosa* and *crux*, is untenable. By rights, the word, if from *rosa*, should no doubt be Rosacrucian; but such a malformation, by no means uncommon, cannot outweigh the reasons adduced on behalf of the generally-received etymology" (Hours with the Mystics, 1856, vol. ii., p. 350). The elder Disraeli observes: "Mosheim is positive in the accuracy of his information. I would not answer for my own, though somewhat more reasonable; it is indeed difficult to ascertain the origin of the name of a society which probably never had an existence" (Amenities of Literature, 1841, vol. iii., p. 230). Fuller's amusing explanation of the term "Rosa-Crusian" was written without any knowledge of the supposititious founder. He says: "Sure I am that a Rose is the sweetest of Flowers, and a Cross accounted the sacredest of forms and figures, so that much of eminency must be imported in their composition" (Worthies of England, 1662). According to Godfrey Higgins, "Nazareth, the town of Nazir, or Ναζωραιος, 'the flower,' was situated in Carmel, the vineyard or garden of God. Jesus was a flower; whence came the adoration, by the Rossicrucians, of the Rose and Cross, which Rose was *Ras*, and this *Ras*, or knowledge, or wisdom, was stolen from the garden, which was also crucified, as he literally is, on the red cornelian, the emblem of the Rossicrucians—a Rose on a Cross" (Anacalypsis, vol. ii., p. 240). See further, Brucker, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., p. 735; and Arnold, Kirchen und Ketzen Historie, pt. ii., p. 111*.

[4] New Curiosities of Literature, 1848, vol. ii., p. 37.

symbolical of Christ. "By dew is confessed the Godhead of the Lord Jesus."[1] The Sethites and the Ophites, as the emblematical serpent worshippers were called, held that the dew which fell from the excess of light was *wisdom*, the hermaphrodite deity.

I quote the two above passages at length, as melancholy instances of learning, talent, and ingenuity run mad, and to show to what extent a vivid imagination, a want of sound judgment, and cool, clear, common sense, coupled with the vanity of displaying learning generally irrelevant, and often unreal, and ingenuity as perverted as it is misplaced, will lead men of the greatest talents and even genius. The more one reads, the more one will be apt to parody, with De Quincey, the famous words of Oxenstiern, and say, "Go forth and learn with what disregard of logic most books are written." The faults and foibles I have above enumerated have, I really believe, done more harm to the cause of true learning than all other causes and hindrances put together.

Maier, an upholder of the fraternity, in his "Themis Aureâ,"[2] denies that R. C. meant either ros, rosa, or crux, and contends that they were merely chosen as a mark of distinction, *i.e.*, arbitrarily. But a man must have *some reason*, however slight, for choosing anything, and the fact of the rose and cross forming his family arms must surely have been enough for Andreä. Arnold also[3] says that in the posthumous writings of M. C. Hirshen, pastor at Eisleben, it has been found that John Arne informed him in confidence, as a near friend and former colleague, how he had been told by John Valentine Andreä, also in confidence, that he, namely Andreä, with thirty others in Wurtemberg, had first set forth the "Fama," in order that under this screen they might learn the judgment of Europe thereon, as also what lovers of true wisdom lay concealed here and there who might then come forward.[4] There is a further circumstance connected with the "Fama," which, though it certainly does not prove it to have been a fiction of Andreä's, establishes with tolerable clearness that it was a fiction of some one's, and that is, that in the contemporary life of the famous Dominican John Tauler,[5] who flourished in the fourteenth century, mention is made of one Master Nicolas, or rather one supposed to be Master Nicolas, for he is always referred to as the "Master," who instructed Tauler in mystic religion—meaning thereby not mysticism in the ordinary sense, but the giving one's self up to "being wrapped up in," and endeavouring to be absorbed in, God. This mysterious individual, who is supposed to have been a merchant at Bâsle, really existed, and he did actually found a small fraternity, the members of which travelled from country to country, observing, nevertheless, the greatest secrecy, even to concealing from each other their place of sepulture, but who had also a common house where the master dwelt towards the end of his life, and who subsisted in the same silence, paucity of numbers, and secrecy, long after his death, protesting, as he did, against the errors and abuses

[1] Theod. Quæst. in Genes., cap. XXVII., Interrog. 82, p. 91, Tom. i. Halæ 1772.

[2] Themis Aurea, Hoc est de legibus fraternitatis Rosæ Crucis, Francfort, 1618. Translated into English, and published with a dedication to Elias Ashmole, in 1656. Of the author's connection with the Rosicrucians, it has been observed: "Maier fut certainement un des initiés ou plutôt des dupes, puisqu'il a eu la bonhomie de rédiger leurs lois, leurs coutumes, et qu'il a pris leur défense dans un de ses ouvrages" (Biographie Universelle, Paris, 1820, t. 26, p. 282).

[3] Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, p. 899.

[4] As the result proved, they were wise to commence in secrecy, and equally wise to remain so.

[5] *Cf.* Life and Times of Tauler, translated by Susannah Winkworth, 1857; and K. Schmidt, Nikolaus von Basel, Bericht von der Bekehrung Taulers, Strasburg, 1875.

of Rome, until the remnant was finally swallowed up in the vortex of the Reformation. The date of the "Master" anticipates by not much more than half a century the birth of the supposed C. R., and the two stories altogether bear so many points of close resemblance, that we shall be, I think, quite justified in concluding, without for a moment tracing any real connection, which I am very far indeed from supposing to have ever existed, that Andreä, who was not only a man of very great learning, but a countryman also of the "Master" and his disciples, knew of and adapted the story for his "Fama," in the same way as he did that of Boccalini for his "Reformation." The name was suggested by his coat of arms, and it so happens that it forms a by no means uncommon German patronymic—Rosecranz, Rosencranz, Rosecreutz, which would of course be Latinised into Rosæ Crucis.[1] Assuming then, as I think may safely be done, that the "Fama" and "Confessio" at least, if not the "Reformatio" as well, were the works of Andreä, and leaving aside all speculations of their having had an earlier origin, and of the mystical nature of the name as being either the work of imagination run mad, or the vanity of learning and ingenuity exhibiting themselves for learning and ingenuity's sake, let us now follow the fortunes of the works, and the results which sprang from them.[2]

Though the precise date of its first appearance is not exactly known, yet it was certainly not later than 1610, and the repeated editions which appeared between 1614 and 1617, and still more the excitement that followed, show how powerful was the effect produced. "In the library at Göttingen there exists a body of letters addressed between these years to the imaginary order by persons offering themselves as members. As qualifications most assert their skill in alchemy and Cabbalism, and though some of the letters are signed with initials only, or with names evidently fictitious, yet real places of address are assigned"—the reason for their being at Göttingen is that, as many indeed assert, unable to direct their communications rightly, they had no choice but to address their letters to some public body "to be called for," as it were, and, having once come to the University, there they remained. Others threw out pamphlets containing their opinions of the order, and of its place of residence, which, as Vaughan says in his "Hours with the Mystics," was in reality under Dr Andreä's hat. "Each successive writer claimed to be better informed than his predecessors. Quarrels arose; partisans started up on all sides; the uproar and confusion became indescribable; cries of heresy and atheism resounded from every corner; some were for calling in the secular power; and the more coyly the invisible society retreated from the public advances, so much the more eager were its admirers, so much the more blood-thirsty its antagonists." Some, however, seem to have suspected the truth from the first, and hence a suspicion arose that some bad designs lurked under the seeming purpose, a suspicion which was not unnaturally

[1] This pedantic fashion of Latinising and Grecising names lasted for a century and a half. Reuchlin was induced by the entreaties of a friend, who was shocked at the barbarism of his German appellation, to turn it into Capnio. It should have been *Καπνος*, the Greek for smoke, but I suppose the fact of the friend's being an Italian will account for it. I am not sure that it was an improvement, but Melancthon (*Μελανχθων* or *Black earth*) certainly is an improvement on Schwarzerd. So Fludd calls himself De Fluctibus, which is wrong in sense and grammar. He was *Fluctus* or *Diluvium*, not *De Fluctibus*. His works certainly were drawn out of the flood, but he himself never emerged in the ark of common sense from the overwhelming waves of fancy and irrational speculation.

[2] It is contended by some fanciful commentators, that the words which stand at the end of the "Fama"—Sub Umbrâ Alarum tuarum Jehova—furnish the initial letters of Johannes Val. Andreä Stipendiata Tubingensis!

strengthened, for many impostors, as might have been expected, gave themselves out as Rosicrucians, and cheated numbers out of their money by alchemy, and out of their health and money together by quack medicines. Three, in particular, made a great noise at Wetzlar, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, of whom one lost his ears in running the gauntlet, and another was hanged. At this crisis Andreas Libau or Libavius attacked the pretended fraternity with great power by two works in Latin and one in German, published in 1615 and the following year, at Frankfort and at Erfurt respectively, and these, together with others of a like tendency, might have stopped the mischief had it not been for two causes—first, the coming forward of the old Paracelsists, who avowed themselves to be the true Rosicrucians in numerous books and pamphlets which still further distracted the public mind; secondly, the conduct of Andreä himself and his friends, who kept up the delusion by means of two pamphlets—(1.) Epistola ad Reverendam Fraternitatem R. Crucis. Fran. 1613; (2.) Assertio Fraternitatis R. C. à quodam Fratern. ejus Socio carmine expressa—Defence of the R. C. brethren by a certain anonymous brother, written in the form of a poem. This last was translated into German in 1616, and again in 1618, under the title of "Ara Fœderis Therapici," or the Altar of the Healing Fraternity—the most general abstraction of the pretensions made for the Rosicrucians being that they healed both the body and the mind.[1]

The supposed Fraternity was, however, defended in Germany by some men not altogether devoid of talent, such as Julianus à Campis, Julius Sperber of Anhalt Dessau, whose "Echo" of the divinely illuminated order of the R. C., if it be indeed his, was printed in 1615, and again at Dantzig in 1616, and who asserted that as esoteric mysteries had been taught from the time of Adam down to Simeon, so Christ had established a new "college of magic," and that the greater mysteries were revealed to St John and St Paul. Radtich Brotoffer was not so much a Cabbalist as an Alchemist, and understood the three Rosicrucian books as being a description of the art of making gold and finding the philosopher's stone. He even published a receipt for the same, so that both "materia et præparatio lapidis aurei," the ingredients and the mode of mixing the golden stone, were laid bare to the profane. It might have been thought that so audacious a stroke would have been sufficient to have ruined him, but, as often happens, the very audacity of the attempt carried him through, for his works sold well and were several times reprinted.[2] A far more important person was Michael Maier, who had been in England, and was the friend of Fludd. He was born at Rendsberg in Holstein in 1568, and was

[1] Andreä probably refers to the enjoyment of the hoax he had so effectually carried out in the "Mythologia Christiana," published at Strasburg in 1619, speaking under the name of Truth (die Alethia)—"Planissime nihil cum hac fraternitate commune habeo. Nam cum, paullo ante lusum quendam ingeniosiorem personatus aliquis in literario pro vellet agere,—nihil mota sum libellis inter se conflictantibus; sed velut in scenâ prodeuntes histriones non sine voluptate spectavi." "It is very clear that I have nothing in common with this fraternity, for when, not long ago, a certain person wished to start a rather more ingenious farce than usual in the republic of letters, I held aloof from the battle of books, and, as if on a stage, watched the actors with delight." He was perfectly right, Truth had nothing to do with the Fraternity, the controversy, or the combatants.

[2] It is said of the famous Sir Thomas Browne that when dining one day with the Archbishop, I think he was Abbot at Lambeth, he met, amongst others, a gentleman who related that in Germany he had seen a man make gold, and that, unless he had actually seen it, he confessed that he should not have believed it, but that, nevertheless, so it was. Some one, half in joke, remarked that he wondered that he should venture to relate such things at his Grace's table (seeing that they savoured of magic), and before so learned a man as Sir T. Browne, asking, at the same time, the latter what he thought of it—"Why," said Sir Thomas, in his thick huddling manner, "I am of the same opinion as the gentleman, he says that he would not have believed it unless he had seen it, neither will I."

physician to the Emperor Rudolph II., who, as has before been observed, was possessed with the mystical mania. He died at Magdebourg in 1622. His first work on this subject is the "Jocus Severus," Franc. 1617, addressed "omnibus veræ chymiæ amantibus per Germaniam," and especially to those "illi ordini adhuc *delitescenti*, ut Famâ Fraternitatis et Confessione suâ admirandâ et probabili *manifestato*"—"To that sect, which is still secret, but which, nevertheless, is made known by the Famâ and its admirable and reasonable Confession." This work, it appears, was written in England, and the dedication composed on his journey from England to Bohemia. Returning, he endeavoured to belong to the sect, so firmly did he believe in it, but, finding this of course impossible, he endeavoured to found such an order by his own efforts, and in his subsequent writings spoke of it as already existing, going so far even as to publish its laws—which, indeed, had already been done by the author of the "Echo." From his principal work, the [1] "Silentium post Clamores," we may gather his view of Rosicrucianism —"Nature is yet but half unveiled. What we want is chiefly experiment and tentative inquiry. Great, therefore, are our obligations to the R. C. for labouring to supply this want. Their weightiest mystery is a Universal Medicine. Such a Catholicon lies hid in nature. It is, however, no simple, but a very compound, medicine. For, out of the meanest pebbles and weeds, medicine and *even gold* is to be extracted." Again—"He that doubts the existence of the R. C. should recollect that the Greeks, Egyptians, Arabians, etc., had such secret societies; where, then, is the absurdity in their existing at this day? Their maxims of self-discipline are these—To honour and fear God above all things; to do all the good in their power to their fellow-men, etc." "What is contained in the Fama and Confessio is true. It is a very childish objection that the brotherhood have promised so much and performed so little. With them, as elsewhere, many are called, but few chosen. The masters of the order hold out the rose as a remote prize, but they impose the cross on those who are entering." "Like the Pythagoreans and Egyptians, the Rosicrucians exact vows of silence and secrecy. Ignorant men have treated the whole as a fiction; but this has arisen from the five years' probation to which they subject even well qualified novices before they are admitted to the higher mysteries; within this period they are to learn how to govern their tongues." Theophilus Schweighart of Constance, Josephus Stellatus, and Giles Gutmann were Will o' the Wisps of an inferior order, and deserve no further mention.

Andreä now began to think that the joke had been carried somewhat too far, or rather perhaps that the scheme which had thought to have started for the reformation of manners and philosophy had taken a very different turn from that which he had intended, and therefore, hoping to ridicule them, he published his "Chemical Nuptials of Christian Rosy Cross," which had hitherto remained in MS., though written as far back as 1602. This is a comic romance of extraordinary talent, designed as a satire on the whole tribe of Theosophists, Alchemists, Cabbalists, etc., with which at that time Germany swarmed. Unfortunately the

[1] "Silentium post Clamores, hoc est Tractatus Apologeticus, quo causæ non solum Clamorum (seu revelationum) Fraternitatis Germanicæ de R. C. sed et Silentii (seu non redditæ, ad singulorum vota responsionis) traduntur et demonstrantur. Autore Michaele Maiero Imp. Consist. Comite et Med. Doct., Francof, 1617." "Silence after sound, that is an apology, in which are given and proved the reason not only for the sounds (clamours), *i.e.*, revelations of the German fraternity of the R. C., but also of their silence, *i.e.*, of their not having replied to the wishes of individuals. By Michael Maier (or, as it is sometimes written, Mayer), Count of the Imperial Consistory, and Doctor of Medicine, Frankfort, 1617."

public took the whole "au grand sérieux." Upon this, in the following year, he published a collection of satirical dialogues under the title of "Menippus; sive dialogorum satyricorum centuria, inanitatum nostratium Speculum"—"A century of satyric dialogues designed as a mirror for our follies." In this he more openly reveals his true design—revolution of method in the arts and sciences, and a general religious reformation. He seems, in fact, to have been a dreamy and excessively inferior kind of German Bacon. His efforts were seconded by his friends, especially Irenæus Agnostus and Joh. Val. Alberti. Both wrote with great energy against the Rosicrucians, but the former, from having ironically styled himself an unworthy clerk of the Fraternity of the R. C., has been classed by some as a true Rosicrucian. But they were placed in a still more ludicrous light by the celebrated Campanella, who, though a mystic himself, found the Rosicrucian pretensions rather more than he could tolerate. In his work on the Spanish Monarchy, written whilst a prisoner at Naples, a copy of which, finding its way by some means into Germany, was there published and greatly read (1620), we find him thus expressing himself of the R. C.: "That the whole of Christendom teems with such heads" (Reformation jobbers)—a most excellent expression, but this by the way—"we have one proof more than was wanted in the Fraternity of the R. C. For, scarcely was that absurdity hatched, when—notwithstanding it was many times declared to be nothing more than a 'lusus ingenii nimium lascivientis,' a 'mere hoax of some man of wit troubled with a superfluity of youthful spirits;' yet because it dealt in reformations and pretences to mystical arts—straightway from every country in Christendom pious and learned men, passively surrendering themselves dupes to this delusion, made offers of their good wishes and services—some by name, others anonymously, but constantly maintaining that the brothers of the R. C. could easily discover their names by Solomon's Mirror or other Cabbalistic means. Nay, to such a pass of absurdity did they advance, that they represented the first of the three Rosicrucian books, the 'Universal Reformation,' as a high mystery; and expounded it in a chemical sense as if it had contained a cryptical account of the art of gold making, whereas it is nothing more than a literal translation, word for word, of the 'Parnasso' of Boccalini."

After a period of no very great duration, as it would appear, they began rapidly to sink, first into contempt and then into obscurity and oblivion, and finally died out, or all but did so, for, as Vaughan justly observes, "Mysticism has no genealogy. It is a state of thinking and feeling to which minds of a certain temperament are liable at any time and place, in occident and orient, whether Romanist or Protestant, Jew, Turk, or Infidel. The same round of notions, occurring to minds of similar make under similar circumstances, is common to mystics in ancient India and in modern Christendom,"[1] and it is quite possible that there may be Rosicrucians still, though they hide their faith like people do their belief in ghosts. Not only had science, learning, and right reason made more progress, but the last waves of the storm of the Reformation had died away and men's minds had sobered down in a great measure to practical realities. As usual, rogues and impostors took advantage of whatever credulity

[1] "Hours with the Mystics," 1856, vol. i., p. 60. The following, from the same work, is also worthy of note. At the revival "of letters spread over Europe, the taste for antiquity and natural science began to claim its share in the freedom won for theology; the pretensions of the Cabbala, of Hermes, of Neo-Platonist Theurgy became identified with the cause of progress" (vol. ii., p. 30). In short, men with excited imaginations were everywhere groping and struggling in the dark—*Quid plura?*

there was, and this hastened the decay of the sect, for though there was no actual society or organisation, yet the name of Rosicrucian became a generic term embracing every species of occult pretension, arcana, elixir, the philosopher's stone, theurgic ritual, symbols, initiations *et hoc genus omne.*[1] Some few, as I have remarked, doubtless lingered. Liebnitz was in early life actually connected with a *soi-disant* society of the R. C. at Nuremberg, but he became convinced that they were not connected with any real society of that name. "Il me paroit," he says, in a letter published by Feller in the "Otium Hannoveranum," p. 222, "que tout ce, que l'on a dit des Frères de la Croix de la Rose, est une pure invention de quelque personne ingénieuse." And again, so late as 1696, he says, elsewhere—"Fratres Roseæ Crucis fictitios esse suspicor; quod et Helmontius mihi confirmavit." One of the latest notices is to be found in Spence's "Anecdotes of Books and Men,"[2] where we have the Rev. J. Spence writing to his mother from Turin under date of August 25, 1740—"Of a sett of philosophers called adepts, of whom there are never more than twelve in the whole world at one time. ∴ ∴ Free from poverty, distempers, and death"—it was unkind and selfish in the last degree to conceal such benefits from mankind at large!—"There was one of them living at Turin, a Frenchman, Audrey by name, not quite 200 years old"—who must in this case have been past 70 when he joined the original fraternity? In the same work[3] it is also stated that a story of Gustavus Adolphus having been provided with gold by one of the same class, was related by Maréchal Rhebenden to the English minister at Turin, who told it to Spence. A similar anecdote is related by John Evelyn, who, whilst at Paris in 1652, was told by "one Mark Antonio of a Genoese Jeweller who had the greate *Arcanum,* and had made projection before him severall times."[4] But the great majority were doubtless mere knaves, and whole clubs even of swindlers existed calling themselves Rosicrucians. Thus Lud. Conr. Orvius, in his "Occulta Philosophia, sive cœlum Sapientum et Vexatio Stultorum," tells us of such a society, pretending to trace from Father Rosycross, who were settled at the Hague in 1622, and who, after swindling him out of his own and his wife's fortune, amounting to about eleven thousand dollars, expelled him from the order with the assurance that they would murder him if he revealed their secrets, "which secrets," says he, "I have faithfully kept, and for the same reason that women keep secrets, viz., because I have none to

[1] See Athenæ Oxonienses, *passim.* Butler writes—

"A deep occult philosopher,
As learn'd as the wild Irish are,
He Anthroposophus, and Floud,
And Jacob Behmen, understood:
In Rosicrucian lore as learned,
As he that *Verè Adeptus* earned."

—*Hudibras,* pt. I., canto i.

[2] Ed. 1820, p. 403.

[3] P. 405. The extravagancies of earlier Rosicrucians, or of persons claiming to be such, are thus alluded to by Disraeli—"In November 1626 a rumour spread that the King was to be visited by an ambassador from the President of the Society of the Rosycross. He was, indeed, a heteroclite ambassador, for he is described—'as a youth with never a hair upon his face.' He was to proffer to His Majesty, provided the King accepted his advice, three millions to put into his coffers; and by his secret councils he was to unfold matters of moment and secresy" (Curiosities of Literature, 1849, vol. iii., p. 512).

[4] Memoirs of John Evelyn, ed. 1870, p. 217. See the life of Arthur Dee, son of the famous John Dee, of whom Wood says—"While a little boy, 'twas usual with him to play at quaits with the slates of gold made by projection, in the garret of his father's lodgings" (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii., col. 285).

reveal; for their knavery is no secret."[1] After all it is not to be wondered at, for the *auri sacra* (or *vesana*) *fames* does but change its form—not its substance; and those who, not long ago, bought shares in Mr Rubery's Californian anthill, made up of rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, would doubtless have fallen an easy prey to the first Rosicrucian alchemist, and really with more excuse. Considering that there never was any real body of Rosicrucians properly so called, there could not well be any fixed principles of belief, *e.g.*, especial creed as it were; still, as the number of those who, for one reason or another, chose to call themselves Rosicrucians was doubtless very great, it may readily be imagined that certain principles may be gathered as being common to all or, at least, most of all who might happen to be of that way of thinking. Accordingly we find that Mosheim says—"It is remarkable, that among the more eminent writers of this sect, there are scarcely any two who adopt the same tenets and sentiments. There are, nevertheless, some common principles that are generally embraced, and that serve as a centre of union to the society. They all maintain that the dissolution of bodies by the power of fire is the only way through which men can arrive at true wisdom, and come to discern the first principles of things. They all acknowledge a certain analogy and harmony between the powers of nature and the doctrines of religion, and believe that the Deity governs the kingdom of grace by the same laws by which He governs the kingdom of nature; and hence it is that they employ chemical denominations to express the truths of religion. They all hold that there is a kind of divine energy, or soul, diffused through the frame of the universe, which some call *Archæus*, others the *universal spirit*, and which others mention under different appellations. They all talk in the most obscure and superstitious manner of what they call the 'signatures of things,' of the power of the stars over all corporeal beings, and their particular influence upon the human race"—here the influence of astrology peeps out—"of the efficacy of magic, and the various ranks and orders of demons."[2]

Besides the above works, we have the attack on the sect by Gabriel Naudè, who gives the Rosicrucian tenets, or what he supposes were such—but this is perhaps hardly reliable—entitled "Instruction à la France, sur la vérité de l'histoire des Frères de la Rose-Croix, Paris, 1623," and the "Conférences Publiques" of the celebrated French physician Rénaudot, tom. iv., which destroyed whatever slight chance of acceptance the Rosicrucian doctrines had in that country. Morhof, however, in his "Polyhistor," lib. i., c. 13, speaks of a diminutive society or offshoot of the parent folly, founded, or attempted to be founded, in Dauphiné by a visionary named Rosay, and hence called the Collegium Rosianum, A.D. 1630. It consisted of three persons only. A certain Mornius gave himself a great deal of trouble to be the fourth, but was rejected. All that he could obtain was to be a serving brother. The chief secrets were perpetual motion, the art of changing metals, and the universal medicine.[3]

[1] See also the story in Voltaire's "Diction. Philosph. *s.v.* Alchemiste," of a rogue who cheated the Duke de Bouillon out of 40,000 dollars by pretended Rosicrucianism, which, however, he would doubtless have lost elsewhere.

[2] Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, edit. 1823, vol. ii., p. 164, note.

[3] I may mention also the essays of C. F. Nicolai, at whose fanciful theory I have already glanced (*ante*, Chap. I., p. 9); of C. G. Von Murr (1803), who assigns to the Freemasons and the Rosicrucians a common origin, and only fixes the date of their separation into distinct sects at the year 1633; and Solomon Semler's "Impartial Collections for the History of the Rosy Cross," Leipzig, 1786-88, which gives them a very remote antiquity; also a curious little tract entitled "Hermetischer Rosenkreutz," Frankfurt, 1747, but apparently a reprint of a much earlier work. I may here state that several Rosicrucian writings, some translated from the Latin and others not, are to be found in the Harleian MSS. (6481-86), Brit. Mus. Library.

Lastly we have the famous *jeu d'esprit* entitled "The Count de Gabalis," being a diverting history of the Rosicrucian doctrine of spirits, viz., Sylphs, Salamanders, Gnomes, and Demons, translated from the Paris edition, and printed for B. Lintott and E. Curll, in 1714. It is subjoined to Pope's "Rape of the Lock," which gave rise to a demand for this translation. The piece is said to have been written by the French Abbé de Villars, in ridicule of the German Hermetic associations, 1670, and Bayle's account of them is prefixed to the translation. I should scarcely call it a parody or a piece written in ridicule, inasmuch as the doctrines, as far as I know of them in the original Hermetic, Cabbalistic, or Rosicrucian books, are utterly incapable of being parodied in any similar way, although certainly the doctrines may have been much altered and disfigured since the commencement. The work, which is very short, is simply that of a witty and licentious French Abbé, for the diversion of the courtiers of the Grand Monarque, and the literary world by which they were surrrounded. Some say that it was founded on two Italian chemical letters written by Borri; others affirm that Borri[1] took the chief parts of the letters from it, but after discussing it, Bayle, as usual, leaves the case undecided. Gabalis is supposed to have been a German nobleman, with estates bordering on Poland, who made the acquaintance of the writer, and so far honoured him with his confidence as to explain the most occult mysteries of his art. He informed him that the elements were full of ethereal, or rather semi-ethereal beings—Sylphs, Gnomes, and Salamanders, of exquisite beauty, but unendowed with souls, which they could only obtain by union with a human being;—that there were, therefore, great numbers of these beings who were also anxious to unite themselves with those of the opposite sex among us, and that therefore there was no trouble for the initiated to obtain a husband or wife, or indeed half-a-dozen of the most exquisite, and, what is better, of the most unfading beauty, but on one condition, that they must have no union with their fellow-creatures, which indeed they would be in no hurry to have, once they had seen the others. He added, however, that numbers of these sprites, seeing the trouble into which the possession of a soul had led so many mortals, had wisely concluded that it was better to remain without one. Still it was always the case that there were large numbers pining for what they had not. Hence we see that poor Dr Faustus was very much behind the age, and not really an adept at all, since he could easily have secured the affections of a bevy of infinitely more beautiful and unchanging Marguerites, and that without the aid of so very questionable and dangerous an old matchmaker as Mephistopheles. However, we ought not to be angry with a conceit which has given us, besides the "Rape of the Lock," "Ariel," and the "Masque of Comus"—"Undine," one of the loveliest of the creations of romance, and may have aided in inspiring Madame d'Aunay, the mother of the fairy tales of our youth.

Bayle's account in the preface ends as follows: "Afterwards, that Society, which in Reality, is but a Sect of Mountebanks, began to multiply, but durst not appear publickly, and for that Reason was sir-nam'd the *Invisible*. The *Inlightned*, or *Illuminati*, of Spain proceeded from them; both the one and the other have been condemn'd for Fanatics and Deceivers. We must add, that John Bringeret printed, in 1615, a Book in Germany, which comprehends two Treatises, Entituled the 'Manifesto [Fama] and Confession of Faith of the Fraternity of the Rosicrucians in Germany.' These persons boasted themselves to be the Library of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Academy of Plato, the Lyceum, etc., and bragg'd of extraordinary Qualifications, whereof the least

[1] Joseph Francis Borri was a famous quack, chemist, and heretic. A Milanese by birth, he was imprisoned in the Castle of St Angelo, where he died 1695, in his seventy-ninth year.



SIR E. A. H. LECHMERE BART.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF WORCESTERSHIRE.

Thomas C Jack, London & Edinburgh.

was that they could speak all Languages; and after, in 1622, they gave this Advertisement to the Curious: 'We, deputed by our College, the Principal of the Brethren of the ROSICRUCIANS, to make our visible and invisible Abode in this City, thro' the grace of the Most High, towards whom are turned the Hearts of the just. We teach without Books or Notes, and speak the Language of the Countries wherever we are;[1] to draw Men, like ourselves, from the Error of Death.' This Bill [which was probably a mere hoax] was Matter of Merriment. In the meantime, the Rosicrucians have dissapear'd, tho' it be not the sentiment of that German chymist, the author of a book, 'De Volucri Arborea,' and of another, who hath composed a treatise stiled 'De Philosophia Pura.'"[2]

But nothing can give so clear an idea of what true Rosicrucianism really was, whether an account of a sect then actually existing, or the sketch of a sect which the projector hoped to form, or to which of the two categories it belongs, than of course the "Fama" itself, and as it is either—I am not now arguing on either side—the parent or the exponent of a very celebrated denomination, and one which, in some men's minds at least, has had considerable influence on Freemasonry, I trust that I shall be pardoned if I present an abstract as copious as my space will allow, and as accurate as my abilities will enable me to perform. The translation which I have used is "printed by J. M. for Giles Calvert, *at the Black Spread Eagle at the west end of Paul's*, 1652," and is translated by Eugenius Philalethes, "with a preface annexed thereto, and a short Declaration of their (R. C.) Physicall work." This Eugenius Philalethes was one Thomas Vaughan, B.A. of Jesus College, Oxford, born in 1621, and of whom Wood says: "He was a great chymist, a noted son of the fire, an experimental philosopher, and a zealous brother of the Rosie-Crucian fraternity."[3] He pursued his chemical studies in the first instance at Oxford, and afterwards at London under the protection and patronage of Sir Robert Moray or Murray, Knight, Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Scotland. That this distinguished soldier and philosopher was received into Freemasonry at Newcastle in 1641, has been already shown;[4] and in the inquiry we are upon, the circumstance of his being in later years both a Freemason and a Rosicrucian, will at least merit our passing attention. Moray's initiation, which preceded by five years that of Elias Ashmole, *was the first that occurred on English soil* of which any record has descended to us. In this connection, it is not a little remarkable, that whereas it has been the fashion to carry back the pedigree of speculative masonry in England, to the admission of Elias Ashmole, the Rosicrucian philosopher, the association of ideas to which this formulation of belief has given rise, will sustain no shock, but rather the reverse, by the priority of Moray's initiation. Sir Robert Moray, a founder and the first president of the Royal Society, "was universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts;"[5] but as it is with his character as a lover of the occult sciences we are chiefly concerned, I pass over the encomiums of his friends, John Evelyn[6] and Samuel Pepys,[7]

[1] We ought not to forget that at the present day we have Irvingites in our midst who still "speak with tongues."

[2] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii., col. 719.

[3] *Ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 409. For further details, see Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 96; and Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 102.

[4] Burnet, vol. i., p. 90.

[5] "July 6, 1673.—This evening I went to the funerall of my deare and excellent friend, that good man and accomplish'd gentleman, Sir Robert Murray, Secretary of Scotland. He was buried by order of His Majesty in Westminster Abbey" (Evelyn's Diary). See, however, Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 99, who names the Canongate Churchyard as the place of interment!

[6] "Feb. 16, 1667.—To my Lord Broucker; and there was Sir Robert Murrey, a most excellent man of reason and learning. Here came Mr Hooke, Sir George Ent, *Dr Wren*, and many others" (Diary of Samuel Pepys).

and shall merely adduce in this place the short description given of him by Anthony à Wood, who says, "He was a single man, an abhorrer of women, a most renowned chymist, a great patron of the Rosie-Crucians, and an excellent mathematician."[1] Whether Ashmole and Moray, who must constantly have been brought together at meetings of the Royal Society, ever conversed about the other *Society* of which they were both members, cannot of course be determined. It is not likely, however, that they did. The elder of the two "brothers" or "fellows" died in 1673, nine years before the celebrated meeting at Mason's Hall, London, which I shall more closely consider in connection with Ashmole. Had this assembly of London masons taken place many years before it did, the presence or the absence of Sir Robert Moray from such a gathering of the fraternity, might be alike suggestive of some curious speculation. In my opinion, however, Masonry in its general and widest sense—herein comprising everything partaking of an operative as well as of a speculative character—must have been at a very low ebb about the period of Moray's death, and for some few years afterwards.

It is highly improbable, that lodges were held in the metropolis with any frequency, until the process of rebuilding the capital began, after the great fire. Sir Christopher Wren, indeed, went so far as to declare, in 1716, in the presence of Hearne, that "*there were no masons in London when he was a young man.*"[2] From this it may be plausibly contended that, *if* our British Freemasonry received any tinge or colouring at the hands of Steinmetzen, Compagnons, or Rosicrucians, the last quarter of the seventeenth century is the most likely (or at least the earliest) period in which we can suppose it to have taken place. Against it, however, there is the silence of all contemporary writers, excepting Plot and Aubrey, and notably of Evelyn and Pepys, with regard to the existence of lodges, or even of Freemasonry itself. Both these latter worthies were prominent members of the Royal Society, Pepys being president in 1684, a distinction, it may be said, declined times without number by Evelyn. Wren, Locke, Ashmole, Boyle,[3] Moray, and others, who were more or less addicted to Rosicrucian studies, enjoyed the distinction of F.R.S. Two of the personages named we know to have been Freemasons, and for Wren and Locke the title has also been claimed, though, as I have endeavoured to show, without any foundation whatever in fact. Pepys, and to a greater extent Evelyn,[4] were on intimate terms with all these men. Indeed, the latter, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor, dated March 18, 1667, evinces his admiration of the fraternity of the Rosie Cross, by including the names of William Lilly, William Oughtred, and George Ripley, in his list of learned Englishmen, with whose portraits he wished Lord Cornbury to adorn his palace. On the whole, perhaps, we shall be safe in assuming, either that the persons addicted to chemical or astrological studies, whom in the seventeenth century it was the

[1] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii., col. 726.

[2] Philip Bliss, Reliquiæ Hearnianiæ, vol. i., p. 336.

[3] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. (Life of Anthony à Wood, p. lii.). The Oxford Antiquary himself went through "a course of chimistry under the noted chimist and Rosicrucian, Peter Sthael of Strasburgh" (*Ibid.*).

[4] John Evelyn of Sayes Court, in Kent, lived in the busy and important times of King Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, King Charles II., King James II., and King William, and he early accustomed himself to note such things as occurred which he thought worthy of remembrance. Peter the Great—to whom he lent Sayes Court,—when that prince was studying naval architecture in 1698—having no taste for horticulture,—used to amuse himself by being wheeled through his landlord's ornamental hedges, and over his borders in a wheel-barrow. *Cf.* Diary, Jan. 30, 1798; Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iv., col. 467; and D. Lysons, Environs of London, 1792-1811, vol. iv., p. 363.

fashion to style Rosicrucians, kept aloof from the Freemasons altogether, or if the sects in any way commingled, their proceedings were wrought under an impenetrable veil of secrecy, against which even the light of modern research is vainly directed. These points may be usefully borne in mind during the progress of our inquiry, which I now resume.

Sir Robert Moray was accompanied to Oxford by Vaughan at the time of the great plague, and the latter, after taking up his quarters in the house of the rector of Albury, died there, "as it were, suddenly, when he was operating strong mercury, some of which, by chance getting up into his nose, killed him, on the 27th of February 1666."[1] He was buried in the same place, at the charge of his patron.

Vaughan was so great an admirer of Cornelius Agrippa that—to use the words of honest Anthony à Wood—"nothing could relish with him but his works, especially his '*Occult Philosophy*,' which he would defend in all discourse and writing." The publication of the "Fama" in an English form is thus mentioned by the same authority in his life of Vaughan —"*Large Preface, with a short declaration of the physical work of the fraternity of the R. C., commonly of the Rosie Cross.* Lond. 1652. Oct. Which *Fame and Confession* was translated into English by another hand;" but whether by this is meant that Vaughan made one translation and somebody else another, or that Vaughan's share in the work was restricted to the preface, Wood does not explain. He goes on to say, however,—"I have seen another book entit. *Themis Aurea. The Laws of the Fraternity of the Rosie Cross.* Lond. 1656. Oct. Written in Lat. by Count Michael Maier, and put into English for the information of those who seek after the knowledge of that honourable and mysterious society of wise and renowned philosophers. This English translation is dedicated to Elias Ashmole, Esq., by an Epistle subscribed by $\left.\begin{matrix}\text{N. L.}\\\text{T. S.}\end{matrix}\right\}$ H. S., but who he or they are, he, the said El. Ashmole, hath utterly forgotten."[2]

Eugenius Philalethes,[3] whoever he was, commences with two epistles to the reader, which, with a preface, or rather introduction, of inordinate length for the size of the book, a small 18mo of 120 pages in all, occupies rather more space than the "Fama" and "Confession" together (61 pages as against 56), and the whole concludes with an "advertisement to the reader," of five pages more. This introduction is principally occupied by an account of the visit of Apollonius of Tyana to the Brachmans[4] [Bráhmens], and his discourse with Jarchas, their chief.

THE "FAMA."

The world will not be pleased to hear it, but will rather scoff, yet it is a fact that the pride of the learned is so great that it will not allow them to work together, which, if they

[1] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii., col. 723. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., col. 724.

[3] Although rather a favourite pseudonym, there can hardly be a doubt as to Vaughan having written under it in the case before us.

[4] The "Brachmans" were to the people of Western Europe of the seventeenth century, what the Chinese with their Mandarins and Bonzes were to Montesquieu and the men of the eighteenth, but when distance no longer lent enchantment to the view, the pretty stories to which they gave rise have not been exactly corroborated by East Indian officials or Hong Kong and Shanghai merchants. Nevertheless, there is actually, I believe, at the present moment somewhere in Bengal a Theosophic society for the restoration of true religion, founded on the Brahminical precepts. But I do not know the exact address, nor do I intend to inquire.

did, they might collect a *Librum Natura*, or perfect method of all arts. But they still keep on their old course with Porphyry, Aristotle, and Galen, who, if they were alive and had our advantages, would act very differently; and though in theology, physic, and mathematics, truth opposes itself to their proceedings as much as possible, yet the old enemy is still too much for it. For such general reformation, then, C. R., a German, and the founder of our fraternity, did set himself. Poor, but nobly born, he was placed in a cloister when five years old, and, in his growing years, accompanied a brother P. A. L. to the Holy Land. The latter dying at Cyprus, C. R. shipped to Damasco for Jerusalem, but was detained by illness at Damasco, where the Arabian wise men appeared as if they had been expecting him, and called him by name. He was now sixteen, and after remaining three years, went to Egypt, where he remained but a short time, and then went on to Fez, as the Arabians had directed him. Constant philosophic intercourse was carried on for mutual improvement between Arabia and Africa, so that there was no want of physicians, Cabbalists, magicians, and philosophers, though the magic and Cabbala at Fez were not altogether true.[1] Here he stayed two years, and then "sailed with many costly things into Spain, hoping well; he himself had so well and profitably spent his time in his travel that the learned in Europe would highly rejoice with him, and begin to rule and order all their studies, according to those sound and sure foundations." [C. R. was now twenty-one years of age.][2] He showed the Spanish learned "the errors of our arts, how they might be corrected, how they might gather the true *Indicia* of the times to come; he also showed them the faults of the Church and of the whole *Philosophia Moralis*, and how they were to be amended. He showed them new growths, new fruits, and new beasts, which did concord with old philosophy, and prescribed them new *Axiomata*, whereby all things might fully be restored," and was laughed at in Spain as elsewhere. He further promised that he would direct them to the "only true *centrum*, and that it should serve to the wise and learned as a Rule" [whatever this might be]; also that there might be a "Society in Europe which should have gold, silver, and precious stones enough for the necessary purposes of all kings," "so that they might be brought up to know all that God hath suffered man to know" [the connection is not quite clear]. But failing in all his endeavours, he returned to Germany, where he built himself a house, and remained five years, principally studying mathematics. After which there "came again into his mind the wished-for Reformation," so he sent for from his first cloister, to which he bare a great affection, Bro. G. V., Bro. J. A., Bro. J. O.—by which four was begun the fraternity of the *Rosie Cross*. They also made the "magical language and writing, with a large dictionary, 'which we yet daily use to God's praise and glory, and do find great wisdom therein;' they made also the first part of the book M., but in respect that that labour was too heavy, and the unspeakable concourse of the sick hindred them, and also whilst his new building called *Sancti Spiritus* was now finished," they added four more [all Germans but J. A.], making the total number eight, "all of vowed virginity; by them was collected a book or volumn of all that which man can desire, wish, or hope for."

Being now perfectly ready, they separated into foreign lands, "because that not only

[1] Fez was actually, or had been, the seat of a great Saracenic school, and, I believe, that philosophic interchanges of views were carried on between different parts of the Arabian Empire.

[2] Andreæ was born in 1586, which + 21 = 1607. The "Fama" is *said* to have been published in 1609 or 1610, but the real date is uncertain. It was probably *written* before.

their *Axiomata* might, in secret, be more profoundly examined by the learned, but that they themselves, if in some country or other they observed anything, or perceived any error, they might inform one another of it."

But before starting they agreed on six rules—

1. To profess no other thing, than to cure the sick, "and that *gratis*."

2. To wear no distinctive dress, but the common one of the country where they might happen to be.

3. "That every year on the day C. they should meet at the house S. Spiritus," or write the reason of absence.

4. Every brother to look about for a worthy person, who after his death might succeed him.

5. "The word C. R. should be their Seal, Mark, and Character."

6. The fraternity should remain secret 100 years.

Only five went at once, two always staying with Father *Fra;* R. C., and these were relieved yearly.

The first who died was J. O., in England, after that he had cured a young earl of leprosy. "They determined to keep their burial places as secret as possible, so that 'at this day it is not known unto us what is become of some of them, but every one's place was supplied by a fit successor.' What secret, soever, we have learned out of the book M. (although before our eyes we behold the image and pattern of all the world), yet are there not shown our misfortunes nor the hour of death, but hereof more in our Confession, where we do set down 37 reasons wherefore we now do make known our Fraternity, and proffer such high mysteries freely, and without constraint and reward: also we do promise more gold than both the Indies bring to the King of Spain; for Europe is with child, and will bring forth a strong child who shall stand in need of a great godfather's gift."

Not long after this the founder is supposed to have died, and "we of the third row" or succession "knew nothing further than that which was extant of them (who went before) in our Philosophical *Bibliotheca,* amongst which our *Axiomata* was held for the chiefest, *Rota Mundi* for the most artificial, and *Protheus* the most profitable."

"Now, the true and fundamental relation of the finding out of the high illuminated man of God, *Fra;* C. R. C., is this." D., one of the first generation, was succeeded by A., who, dying in Dauphiny, was succeeded by N. N. A., previously to his death, "had comforted him in telling him that this Fraternity should ere long not remain so hidden, but should be to all the whole German nation helpful, needful, and commendable." . . . The year following after he (N. N.) had performed "his school, and was minded now to travel, being for that purpose sufficiently provided with Fortunatus' purse,"[1] but he determined first to improve his building. In so doing he found the memorial tablet of brass containing the names of all the brethren, together with some few things which he meant to transfer to some more fitting vault, "for where or when *Fra* R. C. died, or in what country he was buried, was by our predecessors concealed and unknown to us." In removing this plate he pulled away a large piece of plaster disclosing a door. The brotherhood then completely exposed the door, and found written on it in large letters "Post 120 annos Patebo" [I shall appear after 120 years]. "We let it rest that night, because, first, we would overlook our *Rotam;* but we refer ourselves again

[1] Andreä was a great traveller. His excursions began in 1607, when he was twenty-one years old.

to the Confession, for what we here publish is done for the help of those that are worthy, but to the unworthy (God willing) it will be small profit. For, like as our door was after so many years wonderfully discovered, so also then shall be opened a door to Europe (where the wall is removed which already doth begin to appear), and with great desire is expected of many."

"In the morning we opened the door, and there appeared a Vault of seven sides, every side 5 feet broad and 8 high. Although the sun never shined in this vault, nevertheless it was enlightened with another sun, which had learned this from the sun, and was situated in the centre of the ceiling. In the midst, instead of a tombstone, was a round altar covered with a plate of brass, and thereon this engraven—

"A. C., R. C. Hoc universi compendium unius mihi sepulchrum feci
[I have erected this tomb as an epitome of the one universe].

"Round about the first circle was—

"Jesus mihi omnia
[Jesus is all things to me].

"In the middle were four figures inclosed in circles, whose circumscription was—

"1. Nequaquam[1] vacuum [There is no vacuum]. 2. Legis jugum [The yoke of the law]. 3. Libertas Evangelii [The liberty of the Gospel]. 4. Dei gloria intacta [The immaculate glory of God].

"This is all clear and bright, as also the seventh side and the two heptagons, so we knelt down and gave thanks to the sole wise, sole mighty, and sole eternal God, who hath taught us more than all men's wit could have found out, praised be His holy name. This vault we parted in three parts—the upper or ceiling, the wall or side, the floor. The upper part was divided according to the seven sides; in the triangle, which was in the bright centre [here the narrator checks himself], but what therein is contained you shall, God willing, that are desirous of our society, behold with your own eyes. But every side or wall is parted into ten squares, every one with their several figures and sentences as they are truly shown here in our book [which they are not]. The bottom, again, is parted in the triangle, but because herein is described the power and rule of the inferior governors, we forbear to manifest the same, for fear of abuse by the evil and ungodly world. But those that are provided and stored with the heavenly antidote, they do without fear or hurt, tread on, and bruise the head of the old and evil serpent, which this our age is well fitted for. Every side had a door for a chest, wherein lay divers things, especially all our books, which otherwise we had, besides the *Vocabulary* of Theophrastus Paracelsus, and these which daily unfalsifieth we do participate. Herein also we found his '*Itinerarium*' and '*Vitam*,' whence this relation for the most part is taken. In another chest were looking glasses of divers virtues, as also in other places were little bells, burning lamps, and chiefly wonderful artificial Songs; generally all done to that end, that if it should happen after many hundred years, the Order or Fraternity should come to nothing, they might by this onely Vault be restored again."

[1] The primary meaning of *nequaquam* is, of course, "in vain." I have ventured on a free translation, as seeming to possess slightly more meaning.

They now removed the altar, found a plate of brass, which, on being lifted, they found "a fair and worthy body, whole and unconsumed, as the same is here lively counterfeited [was the original illustrated ?] with all the Ornaments and Attires: in his hand he held a parchment book called I., the which next unto the Bible is our greatest treasure, which ought to be delivered to the world." At the end of the book was the eulogium of *Fra*, C. R. C., which, however, contains nothing remarkable, and underneath were the names, or rather initials, of the different brethren in order as they had subscribed themselves [like in a family Bible].[1]

The graves of the brethren, I. O. and D., were not found [it does not appear that some of the others were either], but it is to be hoped that they may be, especially since they were remarkably well skilled in physic, and so might be remembered by some very old folks.

"Concerning *Minutum Mundum*, we found it under another little altar, but we will leave him [query *it* ?] undescribed, until we shall truly be *answered upon this our true hearted Fama.* [So they closed up the whole again, and sealed it], and 'departed the one from the other, and left the natural heirs in possession of our jewels. *And so we do expect the answer and judgment of the learned or unlearned.*'" [These passages seem to indicate the purpose of the book.]

"We know after a time that there will be a general reformation, both of divine and human things, according to our desire, and the expectation of others, for 'tis fitting that before the rising of the Sun there should appear an *Aurora;* so in the meantime some few, which shall give their names, may joyn together to increase the number and respect of our *Fraternity*, and make a happy and wished-for beginning of our *Philosophical Canons*, prescribed by our brother R. C., and be partaken of our treasures (which can never fail or be wasted), in all humility, and love to be eased of this world's labour, and not walk so blindly in the knowledge of the wonderful works of God."

Then follows their creed, which they declare to be that of the Lutheran Church, with two sacraments. In their polity they acknowledge the [Holy] Roman Empire for their Christian head. "Albeit, we know what alterations be at hand, and would fain impart the same with all our hearts to other godly learned men. Our *Philosophy* also is no new invention, but as Adam after 'his fall hath received it, and as Moses and Solomon used it: also she ought not much to be doubted of, or contradicted by other opinions; but seeing that truth is peaceable, brief, and always like herself in all things, and especially accorded by with Jesus *in omni parte*, and all members. And as he is the true image of the Father, so is she his Image. It shall not be said, this is true according to Philosophy, but true according to Theology. And wherein Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and others did hit the mark, and wherein Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Solomon, did excel [here we have traces of the Cabbala], but especially wherewith that wonderful book the Bible agreeth. All that same concurreth together, and make a Sphere or Globe, whose total parts are equidistant from the Center, as hereof more at large and more plain shall be spoken of in Christianly Conference'" [Christian conversation].

[1] One cannot help being reminded of the old Monk and William of Deloraine uncovering the body of the wizard Michael Scott, which lay with the "mighty book" clasped in his arm. Scott there indulges in one of his not unusual anachronisms. Michael Scott is mentioned by Dante, hence the Monk, who had been his companion, must have been 200 years old on a moderate calculation. Similarly, Ulrica who in "Ivanhoe" lived *temp.* Rich. I., and "had also seen the Conquest, must have been 150."

Gold making is the cause of many cheats, and even "men of discretion do hold the transmutation of metals to be the highest point of philosophy;" but the "true philosophers are far of another minde, esteeming little the making of gold, which is but a *parergon;* for besides that, they have a thousand better things;" for "he [the true philosopher] is glad that he seeth the heavens open, and the angels of God ascending and descending, and his name written in the Book of Life." Also, under the name of chemistry, many books are sent forth to God's dishonour, "as we will name them in due season, and give the pure-hearted a catalogue of them; and we pray all learned men to take heed of that kind of books, for the enemy never resteth. . . . So, according to the will and meaning of Fra, C. R. C., we, his brethren, request again all the learned in Europe who shall read (sent forth in five languages) this our Fama and Confessio, that it would please them with good deliberation *to ponder this our offer*, and to examine most nearly and sharply their Arts, and behold the present time with all diligence, and to declare their minde, *either communicato concilio, or singulatim*, by print.

"And although at this time we make no mention either of our names or meetings, yet nevertheless every one's opinion shall assuredly come into our hands, in what language soever it be; nor shall any body fail, who so gives but his name, to speak with some of us, either by word of mouth or else by writing. Whosever shall earnestly, and from his heart, bear affection unto us, it shall be beneficial to him in goods, body, and soul; but he that is false-hearted, or only greedy of riches, the same shall not be able to hurt us, but bring himself to utter ruin and destruction. Also our building (although 100,000 people had very near seen and beheld the same) shall for ever remain untouched, undestroyed, and hidden to the wicked world, *sub umbra alarum tuarum Jehova.*"[1]

The "Confessio."

After a short exordium, there being a preface besides, it goes on to say that

They cannot be suspected of heresy, seeing that they condemn the east and the west—*i.e.*, the Pope and Mahomet—and offer to the head of the Romish Empire their prayers, secrets, and great treasures of gold. [Andreä and his colleagues had some method in their madness.]

Still they have thought good to add some explanations to the Fama, "hoping thereby that the learned will be more addicted to us."

"We have sufficiently shown that philosophy is weak and faulty," . . . "she fetches her last breath, and is departing."

But as when a new disease breaks out, so a remedy is generally discovered against the same; "so there doth appear for so manifold infirmities of philosophy," the right means of recovery, which is now offered to our country.

"No other philosophy, we have, than that which is the head and sum, the foundation and contents, of all faculties, sciences, and arts, the which containeth much of theology and medicine, but little of the wisdom of lawyers, and doth diligently search both heaven and earth, or, to speak briefly thereof, which doth manifest and declare sufficiently, Man; whereof, then, all Learned who will make themselves known unto us, and come into our brotherhood, shall attain more wonderful secrets than they did heretofore attain unto, or know, believe, or utter."

Wherefore we ought to show why such mysteries and secrets should yet be revealed unto

[1] This latter passage corroborates all the others italicised above as to the intent and purpose of the book.

the many. It is because we hope that our offer will raise many thoughts in men who never yet knew the *Miranda sextæ ætatis* [the wonders of the sixth age], as well as in those who live for the present only.

"We hold that the meditations, knowledge, and inventions of our loving Christian father (of all that which, from the beginning of the world, *man's wisdom*, either through God's revelation, or through the service of angels and spirits, or through the sharpness and deepness of understanding, or through long observation, hath found out and till now hath been propagated), are so excellent, worthy, and great, that if all books should perish and all learning be lost, yet that posterity would be able from that alone to lay a new foundation, and bring truth to light again."

To whom would not this be acceptable? "Wherefore should we not with all our hearts rest and remain in the only truth, if it had only pleased God to lighten unto us the sixth *Candelabrum?* Were it not good that we needed not to care, not to fear hunger, poverty, sickness, and age?

"Were it not a precious thing, that you could always live so, as if you had lived from the beginning of the world, and as if you should still live to the end?" That you should dwell in one place, and neither the dwellers in India or Peru be able to keep anything from you?

"That you should so read in one onely book," and by so doing understand and remember all that is, has been, or will be written.

"How pleasant were it, that you could so sing, that instead of stony rocks [like Orpheus] you could draw pearls and precious stones; instead of wild beasts, spirits; and instead of hellish *Pluto*, move the mighty Princes of the world?"

God's counsel now is, to increase and enlarge the number of our *Fraternity.*

If it be objected that we have made our treasures too common, we answer that the grosser sort will not be able to receive them, and we shall judge of the worthiness of those who are to be received into our Fraternity, not by human intelligence, but by the *rule of our Revelation and Manifestation.*

A government shall be instituted in Europe, after the fashion of that of Damear [or Damcar] in Arabia, where only wise men govern, who "by the permission of the king make particular laws (whereof we have a description set down by our Christianly father), when first is done, and come to pass that which is to precede."

Then what is now shown, as it were "secretly and by pictures, as a thing to come, shall be free, and publicly proclaimed, and the whole world filled withal." As was done with the "Pope's tyranny, . . . whose final fall is delayed and kept for our times, when he also shall be scratched in pieces with nails, and an end be made of his ass's cry" [a favourite phrase of Luther].

Our Christian father was born 1378, and lived 106 years [his remains being to be concealed 120, brings us to 1604, when Andreä was 18].

It is enough for them who do not despise our Declaration to prepare the way for their acquaintance and friendship with us. "None need fear deceit, for we promise and openly say, that no man's uprightness and hopes shall deceive him, whosoever shall make himself known unto us under the Seal of Secrecy, and desire our Fraternity."

But we cannot make them known to hypocrites, for "they shall certainly be partakers of all the punishment spoken of in our *Fama* [utter destruction, *vide supra*], and our treasures shall

remain untouched and unstirred until the Lion doth come, who will ask them for his use, and employ them for the confirmation and establishment of his kingdom." God will most assuredly send unto the world before her end, which shall happen shortly afterwards, "such Truth, Light, Life, and Glory as Adam had;" and all "lies, servitude, falsehood, and darkness, which by little and little, with the great world's revolution, was crept into all arts, works, and governments of man, and have darkened the most part of them, shall cease. For from thence are proceeded an innumerable sort of all manner of false opinions and heresies; all the which, when it shall once be abolished, and instead thereof a right and true Rule instituted, then there will remain thanks unto them which have taken pains therein; but the work itself shall be attributed to the blessedness of our age."

As many great men will assist in this Reformation by their writings, "so we desire not to have this honour ascribed to us." . . . "The Lord God hath already sent before certain messengers, which should testify His Will, to wit, some new stars, which do appear in the firmament in Serpentarius and Cygnus, which signify to every one that they are powerful *Signacula* of great weighty matters."

Now remains a short time, when all has been seen and heard, when the earth will awake and proclaim it aloud.

"These Characters and Letters [he does not say what], as God hath here and there incorporated them in the Holy Scriptures, so hath he imprinted them most apparently in the wonderful creation of heaven and earth—yea, in all beasts." As astronomers can calculate eclipses, "so we foresee the darkness of obscurations of the Church, and how long they shall last."

"But we must also let you understand; that there are some *Eagles' Feathers* in our way, which hinder our purpose." Wherefore we admonish every one carefully to read the Bible, as being the best way to our Fraternity. "For as this is the whole sum and content of our Rule, that every Letter or Character which is in the world ought to be learned and regarded well; so those are like, and very near allyed unto us, who make the Bible a Rule of their life. Yea, let it be a compendium of the whole world, and not only to have it in the mouth, but to know how to direct the true understanding of it to all times and ages of the World."

[Diatribe against expounders and commentators, as compared with the praises of the Bible:] "But whatever hath been said in the Fama concerning the deceivers against the transmutation of metals, and the highest medicine in the world, the same is thus to be understood, that this so great a gift of God we do in no manner set at naught, or despise. But because she bringeth not with her always the knowledge of Nature, but this bringeth forth not only medicine, but also maketh manifest and open unto us innumerable *secrets* and *wonders;* therefore it is requisite, that we be earnest to attain to the understanding and knowledge of philosophy; and, moreover, excellent wits ought not to be drawn to the tincture of metals, before they be exercised well in the knowledge of Nature."

As God exalteth the lowly and pulleth down the proud, so He hath and will do the Romish Church.

Put away the works of all false alchemists, and turn to us, who are the true philosophers. We speak unto you in parables, but seek to bring you to the understanding of all secrets.

"We desire not to be received of you, but to invite you to our more than kingly houses, and that verily not by our own proper motion, but as forced unto it, by the instigation of the Spirit of God, by His Admonition, and by the occasion of this present time."

An exhortation to join the Fraternity, seeing that they profess Christ, condemn the Pope, addict themselves to the true philosophy, lead a Christian life, and daily exhort men to enter into the order. Then follows a renewed warning to those who do so for worldly motives, for though "there be a medicine which might fully cure all diseases, nevertheless those whom God hath destinated to plague with diseases, and to keep them under the rod of correction, shall never obtain any such medicine."

"Even in such manner, although we might enrich the whole World, and endue them with Learning, and might release it from Innumerable Miseries, yet shall we never be manifested and made known unto any man, without the especial pleasure of God; yea, it shall be so far from him whosoever thinks to get the benefit, and be Partaker of our Riches and Knowledg, without and against the Will of God, that he shall sooner lose his life in seeking and searching for us, then to find us, and attain to come to the wished Happiness of the *Fraternity* of the *Rosie Cross.*"

I have given these abstracts at considerable length, in order to afford my readers a complete idea of the substance of the two publications. As will easily be seen, the "Confessio" professes to give an account of the doctrines of the society, the "Fama"—rather resembling a history—is totally unintelligible, in spite of the care which I have taken to give an accurate and copious abridgment. It is impossible to believe that Andreä, or whoever else may have been the writer, was describing a sect that actually existed, and difficult indeed to believe that he had any serious object. Indeed the "Confessio" sounds more like a nonsensical parody on the ordinary philosophical jargon of the day, and there are many passages in it as well as some in the "Fama," which will especially bear this interpretation, like the celebrated nautical description of a storm in Gulliver. I shall not, however, attempt to deny that Andreä was a man of talent, and one sincerely desirous of benefiting mankind, especially German-kind, but in the ardour of youth he must have been more tempted to satire than in his maturer years, and may have sought to clear the ground by crushing the existing false philosophers with ridicule, as Cervantes subsequently did the romancists. He may also, as Buhle says—and there are repeated traces of this in both works—have sought to draw out those who were sincerely desirous of effecting a real and lasting reformation. The answers doubtless came before him in some form or another through his friends and associates, of whom one account says that there were thirty, and the answers, if they were all like those preserved at Gottingen, which, in spite of the solemn warnings in both the "Fama" and "Confessio," chiefly related to gold finding, must have been sufficiently discouraging to induce him to relinquish, for the time at least, any such scheme as that which has been ascribed to him. His efforts, however, only ceased with his life,[1] though his plans, which at first embraced all science and morality, seem ultimately to have been reduced to the practical good of founding schools and churches. Was he after all a dreamy Teutonic and very inferior Lord Bacon?[2] As for the "Fama" itself, it seems to have

[1] It has been asserted that the dates given in connection with C. R. C. by some German writers are imaginary, but this is not so, since the precise date of his supposed birth is given in the "Confessio." It is not in the "Fama," and hence the mistake.

[2] Lord Bacon's political is lost in his scientific genius, nevertheless it was very great. So was also his legal capacity. There is a passage in his works wherein he laments the non-publication of his judgments, which he says would have shown him at least equal, if not superior, to his rival, Coke. I know of no greater loss.

been based on the "Master Nicholas" of John Tanler, with a little taken from the early life of Lully—not forgetting his own personal career—and coupled with certain ideas drawn from the Cabbala, the Alchemists, the seekers after Universal Medicine, and the Astrologers.

At the end of this edition comes a short advertisement, I imagine by Eugenius Philalethes himself to the reader, inviting him, says the writer, "not to my *Lodging*, for I would give thee no such *Directions*, my *Nature* being more *Melancholy* than *Sociable*. I would only tell thee how *Charitable* I am, for having purposely omitted some *Necessaries* in my former *Discourse*. I have upon *second Thoughts* resolved against that silence." After this he goes on to say that "*Philosophie* hath her *Confidents*, but in a *sense* different from the *Madams*," among whom it appears that he flatters himself to be one; and he is so much in her confidence that he even knows the right way of preparing the philosopher's salt, which would seem to be the long-sought-for universal medicine, a medicine the true mode of preparing which was known to few, if any, not even to Tubal Cain himself—though Eugenius must have been very much in the confidence of *Philosophie* to have known anything about the secret practices of the great antediluvian mechanic.[1]

This whole passage is so curious, and is so illustrative, in a small space, of the ideas and practices of these so-called philosophers, that I shall here introduce it, preserving, as far as possible, both the textual and typographical peculiarities of the original.

"The *Second Philosophicall work* is commonly called the *gross work*, but 'tis one of the greatest Subtilties in all the *Art*. *Cornelius Agrippa* knew the *first Præparation*, and hath clearly *discovered* it; but the *Difficulty* of the *second* made him almost an enemy to his own *Profession*. By the *second work*, I understand, not *Coagulation*, but the *Solution* of the *Philosophical Salt*, a *secret* which *Agrippa* did not *rightly* know, as it appears by his *practise* at *Malines;* nor would *Natalius* teach him, for all his *frequent* and *serious intreaties*. This was it, that made his *necessities* so *vigourous*, and his *purse* so *weak*, that I can seldome finde him in a *full fortune*. But in this, he is not alone: *Raymond Lully*, the best *Christian Artist* that ever was, received not this *Mysterie* from *Arnoldus*, for in his *first Practises* he followed the tedious *common process*, which after all is scarce *profitable*. Here he met with a *Drudgerie* almost *invincible*, and if we add the *Task* to the *Time*, it is enough to make a *Man old*. *Norton* was so strange an *Ignoramus* in this *Point*, that if the *Solution* and *Purgation* were performed in *three* years, he thought it a *happy work*. *George Ripley* labour'd for *new Inventions* to *putrifie* this *red salt*, which he enviously cals *his gold:* and his *knack* is, to expose it to *alternat fits* of *cold* and *heat*, but in this he is *singular*, and *Faber* is so wise he will not understand him. And now that I have mention'd *Faber*, I must needs say that *Tubal-Cain* himself is *short* of the *right Solution*, for the *Process* he *describes* hath not anything of *Nature* in it. Let us return

[1] After all we ought not to wonder at the facility with which dupes were then made. It is only a very few months ago, that an appeal was made in the newspapers for subscriptions to excavate the hill of Tara, near Dublin, in order to discover the Jewish Ark, alleged to have been carried by the prophet Jeremiah, on the conquest of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, first to Egypt and subsequently to Ireland, where it was lodged in the aforesaid hill of Tara. Now this hill was the latest site of the supposed royal Irish palace, and some human work such as a "rath" or camp, fortified by earthworks, and enclosing wattled huts after the manner of the New Zealanders, only on a larger scale, certainly existed there. But before Tara, which was of a comparatively late date, was Emania, and before Emania some other abiding place whose name I forget, and it must have been the first that was in existence (if ever) when Jeremiah may have landed in Ireland. The prophet showed his prophetic instinct in placing the ark in the last seat of Irish royalty. The subscription was actually begun, for there was, if I remember rightly, some dispute about it quite lately.

then to *Raymund Lullie*, for he was so great a *Master*, that he perform'd the *Solution, intra novem dies* [in nine days], and this *Secret* he had from *God himself.* ∴ ∴ ∴ It seems, then, that the *greatest Difficulty* is not in the *Coagulation* or *production* of the *Philosophicall Salt*, but in the *Putrefaction* of it when it is *produced.* Indeed this agrees *best* with the *sence* of the *Philosophers*, for one of those *Præcisians* tels us: "*Qui scit SALEM*, [et] *ejus SOLUTIONEM, scit SECRETUM OCCULTUM antiquorum Philosophorum*" ["he who knows the salt, and its solution, knows the hidden secret of the ancient philosophers"]. Alas, then! what shall we do? Whence comes our next *Intelligence?* I am afraid here is a sad Truth for somebody. Shall we run now to *Lucas Rodargirus*, or have we any *dusty Manuscripts*, that can instruct us? Well, *Reader*, thou seest how *free* I am grown; and now I could discover something else, but here is enough at once. I could indeed tell thee of the *first* and *second sublimation*, of a *double* Nativity, *Visible* and *Invisible*, without which the *matter* is not *alterable*, as to our *purpose.* I could tell thee also of *Sulphurs simple*, and *compounded*, of *three Argents Vive*, and as *many Salts;* and all this would be *new news* (as the *Book-men* phrase it), even to the *best Learned* in *England.* But I have done, and I *hope* this *Discourse* hath not *demolished* any man's *Castles*, for why should they *despair*, when I *contribute* to their *Building?* I am a hearty *Dispensero*, and if they have got anything by me, much good may it do them. It is my onely *fear*, they will *mistake* when they *read;* for were I to *live long*, which I am confident I shall not [of what use, then, was the salt?], I would make no other *wish*, but that my *years* might be as many as their *Errors.* I speak not this out of any *contempt*, for I *undervalue* no *man;* it is my *Experience* in this kind of *learning*, which I ever made my *Business*, that gives me the *boldness* to suspect a *possibility* of the same *faylings* in *others*, which I have *found* in my *self.* To conclude, I would have *my Reader* know, that the Philosophers, *finding* this *life* subjected to *Necessitie*, and that *Necessity* was *inconsistant* with the *nature* of the *Soul*, they did therefore look upon *Man*, as a Creature *originally ordained* for some *better State* than the present, for *this* was not agreeable with his *spirit.* This *thought* made them seek the *Ground* of his *Creation*, that, if possible, they might take hold of *Libertie*, and transcend the *Dispensations* of that *Circle*, which they *Mysteriously* cal'd *Fate.* Now what this *really signifies* not *one* in *ten thousand* knows—and yet we are *all Philosophers.*

"But to come to my *purpose*, I say, the *true Philosophers* did find in every *Compound* a double Complexion, *Circumferential*, and *Central.* The *Circumferential* was *corrupt* in *all things*, but in *some things* altogether *venomous.* The *Central* not *so*, for in the *Center* of every *thing* there was a *perfect Unity*, a miraculous indissoluble *Concord* of *Fire* and *Water.* These *two Complexions* are the *Manifestum* and the *Occultum* of the *Arabians*, and they *resist* one another, for they are *Contraries.* In the *Center* itself they found no *Discords* at all, for the *Difference* of *Spirits* consisted, not in *Qualities*, but in *Degrees* of *Essence* and *Transcendency.* As for the *Water*, it was of *kin* with the *Fire*, for it was not *common* but *æthereal.* In all *Centers* this *Fire* was not the *same*, for in *some* it was only a *Solar Spirit*, and such a *Center* was called, *Aqua solis, Aqua Cœlestis, Aqua Auri, Aqua Argenti:* In *some* again the *Spirit* was *more* than *Solar*, for it was *super-Cœlestial* and *Metaphysical:* This *Spirit* purged the very *rational Soul*, and *awakened* her *Root* that was *asleep*, and therefore *such* a *Center* was called, *Aqua Igne tincta*, and *Aqua Serenans, Candelas Accendens, et Domum illuminans.* Of both these *Waters* have I discoursed in these *small Tractates* I have published; and though I have had some *Dirt* cast at me for my *paine*, yet this is so *ordinary* I mind it *not*, for whiles we *live here* we *ride* in a

High-way. I cannot think him *wise* who resents his *Injuries*, for he sets a *rate* upon *things* that are *worthless*, and makes use of his *Spleen* where his *Scorn* becomes him. This is the *Entertainment* I provide for my *Adversaries*, and if they think it *too coarse*, let them *judg* where they *understand*, and they may *fare better*."

Andreä's labours with respect to the Rosicrucians are said to have been crowned by the foundation of a genuine society for the propagation of truth, named by him the "Christian Fraternity,"[1] into the history of which, however, I shall not proceed, as it would needlessly widen the scope of our present inquiry. Buhle's theory is—to rush at once *in medias res*—that Freemasonry is neither more nor less than Rosicrucianism as modified by those who translated it into England. Soane[2] goes a step further, and says that the Rosicrucians were so utterly crushed by Gassendi's reply to Fludd, not to mention the general ridicule of their pretensions, that they gladly shrouded themselves under the name of Freemasons; and both seem to agree that Freemasonry, at least in the modern acceptance of the term, did not exist before Fludd. I will pass over for the present the fact, that the works of Mersenne, Gassendi, Naudé, and others, were but little likely to have been read in England; and that no similar compositions were issued from the press in our own country, on the one hand; while, on the other, that the Masonic body, as at present existing, undoubtedly took its origin in Great Britain—so that the Rosicrucians concealed themselves where there was no need of concealment, and did not conceal themselves where there was—also that Masonry undoubtedly existed before the time of Fludd, and the Rosicrucians never had an organised existence. So that men pursuing somewhat similar paths without any real organisation, but linked together only by somewhat similar crazes, spontaneously assumed the character of a pre-existing organisation, which organisation they could only have invaded and made their own by the express or tacit permission of the invaded? I shall next show Buhle's theory somewhat at length, on which and its confutation to build my subsequent arguments.

To the objection that the hypothesis of the Gottingen professor is utterly untenable—I reply, and equally so are all the visionary speculations, however supported by the authority of great names, which in any form link the society of Freemasons with the impalpable fraternity of the Rosie Cross. Yet as a connection between the two bodies has been largely believed in by writers both within[3] and without[4] the pale of the craft, and in a certain sense —for Hermeticism and Rosicrucianism are convertible terms[5]—still remains an article of faith with two such learned Masons as Woodford and Albert Pike,[6] it is essential

[1] A list of the members composing this Christian Brotherhood, which continued to exist after Andreä's death, is still preserved, and the curious reader is referred for further particulars concerning it to a series of works cited by Professor Buhle, and reprinted by De Quincey in a note at the end of chapter iv. of his abridgment (De Quincey's Works, 1863-71, vol. xvi., p. 405).

[2] New Curiosities of Literature, *loc cit.*

[3] W. Sandys, A Short History of Freemasonry, 1829, p. 52. See also the article "Masonry, Free," by the same author, in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," vol. xxii., 1845; and the "Anacalypsis" of Godfrey Higgins.

[4] Buhle, De Quincey, Soane, King, etc.

[5] *I.e.*, *Hermeticism*—as a generic term—now represents what in the seventeenth century was styled *Rosicrucianism*. Writers of the two centuries preceding our own, constantly refer to the *Hermetick* learning, science, philosophy, or mysteries; but the word *Hermeticism*, which signifies the same thing, appears to be of recent coinage.

[6] In the opinion of Mr Pike, "Men who were adepts in the Hermetic philosophy, made the ceremonials of the blue [*i.e.*, craft] degrees." The expression "blue degrees" or "lodges"—in my opinion a most objectionable one—appears to have been coined early in the century by Dr Dalcho of Charleston, South Carolina.

to carefully examine a theory of Masonic origin or development, so influentially, albeit erroneously, supported. In order to do this properly, I shall put forward Professor Buhle as the general exponent of the views of what I venture to term the Rosicrucian (or Hermetic) school.[1] Mackey says: "Higgins, Sloane, Vaughan, and several other writers have asserted that Freemasonry sprang out of Rosicrucianism. But this is a great error. Between the two there is no similarity of origin, of design, or of organisation. The symbolism of Rosicrucianism is derived from an Hermetic philosophy: that of Freemasonry from an operative art." This writer, however, after the publication of his "Encyclopædia," veered round to an opposite conclusion, owing to the influence produced upon his mind by a book called "Long Livers," originally printed in 1722, the consideration of which we shall approach a little later. Before, however, parting with the general subject, I shall briefly touch upon all the points omitted by Professor Buhle, and urged by others of the "Rosicrucian school"—at least so far as I have met with any in the course of my reading, which, by the greatest latitude of construction, can be viewed as bearing ever so remotely upon the immediate subject of our inquiry.

"At the beginning of the seventeenth century," says the Professor, "many learned heads in England were occupied with Theosophy, Cabbalism, and Alchemy: among the proofs of this may be cited the works of John Pordage, of Norbert, of Thomas and Samuel Norton, but above all (in reference to our present inquiry) of Robert Fludd."[2]

The particular occasion of Fludd's first acquaintance with Rosicrucianism is not recorded; and whether he gained his knowledge directly from the three Rosicrucian books, or indirectly through his friend Maier, who was on intimate terms with Fludd during his stay in England, is immaterial. At any rate—and it should be remembered that it is the Professor who is arguing—he must have been initiated into Rosicrucianism at an early period, having published his "*Apology*" for it in the year 1617. Fludd did not begin to publish until 1616, but afterwards became a voluminous writer, being the author of about twenty works, mostly written in Latin, and as dark and mysterious in their language as their matter. Besides his own name, he wrote under the *pseudonyms* of Robertus de Fluctibus, Rudolphus Otreb, Alitophilus, and Joachim Frizius. His writings on the subject of Rosicrucianism are as follows:—I. "A Brief Apology cleansing and clearing the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross from the stigma of infamy and suspicion;" II. "An Apologetic Tract defending the Honesty of the Society of the Rosy Cross from the attacks of Libavius and others;" III. "The Contest of Wisdom with Folly;" IV. The "Summum Bonum," an extravagant work, from which I shall give various extracts, written "in praise of Magic, the Cabbala, Alchemy, the Brethren

[1] Buhle's "Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons," though "confused in its arrangement," is certainly not "illogical in its arguments," as contended by Dr Mackey. Its weak point is the insufficiency of the Masonic *data* with which the Professor was provided. On the whole, however, although some inaccuracies appear with regard to Ashmole's initiation, and the period to which English Freemasonry can be carried back, the essay—merely regarded as a contribution to *Masonic* history—will contrast favourably with all speculations upon the origin of Freemasonry of earlier publication. Whether Buhle was a Freemason it is not easy to decide; but from the wording of his own (not De Quincey's) preface, I think he must have been.

[2] With the exception of "Norbert," whom I have failed to trace, all the writers named by Buhle are cited in the Athenæ Oxonienses. Soane says that the Masonic lodges "sprang out of Rosicrucianism and the yearly meeting of astrologers," the first known members of which [the lodges]—Fludd, Ashmole, Pordage, and others, who were Paracelsists—being "all ardent Rosicrucians in principle, though the name was no longer owned by them."

of the Rosy Cross; and for the disgrace of the notorious calumniator Fr. Marin. Mersenne;" and V. "The Key of Philosophy and Alchemy."[1]

Some little confusion has arisen, out of the habit of this author of veiling his identity by a constant change of *pseudonym*. But it may be fairly concluded that all the works below enumerated are from his pen, since the references from one to another are sufficiently plain and distinct to stamp them all as the coinage of a single brain.

Anthony à Wood omits the "Apology" (II.) from his list of Fludd's works; but though denied to be his, it bears his name in the title page, and was plainly written by the author of the "Summum Bonum" (IV.), being expressly claimed by him at p. 39 of that work. Now, the "Sophiæ cum Moriâ Certamen" (III.), and the "Summum Bonum" (IV.), two witty but coarse books, were certainly Fludd's, *i.e.*, if the opinions of his contemporaries carry any weight, and the summing up of the Oxford antiquary, on this disputed point, is generally regarded as conclusive.[2]

Our author, indeed, sullied these two treatises by mixing a good deal of ill language in them, but Gassendi freely admitted that Mersenne had given Fludd too broad an example of the kind, for some of the epithets which he thought fit to bestow on him were no better than "Caco-magus, Hæretico-magus, fætidæ et horridæ Magiæ, Doctor et Propagator." And among other exasperating expressions, he threatened him with no less than damnation itself, which would in a short time seize him.[3]

Herein Mersenne showed himself a worthy rival of Henry VIII. and Sir Thomas More in their attack on Luther, who was a great deal more than their match in vituperation, though scarcely their superior in theology. It is certainly true that, as Hallam says, the theology of the Great Reformer consists chiefly in "bellowing in bad Latin," but it was effective, for he not only convinced others, but also himself, or appeared to do so, that every opposite opinion in theological argument was right, eternal punishment being always denounced as the penalty of differing from the whim of the moment. Buhle's theory, as he goes on to expand it, is that Fludd, finding himself hard pressed by Gassendi to assign any local habitation or name to the *Rosicrucians*, evaded the question by, in his answer to Gassendi, 1633, formally withdrawing the name, for he now speaks of them as "Fratres R. C. *olim sic dicti*, quos nos hodie Sapientes, vel Sophos vocamus; *omisso ille nomine*, tanquam odioso miseris mortalibus velo ignorantia obductis, *et in oblivione hominum jam fere sepulto*."[4]

I may observe, in passing, that, though from one cause or another, the name of "Rosicrucians" may have fallen into disrepute, that there is no reason why they should have hidden themselves under the name of "Freemasons," first, because there was no distinct

[1] I. Apologia Compendaria, Fraternitatem de Roseâ Cruce Suspicionis et Infamiæ, Maculis aspersam, abluens et abstergens. Leydæ, 1616; II. Tractatus Apologeticus, integritatem Societatis de Roseâ Cruce defendens contra Libavium et alios. Lugduni Batavorum, 1617; III. Sophiæ cum Moriâ Certamen, etc. Franc., 1629; IV. Summum Bonum, quod est verum, Magiæ, Cabalæ, Alchymiæ, Fratrum Rosæ Crucis Verorum, Veræ Subjectum—In dictarum Scientarum Laudem, in insignis Calumniatoris Fr. Mar. Marsenni Dedecus publicatum, per Joachim Frizium. 1629; V. Clavis Philosophiæ et Alchymiæ. Franc., 1633. The MS. catalogue of the Brit. Mus. Library affords, so far as I am aware, the only complete list of Fludd's works.

[2] *Ante*, p. 81; Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii., col. 620. [3] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii., col. 621.

[4] "The brethren of the R. C. who were formerly, at least, called by this name, but whom we now term the wise; the former name being omitted and almost buried by mankind in oblivion, since unhappy mortals are covered by such a thick veil of ignorance."

organisation which could go over, as it were, in a body—for the Rosicrucians never formed a separate fraternity in England any more than elsewhere; and, secondly, because there is no evidence of the English Freemasons ever having been called "Sapientes" or Wise Men.

Buhle, however, goes on to say that the immediate name of "Masons" was derived from the legend, contained in the *Fama Fraternitatis*, or the "Home of the Holy Ghost." Some have been simple enough to understand by the above expression a literal house, and it was inquired after throughout the empire. But Andreä has rendered it impossible to understand it in any but an allegorical sense. Theophilus Schweighart spoke of it as "a building without doors or windows, a princely, nay, an imperial palace, everywhere visible, yet not seen by the eyes of man." This building, in fact, represented the purpose or object of the Rosicrucians. And what was that? It was the secret wisdom, or, in their words, *magic*—viz., (1) Philosophy of nature, or occult knowledge of the works of God; (2) Theology, or the occult knowledge of God Himself; (3) Religion, or God's occult intercourse with the spirit of man;—which they fancied was transmitted from Adam through the Cabbalists to themselves. But they distinguished between a carnal and a spiritual knowledge of this magic. The spiritual being Christianity, symbolised by Christ Himself as a rock, and as a building, of which He is the head and foundation. What rock, says Fludd, and what foundation? A spiritual rock and a building of human nature, in which men are the stones, and Christ the corner stone. But how shall stones move and arrange themselves into a building? Ye must be transformed, says Fludd, from dead into living stones of philosophy. But what is a living stone? A living stone is a *mason* who builds himself up into the wall as part of the temple of human nature. "The manner of this transformation is taught us by the Apostle, where he says, 'Let the same mind be in you which is in Jesus.' In these passages we see the rise of the allegoric name of masons," and the Professor goes on to explain his meaning by quotations from other passages, which, as he has not given them quite fully, and perhaps not quite fairly, I shall hereafter quote at length. He says that, in effect, Fludd teaches that the Apostle instructs us under the image of a husbandman or an architect, and that, had the former type been adopted, we should have had *Free-husbandmen* instead of *Free-masons*.[1] The society was, therefore, to be a *masonic* society, to represent typically that temple of the Holy Ghost which it was their business to erect in the heart of man. This temple was the abstract of the doctrine of Christ, who was the Grand Master; "hence the light from the East,[2] of which so much is said in Rosicrucian and Masonic books. St John was the beloved disciple of Christ, hence the solemn celebration of his festival." Having, moreover, once adopted the attributes of masonry as the figurative expression of their objects, they were led to attend more minutely to the legends and history of that art; and in these again they found an occult analogy with their own relations to Christian wisdom. The first great event in the art of masonry was the building of the Tower of Babel; this expressed

[1] He does not tell us why the prefix *free* should have been added in either case, nor did he probably know that as attached to masons it has several derivations all perfectly reasonable, though of course they cannot all be true, and all long anterior to the era of which he is speaking.

[2] According to Soane, both the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons "derived their wisdom from Adam, adopted the same myth of building, connected themselves in the same unintelligible way with Solomon's temple, affecting to be seeking *light from the East*,—in other words, the Cabbala,—and accepted the heathen Pythagoras amongst their adepts" (New Curiosities of Literature, vol. ii., p. 91).

figuratively the attempt of some unknown Mason to build up the Temple of the Holy Ghost in anticipation of Christianity, which attempt, however, had been confounded by the vanity of the builders.[1]

"The building of Solomon's Temple, the second great incident[2] in the art, had an obvious meaning as a prefiguration of Christianity. Hiram,[3] simply the architect of this temple to the real professors of the art of building, was to the English Rosicrucians a type of Christ; and the legend of Masons, which represented this Hiram as having been murdered by his fellow-workmen, made the type still more striking. The two pillars also, Jachin and Boaz,[4] strength and power, which are among the most memorable singularities in Solomon's Temple,[5] have an occult meaning to the Freemasons. This symbolic interest to the English Rosicrucians in the attributes, legends, and incidents of the art exercised by the literal masons of real life naturally brought the two orders into some connection with each other. They were thus enabled to realise to their eyes the symbols of their own allegories; and the same building which accommodated the guild of builders in their professional meetings, offered a desirable means of secret assemblies to the early Freemasons. An apparatus of implements and utensils, such as were presented in the fabulous sepulchre of Father Rosycross, was here actually brought together. And accordingly, it is upon record that the first formal and solemn lodge of Freemasons, on occasion of which the very name of Freemasons was first publicly made known, was held in Mason's Hall, Mason's Alley, Basinghall Street, London, in the year 1646. Into this lodge it was that Ashmole the antiquary was admitted. Private meetings there may doubtless have been before; and one at Warrington is mentioned in the Life of Ashmole [it will be observed that here Buhle and De Quincey become totally lost]; but the name of a Freemason's lodge with all the insignia, attributes, and circumstances of a lodge, first came forward in the page of history on the occasion that I have mentioned. It is perhaps in requital of the services at that time rendered in the loan of their hall, etc., that the guild of Masons, as a body, and where they are not individually objectionable, enjoy a precedency of all orders of men in the right of admission, and pay only half fees. Ashmole, who was one of the earliest Freemasons, appears from his writings to have been a zealous Rosicrucian."

The Professor here pauses to explain that "when Ashmole speaks of the antiquity of Freemasonry, he is to be understood either as confounding the order of the philosophic masons with that of the handicraft masons, or simply as speaking the language of the Rosicrucians, who carry up their traditional pretensions to Adam as the first professor of the

[1] If this were really the case, there must have been a very long succession of Babels, which would, in a double sense, mean confusion, from the original to our own day.

[2] It is unfortunate that the two first great incidents should relate the one to *brick-laying* and the other to *metal working*, for the Temple was nothing else but wood overlaid with gold plates, the platform, like that of Baalbec, was formed of huge stones dragged together by mere manual labour. Hiram, King of Tyre, was half tributary prince, half contractor, and doubtless managed to make the one fit in with the other. As for the other Hiram, he was clearly a metal founder.

[3] A footnote to the essay, explains that Hiram was understood by the older Freemasons as an anagram, H. I. R. A. M.—Homo Jesus Redemptor AnimaruM; others made it Homo Jesus Rex Altissimus Mundi; whilst a few, by way of simplifying matters, added a C to the Hiram, in order to make it CHristus Jesus, etc.

[4] See the account of these pillars in the first Book of Kings, vii. 14-22, where it is said—"And there stood upon the pillars, as it were, *Roses*." Compare 2d Book of Chron. iii. 17.

[5] The pillars were probably mere ornamental adjuncts to the façade like the Egyptian obelisks, the famous masts at Venice, and numerous other examples that might be cited, including the Eleanor Cross in the station yard at Charing Cross.

secret wisdom."[1] "Other members of the lodge were Thomas Wharton, a physician; George Wharton; Oughtred, the mathematician; Dr Hewitt; Dr Pearson, the divine; and William Lilly, the principal astrologer of the day. All the members, it must be observed, had annually assembled to hold a festival of astrologers *before* they were connected into a lodge bearing the title of Free-masons. This previous connection had no doubt paved the way for the latter."[2]

So far, Buhle, De Quincey, and also Soane. A very pretty and ingenious theory, but unfortunately not quite in harmony with the facts of history. The whole of the latter part of the story is, as will be plainly demonstrated, a pure and gratuitous fabrication. The initiation of Elias Ashmole is stated to have taken place at the Mason's Hall, London, in 1646, and "private meetings"—for example, one at Warrington—are mentioned as having been held at an even earlier date. The truth being, as the merest tyro among masonic students well knows, that it was at the Warrington meeting which took place in 1646, Ashmole was admitted. The lodge at the Mason's Hall not having been held until 1682, or thirty-five years later.

The details of Ashmole's initiation will be considered hereafter at some length; but, before proceeding with my examination of the passages in Fludd's writings, upon which so much has been based by his German commentator, I shall introduce some observations of a learned Masonic writer, which, though much quoted and relied upon by a large number of authorities, tend to prove that he had then (1845) advanced little beyond the theory of Professor Buhle (1804), and that he was unable to prop up that theory by any increase of facts. The following extracts are from the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana,"[3] the article of which they form a part, being, without doubt, the very best on the subject that has ever appeared in any publication of the kind.

"It appears that Speculative Masonry, to which alone the term 'Free-Masonry' is now applied, was scarcely known before the time of Sir Christopher Wren; that it was engrafted upon Operative Masonry, which at that time was frequently called Free-Masonry, adopting the signs and symbols of the operative Masons, together, probably, with some additional customs, taken partly from the Rosicrucians of the seventeenth century, and partly imitated from the early religious rites of the Pagans, with the nature of which Ashmole and his friends (some of the first framers of Speculative Masonry) were well acquainted.

"Elias Ashmole was made a Mason at Warrington in the year 1646. At the same time, a society of Rosicrucians had been formed in London, founded partly on the principles of those established in Germany about 1604, and partly perhaps on the plan of the Literary Society, allegorically described in Bacon's 'New Atlantis,' as the House of Solomon. Among other emblems, they made use of the sun, moon, compasses, square, triangle, etc. Ashmole and some of his literary friends belonged to this society, which met in the Mason's Hall, as well as to the Masons [company], and they revised and added to the peculiar emblems and ceremonies of the

[1] As Dr Armstrong has well observed:—"The Livys of the Masonic commonwealth are far from willing to let their Rome have either a mean or unknown beginning." According to Preston,—"from the commencement of the world, we may trace the foundation of Masonry;" "but," adds Dr Oliver, "ancient Masonic traditions say, *and I think justly*, that our science existed *before the creation of this globe*, and was diffused amidst the numerous systems with which the grand empyreum of universal space is furnished"!! (Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 7; Antiquities of Freemasonry, 1823, p. 26).

[2] Professor Buhle then proceeds to sum up the results of his inquiry. These I have already given at p. 84, *q. v.*

[3] Vol. xxii., 1845, *s. v.* Masonry-Free, by William Sandys, F.A.S. and F.G.S., pp. 11-23. Mr Sandys, also the author of "A Short History of Freemasonry," 1829, was a P. M. of the Grand Master's Lodge, No. 1.

latter, which were simple, and had been handed down to them through many ages. They substituted a method of initiation, founded in part, on their knowledge of the Pagan rites, and connected partly with the system of the Rosicrucians, retaining, probably in a somewhat varied form, the whole or greater part of the old Masonic secrets; and hence arose the first Degree, or Apprentice of Free and Accepted or Speculative Masonry, which was, shortly after, followed by a new version of the Fellow Craft Degree."

"These innovations by Ashmole were not perhaps immediately adopted by the fraternity in general, but Speculative Masonry gradually increased and mingled with Operative Masonry, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was agreed, in order to support the fraternity, which had been on the decline, that the privileges of Masonry should no longer be restricted to Operative Masons, but extended to men of various professions, provided they were regularly approved and initiated into the Order." [1]

From what has gone before, it will be very apparent that if Sandys can be taken as the exponent of views, at that time generally entertained by the Masonic fraternity, the hypothesis of the Gottingen Professor, or at least his *conclusions*,—for the two writers arrive at virtually the same goal, though by slightly different roads,—were in a fair way of becoming traditions of the Society.

This I mention because, for the purposes of this sketch, it becomes necessary to lay stress upon the prevalence of the belief, that in some shape or form, the Rosicrucians, including in this term the fraternity, or would-be fraternity, strictly so-called, together with all members of the Hermetic [2] brotherhood—have aided in the development of Freemasonry.

I do not wish to be understood, as confounding the devotees of the Hermetic philosophy with the brethren of the Rosy Cross, but the following passage from the life of Anthony à Wood will more clearly illustrate my meaning :—

1663. "Ap. 23. He began a Course of Chimistry under the noted Chimist and Rosicrucian, Peter Sthael of Strasburgh in Royal Prussia, and concluded in the latter end of May following. The club consisted of 10 at least, whereof Franc. Turner of New Coll. was one (since Bishop of Ely), Benjam. Woodroff of Ch. Ch. another (since Canon of Ch. Ch.), and Joh. Lock of the same house, afterwards a noted writer. This Jo. Lock was a man of a turbulent spirit, clamorous and never contented. The Club wrot and took notes from the mouth of their master, who sate at the upper end of a table, but the said J. Lock scorn'd to do it; so that while every man besides, of the Club, were writing, he would be prating and troblesome. This P. Sthael, who was a Lutheran and a great hater of women,[3] was a very useful man, had his lodging in

[1] The resolution here referred to, which rests on the authority of Preston, will be considered at a later stage.

[2] Amongst the works not previously cited which will repay perusal in connection with the subject before us, I take the opportunity of mentioning Figuier's L'Alchimie et les Achimistes, 1855; A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery (anonymous), 1850; and the Histoire de la Philosophie Hermétique of Lenglet Du Fresnoy, 1742. The curious reader, if such there be, who desires still further enlightenment, will find it in "The Lives of the Alchemystical Philosophers," where at pp. 95-112 a list is given of *seven hundred and fifty-one* Alchemical Books; and in Walsh's Bibl. Theol. Select., 1757-65, vol. ii., p. 96 *et seq.*, which enumerates nearly a *hundred* more, more than half being devoted to the Rosicrucian controversy. Of course, but a small proportion of both these lists relates to English works, but the mere number will serve to show the extent of the mania.

[3] This seems to have been a characteristic of all the tribe, and the feeling was probably very heartily reciprocated by the fair sex. It will be recollected that the original followers of C. R. were "all of vowed virginity." "It was a long received opinion amongst the Schoolmen and doctors, that no good angel could appear in the shape of a woman, and that any apparition in the form of a female must be at once set down as an evil spirit" (James Crossley, editorial note, Chetham Soc. Pub., vol. xiii., p. 361).

University Coll. in a Chamber at the west end of the old chappel. He was brought to Oxon. by the honorable Mr. Rob. Boyle, *an.* 1659, and began to take to him scholars in the house of Joh. Cross next, on the W. side, to University Coll., where he began but with three scholars; of which number Joseph Williamson of Queen's Coll. was one, afterwards a Knight and one of the Secretaries of State under K. Ch. 2. After he had taken in another class of six there, he translated himself to the house of Arth. Tylliard an apothecary, the next dore to that of Joh. Cross saving one, which is a taverne: where he continued teaching till the latter end of 1662. The chiefest of his scholars there were Dr Joh. Wallis, Mr Christopher Wren, afterwards a Knight and an eminent Virtuoso, Mr Thom. Millington of Alls. Coll., afterwards an eminent Physitian and a Knight, Nath. Crew of Linc. Coll., afterwards Bishop of Durham, Tho. Branker of Exeter Coll., a noted mathematician, Dr Ralph Bathurst of Trin. Coll., a physitian, afterwards president of his college and deane of Wells, Dr Hen. Yerbury, and Dr Tho. Janes, both of Magd. Coll., Rich. Lower, a physitian, Ch. Ch., Rich. Griffith, M.A., fellow of University Coll., afterwards Dr of phys. and fellow of the Coll. of Physitians, and severall others."

"About the beginning of the yeare 1663 Mr Sthael removed his school or elaboratory to a draper's house, called Joh. Bowell, afterwards mayor of the citie of Oxon., situat and being in the parish of Allsaints, commonly called Allhallowes. He built his elaboratory in an old hall or refectory in the back-side (for the House itself had been an antient hostle), wherein A. W. [Anthony à Wood] and his fellowes were instructed. In the yeare following Mr Sthael was called away to London, and became operator to the Royal Society, and continuing there till 1670, he return'd to Oxon in Nov., and had several classes successively, but the names of them I know not; and afterwards going to London againe, died there about 1675, and was buried in the Church of S. Clement's Dane, within the libertie of Westminster, May 30. The Chimical Club concluded, and A. W. paid Mr Sthael 30 shill., having in the beginning of the class given 30 shillings beforehand. A. W. got some knowledge and experience, but his mind still hung after antiquities and musick."[1]

From the preceding extract, we learn that both John Locke, the distinguished philosopher, and Sir Christopher Wren, pursued a course of study under the guidance of a "noted Rosicrucian;" and by some this circumstance may seem to lend colour to the masonic theories which have been linked with their respective names. Passing on, however, I shall proceed with an examination of the passages in Fludd's writings, upon which Professor Buhle has so much relied. The following extracts are from the "Summum Bonum:"[2]

1. "Let us be changed," says Darnæus, "from dead blocks to living stones of philosophy; and the manner of this change is taught us by the Apostle when he says: 'Let the same mind be in you which is in Jesus,'" and this *mind* he proceeds to explain in the following words: "For when He was in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God. But in order that we may be able to apply this to the Chymical degrees, it is necessary that we should open out a little more clearly the meaning of the Chymical philosophers, by which

[1] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i., p. lii.

[2] *Ante*, p. 112, note 1. The following is a translation of its description on the title-page:—

"The Supreme Good, which is the Truth, consists of Magic, the Cabbala, Alchymy, the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross, which are concerned with Truth.

"In praise of the above-named sciences, and for the disgrace of the notorious calumniator, Fra. Mar. Mersenne; 1629."

(Fludd's Works, collected edition, Brit. Mus. Lib., vol. iv., pp. 36, 39, 47, 49.)

means you will see that these philosophers wrote one thing and meant another" [the hidden or esoteric wisdom].[1]

2. "We must conclude, then, that Jesus is the corner-stone of the human temple, by whose exaltation alone this temple will be exalted; as in the time of Solomon, when his prayers were ended, it is said that he was filled with the glory of God; and so from the death of Capha or Aben, pious men became living stones, and that by a transmutation from the state of fallen Adam to the state of his pristine innocence and perfection,—that is, from the condition of vile and diseased [*lit.* leprous] lead to that of the finest gold, and that by the medium of this living gold, the mystic philosopher's stone [whatever Fludd may have dreamt, the generality took it in a much more practical sense], I mean wisdom, and by the divine emanation which is the gift of God and not otherwise."[2]

3. "But in order that we may treat this brotherhood in the same way as we have the three special columns of wisdom,—namely: Magic, the Cabbala, and Chymistry,—we may define the Rosicrucian fraternity as being either

True or essential, and which deals rightly with the truth, } *i.e.*, with { Magic or wisdom. / The Cabbala. / Chymistry.

Or—

Bastard and adulterine, by which others give a false explanation of this society, or else because they are led away by a spirit } of { Of want or avarice, by which the common people are deceived. / Of pride, so that they should appear to be what they are not. / Of malice, so that, by living a vicious life, they may give the worst possible character to the society."[3]

[1] "Transmutemini [ait Darnæus] de lapidibus mortuis in lapides vivos Philosophicos; viam hujusmodi transmutationis, nos docet Apostolus dum ait: Eadem mens sit in vobis, quæ est in Jesu, mentem autem explicat in sequentibus, nimirum cum in formâ Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est se æqualem esse Deo. Sed ut Chymicis gradibus hoc præstare possumus, necesse est, ut Sapientum Chymicorum sensum, paulo accuratiori intuitu aperiamus, quo videatis aliud scripsisse, aliud intellexisse Sapientes" (pp. 36, 37).

[2] "Concludimus, igitur quod Jesus sit templi humani lapis angularis, cujus exaltatione non aliter exaltabitur ejus templum, quam tempore Salomonis, finitis ejus precibus, gloriâ Domini, dictum est fuisse repletum, atque ita ex Cæpha seu Aben mortuis, lapides vivi facti sunt homines pii, idque transmutatione reali, ab Adami lapsi statu in statum suæ innocentiæ et perfectionis, hoc est à vili et leprosi plumbi conditione in auri purissimi perfectionem, idque mediante auro illo vivo, lapide Philosophorum mystico, Sapientiâ dico, et emanatione divinâ quæ est donum Dei et non aliter" (p. 37).

[3] "Sed ut rem pari methodo cum Fraternitate istâ ac cum præcedentibus tribus præcipuis Sapientia columnis videlicet, Magia Cabbala atque Chymia æquamus, dicimus quod

Vera et essentialis, quæ recti versatur in verâ, } { Magia seu Sapientia. / Cabala. / Alchymia.

Fraternitas Rosæ Crucis sit aut

Adulterina et nothua atque hujus sectæ alii talem falso induunt denominationem, aut animâ ducti

Avara, seu indigente, quo vulgus decipiant.
Superba, ut scilicet videantur tales quales revera non sunt.
Malitiosa, ut vitam vitiosam ducentes pessimam in veram Fraternitatis famam inducant" (p. 39).

4. "Finally, the sacred pages show us how we ought to work in investigating the [nature of] this incomparable gem, namely, by proceeding either by general or particular form [or 'method']. The Apostle teaches us the general, where he says, 'We beseech you, brethren, that ye take heed that ye be at peace and conduct your own business, labouring with your hands as we have taught you, so that you seek nothing of any one.' In his particular instruction he teaches you to attain to the mystical perfection, using the analogy of *either an husbandman or an architect.* Under the type of an husbandman, he speaks as follows:—'I have planted, Apollos watered, but the Lord will give the increase.' For we are the helpers of and fellow-workers with God, hence he says, 'Ye are God's husbandry'" [or 'tillage.'[1] See 1 Cor., ch. iii., v. 10].

5. "Finally, a brother labours to the perfecting of this task under the symbol of an *architect.* Hence the Apostle says in the text, 'As a wise architect have I laid the foundation according to the grace which God has given me, but another builds upon it, for none other can lay the foundation save that which is laid, who is Christ alone.' It is in reference to this architectural simile that St Paul says, 'We are the fellow-labourers with God, as a wise architect have I laid the foundation and another builds upon it;' and David also seems to agree with this when he says, 'Except the Lord build the house the workmen labour but in vain.' All of which is the same as what St Paul brings forward under the type of an husbandman, 'For neither is he that planteth anything nor he that watereth but God who gives the increase, for we are the fellow-labourers with God.' Thus, although the incorruptible Spirit of God be in a grain of wheat, nevertheless it can come to nothing without the labour and arrangements of the husbandman, whose duty it is to cultivate the earth, and to consign to it the seed that it may putrefy, otherwise it would do no good to that living grain that dwells in the midst [of the seed]. And in like manner, under the type of an architect, the prophet warns us, 'Let us go up into the mountain of reason and build there the temple of wisdom.'"[2]

I shall not attempt to discuss the vexed question, and one which, after all, is impossible of any clear solution, whether some of the ideas inculcated by Fludd, and adopted doubtless more or less in their entirety by numerous visionaries, may not have found their way, may not have percolated, as it were, into the Masonic ranks; but it is, I think, tolerably clear that

[1] 4. "Denique; qualiter debent operari ad gemmæ istiusmodi incomparabilis inquisitionem, nos docet pagina sancta, videlicet, vel generali formâ vel particulari. Generaliter nos instruit Apostolus sic: 'Rogamus vos fratres ut operam detis, ut quieti sitis, et ut vestrum negotium agatis, et operamini manibus vestris, sicut præcepimus vobis, ut nullius aliquid desideretis.' In particulari suâ instructione more analogico discurrens, nos docet ad mysterii perfectionem, *vel sub Agricolæ vel sub Architecti typo pertingere.* Sub Agricolæ, inquam, titulo. Unde sic loquitur 'Ego plantavi, Appollos rigavit, sed Deus incrementum dabit. Dei enim sumus adjutores et operatores: unde dixit Dei agricultura estis'" (p. 49).

[2] 5. "Denique; *sub architecti figurâ* operatur frater ad hujus operis perfectionem, unde Apostolus ait loco citato Secundum gratiam Dei quæ mihi data est, ut sapiens Architectus, fundamentum posui, alius autem superædificat, fundamentum enim nemo aliud potest ponere præter id quod positum est, quod est solus Christus. De hujusmodi Architecturâ intelligens Paulus, ait 'Dei sumus adjutores, ut sapiens architectus fundamentum posui; alius tamen superædificat, cui etiam David astipulari videtur dicens: Domum nisi ædificaverit Deus in vanum laboraverunt qui eam superædificaverunt. Quod est idem cum illo à Paulo sub typo Agricolæ prolato.' Neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat, Deus, Dei autem sumus adjutores. Sic etiam licet incorruptibilis Dei spiritus sit in grano tritici, nihil tamen præstare potest sine Agricolæ adaptatione et dispositione, cujus est terram cultivare, et semen in eâ ad putrefactionem disponere aut granum illud vivam in ejus centro habitans nihil operabitur. Atque sub istiusmodi Architecti typo nos monet Propheta, 'ut ascendamus montem rationabilem ut ædificemus domum sapientiæ'" (p. 49).

not only was there no deliberate adoption of the Rosicrucian, or rather Fluddian tenets by the Masons, and no taking of the old masonic name and organisation as a cloak for the new society, but no possibility of such a thing having occurred.

The expression "living stones"—upon which so much has been founded—or "living rock" (*vivam rupem*), occurs very frequently in the old chronicles.[1] The title "Magister de Lapidibus Vivis," according to Batissier,[2] was given in the Middle Ages to the chief or principal artist of a confraternity—"master of living stones," or "pierres vivantes." On the same authority we learn that the official just described was also termed "Magister Lapidum," and some statutes of a corporation of sculptors in the twelfth century, quoted by a certain "Father Della Valle," [3] are referred to on both these points.

It is tolerably clear that no Rosicrucian Society was ever formed on the Continent. In other words, whatever number there may have been of individual mystics calling themselves Rosicrucians, no collective body of Rosicrucians acting in conjunction was ever matured and actually established in either Germany or France.[4] Yet it is assumed, for the purposes of a preconceived argument, that such a society existed in England, although the position maintained is not only devoid of proof, but conflicts with a large body of indirect evidence, which leads irresistibly to an opposite conclusion.

The literature of the seventeenth century abounds with allusions to the vagaries of Alchymists and Astrologers. There was an Astrologers' feast, if indeed an Astrologers' College or Society was not a public and established institution, and sermons, even if not always preached, were at least written on their side.[5] A school certainly existed for a time at Oxford, as I have already shown, presided over by a noted Rosicrucian. In fact, there seems to have been no kind of concealment as regards the manner in which all descriptions of what may, without impropriety, be termed the "black art" were prosecuted. There is, however, no trace whatever of any Rosicrucian *Society*, and it is consonant to sound reason to suppose that nothing of the kind could either have been long established, or widely spread, without at least leaving behind some vestiges of its existence, in the writings of the period.

It is worthy of note, moreover, that perhaps the most ardent supporter of that visionary scheme, a Philosophical College, with which so many minds were imbued by Bacon's "New Atlantis"[6]—Samuel Hartlib[7]—of whom a full memoir is still a desideratum in English

[1] Church Historians of England, 1852-56, vol. i., pt. ii., p. 554; W. H. Rylands, The Legend of the Introduction of Masons into England, pt. iii. (Masonic Monthly, Nov. 1882).

[2] Elements d'Archæologie, 1843; Freemason, July 8, 1882, note 19.

[3] In the opinion of Woodford, he is the same person who wrote, in 1791, the "Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto," published at Rome (Freemason, *loc. cit.*).

[4] It is true that, according to the preface of the "Echo of the Society of the Rosy Cross," 1615, "meetings were held in 1597 to institute a Secret Society for the promotion of *Alchymy*." See *ante*, p. 87, note 3.

[5] Stella Nova, a new Starre, Preached before the learned Society of Astrologers, August 1649, by Robert Gell, D.D.; Astrology Proved Harmless, Useful, Pious, Being a Sermon written by Richard Carpenter, 1657. The latter, a discourse on Gen. i. 14, "And let them be for signs," was dedicated to Elias Ashmole. The author, according to Wood, "was esteemed a theological mountebank."

[6] The late Mr James Crossley alludes to two continuations of that fine fragment, Bacon's "New Atlantis"—one by R. H., Esquire, printed in 1660; the other (in his own possession) written by the celebrated Joseph Glanvill, and still in MS. (Chetham Soc. Pub., vol. xiii., p. 214).

[7] A friend of Evelyn and Dr Worthington. Milton's "Tractate on Education" was addressed to him. According to Evelyn, he was a "Lithuanian" (Diary, Nov. 27, 1655); whilst Wood styles him "a presbyterian Dutchman, a witness against Laud" (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii., col. 965).



MAJOR GEORGE S. TUDOR

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF STAFFORDSHIRE

Thomas C Jack, London & Edinburgh.

biography, speaks of the Rosicrucians[1] in such terms as to make it quite clear that, in the year 1660, they occupied a very low position in the estimation of the learned. In letters addressed by him to Dr Worthington, on June 4 and December 10 respectively, he thus expresses himself,—"I am most willing to serve him [Dr Henry More], by procuring if I can a transcript of a letter or two of the supposed Brothers Ros.[eæ] Crucis;" and writing under a later date, he says, "the cheats of the Fraternity of the Holy [Rosy] Cross (w^{ch} they call mysteries) have had infinite disguises and subterfuges."[2]

Macaria—from μακαρία, "happiness" or "bliss"—was the name of the Society, the establishment of which Hartlib appears to have been confidently expecting throughout a long series of years. It was to unite the great, the wealthy, the religious, and the philosophical, and to form a common centre for assisting and promoting all undertakings in the support of which mankind were interested. Somewhat similar schemes were propounded by John Evelyn and Abraham Cowley; whilst John Joachim Becher or Beccher, styled by Mr Crossley "the German Marquis of Worcester," in his treatise "De Psychosophia," put forward the idea of what he calls a Psychosophic College, for affording the means of a convenient and tranquil life, and which is much of the same description as those planned by Hartlib and the others.

A similar society seems also to have been projected by one Peter Cornelius of Zurichsea.[3]

It is not likely that the Freemasons had any higher opinion of the Rosicrucians—*i.e.*, the *fraternity*—than was expressed by Hartlib. Freemasons, and Freemasonry more or less speculative, existed certainly in Scotland, and inferentially in England, long before its supposed introduction by Fludd, as I shall presently show, and if we cannot distinctly trace back to a higher origin than the sixteenth century, it is only to be inferred that *proof* of a more remote antiquity may be yet forthcoming. "Old records" of the craft, as I have already had occasion to observe, are oftener quoted than produced; but a few are still extant, and from these few we learn, that Masonic Societies were in actual existence at the time of their being written (or copied), and were not merely *in embryo*.

It will not be difficult to carry back the history of the Freemasons beyond the point of contact with the Rosicrucians, which is the leading feature of Buhle's hypothesis. He says:—1. "I affirm as a fact established upon historical research that, before the beginning of the seventeenth century, *no traces are to be met with* of the Rosicrucian or Masonic orders;" and 2. "That Free-Masonry is neither more nor less than Rosicrucianism as modified by those who transplanted it into England."

As regards the first point, "traces of the Masonic order," as Buhle expresses it, are certainly "to be met with" before the period which he has arbitrarily assigned for its inception. It is abundantly clear that Speculative Masonry—meaning by this phrase the membership of lodges by non-operative or geomatic masons—existed in the *sixteenth* century.[4] The fate of the second proposition is involved in that of its predecessor. It is not, indeed, even as an hypothesis, endurable for an instant that Freemasonry made its first appearance in South Britain as a Rosicrucian (*i.e.*, German) transfusion, *circa* 1633-46—herein slightly

[1] Meaning, of course, the so-called *fraternity*.

[2] Diary and Correspondence of Dr Worthington, Chetham Soc. Pub., vol. xiii., pp. 197, 239.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 163, 239, 284; Boyle's Works, 1744, vol. v., p. 847.

[4] *Vide* Chap. VIII., *ante, passim*.

anticipating the other but equally chimerical theory of a Teutonic derivation through the Steinmetzen—unless we adopt Horace's maxim—

"Mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor,"

in a sense not uncommon in philosophy, and strive to make facts bend to theory, rather than theory to fact.

Hence, the dispassionate reader will hardly agree with Soane—whose faith in Buhle no doubt made it easier for him to suppose, that what was probable must have happened, than to show that what did happen was probable—"that Freemasonry sprang out of decayed Rosicrucianism just as the beetle is engendered from a muck heap"[1]—a phrase which, however lively and forcible, errs equally against truth and refinement.

Extending the field of our inquiry, there can be but little doubt that Hermeticism—and my reasons for employing this word will be presently stated—only influenced Freemasonry, if at all, in a very remote degree; for there does not seem even the same analogy—fanciful as it is—as can be traced between the tenets of Fludd and those espoused by the Freemasons. Here, however, I deprecate the hasty judgment of my friend, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, whose known erudition, and the indefatigable ardour with which he dives into the most obscure recesses of book learning, entitle his opinions to our utmost respect; inasmuch as any *present* opinion upon the subject under discussion, must necessarily rest on purely circumstancial evidence, and is liable, therefore, to be overthrown at any moment, by the production of documentary proof bearing in any other direction.

It has been laid down by the authority I have last named, that "the importance of Hermeticism in respect of a true History of Freemasonry is very great;" also the opinion is expressed, "that an Hermetic system or grade flourished synchronously with the revival of 1717," and "that Elias Ashmole may have kept up a Rose Croix Fraternity" is stated to be "within the bounds of possibility."[2]

Three points are here raised—1. What is Hermeticism? 2. Was Freemasonry influenced by Elias Ashmole? and 3. Upon what evidence rests the supposition that Hermetic grades and Masonic degrees existed side by side in 1717?

These points I shall now proceed to consider, though not exactly in the order in which they are here arranged. For convenience sake, and before summing up the final results of our inquiry, I shall cite some evidence, which has been much relied on, by Mackey, Pike, Woodford, and other well-known Masonic students, as proving the existence of Hermetic sodalities certainly in 1722, and inferentially before 1717. This occurs in the preface to a little work called "Long Livers," published in 1722, and my object in here introducing it, is to obviate the necessity of dealing with the general subject, as it were, piecemeal—*i.e.*, in fugitive passages, scattered throughout this history; it being in my judgment the sounder course to take a comprehensive glance at the entire question of Hermeticism or Rosicrucianism, within, however, the limit of a single chapter. The points, therefore, which await examination in my concluding remarks are as follows:—1. Hermeticism; 2. The evidence of "Long Livers;" and 3. Ashmole as an Hermetic Philosopher.

[1] New Curiosities of Literature, vol. ii., p. 35.

[2] Masonic Monthly (1882), vol. i., pp. 139, 292; and *Cf.* Kenning's Cyclopedia, pp. 302, 303.

I. I have already stated that what we now call the Hermetic art, learning, or philosophy, would in the seventeenth century have passed under the generic title of Rosicrucianism. Whether the converse of this proposition would quite hold good, I am not prepared to say—much might be urged both for and against it. However, I shall not strain the analogy, but will content myself with describing the Hermetic art, as embracing the sciences of Astrology and Alchymy. The Alchymists engaged in three pursuits—

I. The discovery of the Philosopher's Stone, by which all the inferior metals could be transmuted into gold.

II. The discovery of an *Alcahest*,[1] or universal solvent of all things.

III. The discovery of a panacea, or universal remedy, under the name of *elixir vitæ*, by which all diseases were to be cured and life indefinitely prolonged.

The theory of the small but, I believe, increasing school who believe in Hermeticism as a factor in the actual development of Freemasonry may be thus shortly stated—

1. That an Hermetic Society existed in the world, whose palpable manifestation was that of the Rosicrucian fraternity.
2. That mystic associations, of which noted writers like Cornelius Agrippa[2] formed part, are to be traced at the end of the fifteenth century, if not earlier, with their annual *assemblies*, their secrets and mysteries, their signs of recognition, and the like.
3. The forms of Hermeticism—of occult invocations—are also masonic, such as the sacred Delta, the Pentalpha, the Hexagram (Solomon's Seal), the point within a circle.
4. The so-called "magical alphabet," as may be seen in Barrett's "Magus," is identical with the square characters which have been used as masons' marks at certain epochs, and on part of so-called masonic cyphers.
5. [*General Conclusions.*]—Hermeticism is probably a channel in which the remains of Archaic mysteries and mystical knowledge lingered through the consecutive ages.

Freemasonry, in all probability, has received a portion of its newer symbolical formulæ and emblematical types from the societies of Hermeticism.

At various points of contact, Freemasonry and Hermeticism, and *vice versâ*, have aided, sheltered, protected each other; and that many of the more learned members of the monastic profession were also Hermetics, is a matter beyond doubt,—nay, of absolute authority.

If ever there was a connection between the building fraternities and the monasteries, this duplex channel of symbolism and mysticism would prevail; and it is not at all unlikely, as it is by no means unnatural in itself, that the true secret of the preservation of a system of masonic initiation and ceremonial and teaching and mysterious life through so many centuries, is to be attributed to this twofold influence of the legends of the ancient guilds, and the influence of a contemporary Hermeticism.

The above statement I have drawn up from some notes kindly furnished by the Rev. A.

[1] Although Brucker, *op. cit.*, awards the credit of having introduced this term to Van Helmont, it is assigned by Heckethorn to Paracelsus, and its meaning described as "probably a corruption of the German words '*all geist*,' 'all spirit'" (Secret Soc. of All Ages and Countries, 1875, vol. i., p. 220).

[2] See H. Morley, Life of Cornelius Agrippa Von Mettesheim, Doctor and Knight, commonly known as a Magician, 1856, *passim*; Monthly Review, second series, 1798, vol. xxv., p. 304; Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s. v.* Agrippa; and *ante*, p. 76, note 1.

F. A. Woodford, and have merely to add, that the school of which he is the *Coryphæus*, disclaim the theory—as being self-destructive—of the origin of Freemasonry in an Hermetic school, which grouped itself around Elias Ashmole and his numerous band of adepts and astrologers, and of which germs may be found in the mystical works of Amos Comenius, and the "Nova Atlantis" of Bacon.[1]

II. "LONG LIVERS"[2] is "a curious history of such persons of both sexes who have liv'd several ages, and grown young again;" and professes to contain "the rare secret of Rejuvenescency." It is dedicated—and with this dedication or preface we are alone concerned—"to the Grand Master, Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Most Antient and Most Honourable Fraternity of the Freemasons of Great Britain and Ireland." The introductory portion then proceeds:[3]

"Men, Brethren,—

"I address myself to you after this Manner, because it is the true Language of the Brotherhood, and which the primitive Christian Brethren, as well as those who were from the Beginning, made use of, as we learn from the holy Scriptures, and an uninterrupted Tradition."

"I present you with the following Sheets, as belonging more properly to you than any [one] else. By what I here say, those of you *who are not far illuminated, who stand in the outward Place*, and are not worthy to look behind the Veil, may find no disagreeable or unprofitable Entertainment: and those who are so happy as to have *greater Light*, will discover under those Shadows somewhat truly great and noble, and worthy the serious Attention of a Genius the most elevated and sublime: *The Spiritual Celestial Cube*, the only true, solid and immoveable Basis and Foundation of all Knowledge, Peace, and Happiness." ∴ ∴ ∴

"Remember that you are the Salt of the Earth, the Light of the World, and the Fire of the Universe. *Ye are living Stones*, built up [in] a spiritual House, who believe and rely on the chief *Lapis Angularis*. ∴ You are called from Darkness to Light." ∴ ∴

[A considerable portion of the preface is here omitted. The writer moralises at very great length, and throughout several pages the only observation bearing, however remotely, upon the subject-matter of the current chapter, is his suggestion that legal pettifoggers, or "Vermin of the Law," should be "for ever excluded the Congregation of the Faithful," and "their names rased for ever *out of the Book M.*," from which—disregarding all speculation with reference to his hatred of the lawyers—some readers may infer that the idea of a *Book M.*[4] had been copied from the Fraternity of the Rosie Cross, by the society he was addressing.]

"And now, my Brethren, *you of the higher Class*, permit me a few Words, since you are but few; and these few Words I shall speak to you in Riddles, because to you it is given to know those Mysteries which are hidden from the Unworthy."

"Have you not seen then, my dearest Brethren, that stupendous Bath, filled with most limpid Water. ∴ ∴ Its Form is a Quadrate sublimely placed on six others, blazing all with celestial Jewels, each angularly supported with four Lions. Here repose our mighty King and Queen (I speak foolishly, I am not worthy to be of you), the King shining in his

[1] Although much abridged, the *ipsissima verba* of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford are preserved throughout.

[2] "London: printed for J. Holland at the Bible and Ball, in St Paul's Churchyard, and L. Stokoe at Charing Cross, 1722."

[3] The passages italicised are those which have been most frequently quoted in support of the theory that our *present system* of Freemasonry was directly influenced by *earlier* Hermetic societies.

[4] *Ante*, p. 100.

glorious Apparel of transparent incorruptible Gold, beset with living Sapphires; he is fair and ruddy, and feeds amongst the Lillies; his Eyes two Carbuncles; .·. his large flowing Hair, blacker than the deepest Black; .·. .·. his Royal Consort, vested in Tissue of immortal Silver, watered with Emeralds, Pearl, and Coral. O mystical Union! O admirable Commerce!"

"Cast now your Eyes to the Basis of this celestial Structure, and you will discover just before it a large Bason of Porphyrian Marble, receiving from the Mouth of a large Lion's Head .·. .·. a greenish Fountain of liquid Jasper. Ponder this well, and consider. Haunt no more the Woods and Forests; (I speak as a Fool) hunt no more the fleet Hart; let the flying Eagle fly unobserved; busy yourselves no longer with the dancing Ideot, swollen Toads, and his own Tail-devouring Dragon; leave these as Elements to your *Tyrones*."

"The Object of your Wishes and Desires (some of you perhaps have obtained it, I speak as a Fool) is that admirable thing which hath a Substance neither too fiery, nor altogether earthy, nor simply watery. .·. .·. In short, that One only Thing besides which there is no other, the blessed and most sacred Subject of the Square of wise Men, that is——I had almost blabbed it out, and been sacrilegiously perjured. I shall therefore speak of it with a Circumlocution yet more dark and obscure, that none but the Sons of Science, and those who are *illuminated* with the *sublimest Mysteries* and *profoundest Secrets* of MASONRY may understand, ——It is then, what brings you, my dearest Brethren, to that pellucid, diaphanous Palace of the true-disinterested Lovers of Wisdom, that transparent Pyramid of purple Salt, more sparkling and radiant than the finest Orient Ruby, in the centre of which reposes inaccessible Light epitomiz'd, that incorruptible celestial Fire, blazing like burning Crystal, and brighter than the Sun in his full Meridian Glories, which is that immortal, eternal, never-dying PYROPUS, the King of Gemms, whence proceeds everything that is great, and wise, and happy." .·. .·. .·.

"Many are called,
Few chosen." .·. .·. .·. Amen.

"EUGENIUS PHILALETHES, Jun., F.R.S.

"*March* 1*st*, 1721."

The author of "Long Livers" was Robert Samber, a prolific writer, but who seems to have made his greatest mark as a translator. Two of his translations—published in his own name—are dedicated to members of the Montague family, one to the Duke, the other to his daughter, Lady Mary.[1] The title of "Long Livers" states it to be by "Eugenius Philalethes, Jun.," author of a "Treatise of the Plague." The latter work, published in 1721, is also dedicated to the Duke of Montague, and the preface abounds with the same mystical and Hermetic jargon as that of which I have just given examples. A brief illustration of this will suffice.

"A true Believer will not reveal to anyone his Good Works, but to such only to whom it may belong. .·. .·. This elevates us to the highest Degrees of true Glory, and makes us

[1] Amongst his miscellaneous works may be named, "Roma Illustrata," 1722, and an "Essay in Verse to the Memory of E. Russell, late Earl of Oxford, 1731." He also *translated* "A Method of Studying Physic" (H. Boerhaave), 1719; "The Courtier" (Count B. Castiglione), 1729; "The Devout Christian's Hourly Companion" (H. Drexellius), 1716; "The Discreet Princess, or the Adventures of Finetta" (reprinted 1818); "One Hundred New Court Fables" (H. de la Motte), 1721; "Memoirs of the Dutch Trade in all the States of the World," 2d ed., 1719; and "Nicetas" (H. Drexellius), 1633. Some of the dates are not given, and the last apparently refers to the year of original publication.

equal with Kings. It is the most pretious and most valuable Jewel in the World: a Jewel of Great Price, redder and more sparkling than the finest Rubies, more transparent than the purest Chrystal of the Rock, brighter than the Sun, Shining in Darkness, and is the Light of the World, and the Salt and Fire of the Universe."

Eugenius Philalethes[1]—*i.e.*, Robert Samber—also exhorts his Grace "to do good to his *poor Brethren.*" It is certain that Samber received many kindnesses at the hands of the Duke—indeed, this is placed beyond doubt by the expressions of gratitude which occur in the preface of one of his translations,[2] dedicated to the same patron. He says: "Divine Providence has given me this happy opportunity publickly to acknowledge the great obligations I lye under to your Grace, for these signal favours which you, my Lord, in that manner of conferring benefits so peculiar to yourself, so much resembling Heaven, and with such a liberal hand, without any pompous ostentation or sound of trumpet, had the goodness, in private, to bestow on me;" and concludes by styling the Duke "the best of Masters, the best of Friends, and the best of Benefactors." This preface, which is dated Jan. 1, 1723, and signed "Robert Samber," brings us back very nearly to the period when "Long Livers," or at least its dedication, was written, *viz.*, March 1, 1721—*i.e.*, 172½[3]—or, according to the New Style, 1722, in which year, it should be recollected, the Duke of Montague was at the head of the English Craft. Now, in my judgment, nothing seems more natural than that Samber—himself an earnest Freemason, as his exhortations to the Fraternity abundantly testify—should seize the opportunity of coupling his gratitude towards his patron, with his affection for the Society to which they commonly belonged, by a complimentary address to the "Grand Master and Brethren of the Most Honourable Fraternity of the Freemasons of Great Britain and Ireland."

In this connection, indeed, it must not be forgotten that the Duke was a most popular ruler.[4] From 1717 to 1721 the Freemasons were longing to have a "Noble Brother at their Head," until which period only did they, from the very first establishment of the Grand Lodge, contemplate choosing a Grand Master "*from among themselves,*"[5] as Anderson somewhat quaintly expresses it. "At the Grand Lodge held on Lady-day, 1721, Grand Master Payne proposed for his successor John, Duke of Montagu, *Master* of a Lodge:[6] who, being present, was forthwith saluted *Grand Master Elect,* and his Health drank in *due* Form; when they all express'd great Joy at the Happy prospect of being again patronized by *noble Grand Masters,* as in the prosperous times of *Free Masonry.*"[7]

I have given these details at some length, because (as it seems to me) a good deal of misconception has arisen from the phraseology of Samber's dedication having been discussed

[1] The various books and pamphlets classified under the title of *Philalethes*, with varied prefixes, fill nearly an entire volume of the British Museum Catalogue. *Inter alia*, the following are given: *Philalethes* (Eugenius) *pseud.* [*i.e.*, Thomas Vaughan]; *Philalethes* (Eugenius, Jun.) *pseud.* [*i.e.*, Robert Samber]; *Philalethes* (Eireneus) *pseud.* [*i.e.*, George Starkey]; *Philalethes* (Irenæus) *pseud.* [*i.e.*, William Spang]. The last-cited *nom de plume* is also accorded to Thomas Vaughan, J. G. Burckhard, Louis Du Moulin, and Samuel Prypkowski.

[2] The Courtier, 1729; probably, from the date of the preface, a 2d edition.

[3] The Julian or Old Style, and the practice of commencing the legal year on the 25th of March, subsisted in England until 1752.

[4] "Grand Master Montagu's good Government inclin'd the better Sort to continue him in the Chair another year" (Constitutions, 1738, p. 114).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[6] It is very probable that Samber was a member of this Lodge?

[7] Constitutions, 1738, p. 111.

by commentators, without any consideration whatever of the circumstances under which it was written. Indeed, a portion of the criticism that has been passed upon it, before I announced the real author's name in the *Freemason*,[1] rests entirely upon *suppositions*, more or less ingenious, which identify the writer with Rosicrucian or Hermetic celebrities.[2]

Although I am quite unable to discern anything in the language employed by Samber, which calls for critical remark in a history of Freemasonry; yet, as a different opinion is entertained by many other writers whose claim to the public confidence I readily admit, it has seemed better, on all grounds, to place the evidence, such as it is, fairly before my readers, in order that they may draw what conclusions they think fit.[3] With this view, I have presented above every passage which, to the extent of my knowledge, has served as the text of any Masonic sermoniser, although, as the commentaries upon this Hermetic work are scattered throughout the more ephemeral literature of the Craft, I cannot undertake to say that a more subtle exposition of Samber's strange phraseology than I have yet seen, does not lie hidden in the forgotten pages of some Masonic journal.

"Long Livers," or its author, is nowhere referred to in the early minutes of the Grand Lodge, or the newspaper references to Freemasonry of contemporaneous date, which were of frequent occurrence; and from this alone I should deduce an inference totally at variance with the belief that the work possessed any Masonic importance. The only reference to it I have met with in the course of my reading, before its disinterment from a long obscurity by the late Matthew Cooke, Dr Mackey, and others, occurs in a *brochure* of 1723, which an advertisement in the *Evening Post*, No. 2168, from Tuesday, June 18, to Thursday, June 28, of that year, thus recommends, curiously enough, to the notice of the Craft: "Just published, in a neat Pocket Volume (for the use of the Lodges of all Freemasons), 'Ebrietatis Encomium,' or 'The Praise of Drunkenness,' confirmed by the examples of [*inter alios*] Popes, Bishops, Philosophers, Free Masons, and other men of learning in all ages. Printed for E. Curll.[4] .·. Price 2s. 6d."

Chapter XV. is thus headed,—"Of Free Masons, and other learned men, that used to get drunk." It commences as follows:—"If what brother Eugenius Philalethes, author of 'Long Livers,' a book dedicated to the Free Masons, says in his Preface to that treatise, be true, those mystical gentlemen very well deserve a place amongst the learned.[5] But, without entering into their peculiar jargon, or whether a man can be sacrilegiously perjured for revealing secrets when he has none, I do assure my readers, they are very great friends to the vintners. An eye-witness of this was I myself, at their late general meeting at Stationers'

[1] June 4, 1881.

[2] As "Long Livers" is an extremely rare work, it may be useful to state that a reprint of the *preface* will be found in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. iv., 1876-77, p. 161.

[3] I was deterred by the length of some of Eugenius Philalethes' exhortations, from quoting them *literatim*. It is, however, important to state, that, whilst eulogising Christianity, he directs the Masons "to avoid Politics and Religion" (Long Livers, preface, p. 16, l. 19).

[4] The following appears on the title-page: "Ebrietatis Encomium: or, the Praise of Drunkenness: Wherein is Authentically, and most evidently proved, The Necessity of Frequently Getting Drunk; and, That the Practice is Most Ancient, Primitive, and Catholic. By Boniface Oinophilus, De Monte Fiascone, A. B. C." According to the MS. Catalogue, Brit. Mus. Library, this work is a translation of "L'Éloge de L'Yvresse" of A. H. de Sallengrè.

[5] "Thus shall Princes love and cherish you, as their most faithful and obedient Children and Servants, and take delight to commune with you, inasmuch as amongst you are found Men excellent in all kinds of Sciences, and who thereby may make their Name, who love and cherish you, immortal" (Long Livers, preface, p. 17, l. 6).

Hall,[1] who having learned some of their catechism,[2] passed my examination, paid my five shillings, and took my place accordingly. We had a good dinner, and, to their eternal honour, the brotherhood laid about them very valiantly. But whether, after a very disedifying manner, their demolishing huge walls of venison pasty be building up a spiritual house, I leave to brother Eugenius Philalethes to determine. However, to do them justice, I must own, there was no mention made of politics or religion, so well do they seem to follow the advice of that author.[3] And when the music began to play, 'Let the king enjoy his own again,' they were immediately reprimanded by a person of great gravity and science."

I adduce the above, as the only contemporary criticism of the preface to "Long Livers" with which I am conversant, and have merely to add that the writer, in anticipation of the charge, "that he who wrote the 'Praise of Drunkenness,' must be a drunkard by profession," expresses "his content, that the world should believe him as much a drunkard as Erasmus, who wrote the 'Praise of Folly,' was a fool, and weigh him in the same balance." "The Praise of Drunkenness" is both a witty and a learned book, and Samber's apostrophe to the Freemasons is dissected far more minutely than I have shown above. The criticism, however, tends to prove, that none of the speculations now rife with regard to the mystical language in which Eugenius Philalethes is supposed to have veiled Masonic secrets—above the comprehension of the general body of the craft—occupied the minds of those by whom his *jeu d'esprit* was perused at the time of its appearance.

It has been said that after Paracelsus the Alchymists divided into two classes: one comprising those who pursued useful studies; the other, those that took up the visionary side of Alchymy, writing books of mystical trash, which they fathered on Hermes, Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, and others. Their language is now unintelligible. One brief specimen may suffice. The power of transmutation, called the Green Lion, was to be obtained in the following manner:—"In the Green Lion's bed the sun and moon are born, they are married and beget a King; the King feeds on the lion's blood, which is the King's father and mother, who are at the same time his brother and sister; I fear I betray the secret,[4] which I promised my master to conceal in dark speech from every one who does not know how to rule the philosopher's fire."[5] "Our ancestors," says Heckethorn, "must have had a great talent for finding out enigmas if they were able to elicit a meaning from these mysterious directions; still the language was understood by the adepts, and was only intended for them." To give one further example. When Hermes Trismegistus, in one of the treatises attributed to him, directs the adept to catch the flying bird and to drown it, so that it fly no more, the fixation of quicksilver by a combination with gold is meant. Many statements of mathematical

[1] This must either have been the meeting of June 21, 1721, when the Duke of Montague was invested as Grand Master, or that of June 24, 1722, when the Duke of Wharton was irregularly proclaimed; no other assembly having been held at Stationers' Hall, at which the author of the work quoted from (1723) could have been present. The allusion to the toast of the Pretender, coupled with the Duke of Wharton's known Jacobite proclivities, would favour the later date.

[2] This points to an earlier form of the Masonic Examination than has come down to us.

[3] Long Livers, preface, p. 16, l. 19.

[4] Compare with the passage (satirized by the author of the "Praise of Drunkenness") wherein Eugenius Philalethes expresses his horror of being "sacrilegiously perjured."

[5] Heckethorn, Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries, 1875, vol. i., p. 222, § 182.

formulæ must always appear pure gibberish[1] to the uninitiated into the higher science of numbers; still these statements enunciate truths well understood by the mathematician.[2]

In my judgment, Robert Samber is to be classed with these Alchymists, or people addicted to the use of alchymical language, "*who did not pursue useful studies;*" and there I should leave the matter, but some interpretations have been placed upon his words, of which, in candour, I am bound to give some specimens. "If," says Dr Mackey—and the reader should carefully bear in mind that this is the opinion of one of the most accurate and diligent of Masonic students—"as Eugenius Philalethes plainly indicates, there were, in 1721, higher Degrees, or at least a higher Degree in which knowledge of a *Masonic* character was hidden from a great body of the craft .·. .·. why is it that neither Anderson nor Desaguliers make any allusion to this higher and more illuminated system?" Mackey here relies on two passages which are italicised in my extract from Samber's preface—one, the allusion to those "who stand in the outward place," and "are not far illuminated;" the other, the exhortation to "Brethren of the higher class." The result of his inquiry being, "that this book of Philalethes introduces a new element in the historical problem of Masonry," in which opinion the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford evidently concurs.

Among the further commentaries upon the introduction to "Long Livers," I shall only briefly notice those of Mr T. B. Whytehead,[3] who alludes to the "Spiritual Celestial Cube," and infers from the language of the writer that he may have belonged to certain Christian degrees; and of Mr John Yarker, who finds in its phraseology a *résumé* of the symbolism and history given in the three Degrees of Templar, Templar Priest, and Royal Arch,[4] which Degrees he considers date from the year 1686, and observes (on the authority of Ashmole) that they synchronize with the revival of Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism in London.[5]

The remarks I have to offer on the subject of *degrees* will be given in a later chapter, and I shall next give a short sketch of Elias Ashmole, in his character of an Hermetic Philosopher.

III. Elias Ashmole, "the eminent philosopher, chemist, and antiquary"—as he is styled by his fullest biographer, Dr Campbell[6]—founder of the noble museum at Oxford, which still bears his name, was the only child of Simon Ashmole, of Lichfield, Saddler, in which city his birth occurred on May 23, 1617. The chief instrument of his future preferments, as he gratefully records in his diary, was his cousin Thomas, son of James Paget, Esq., some time Puisne Baron of the Exchequer, who had married for his second wife, Bridget, Ashmole's aunt by the mother's side. When he had attained the age of sixteen, he went to reside with Baron Paget, at his house in London, and continued for some years afterwards a dependent of that family.

[1] It is a singular fatality that Abu Musa Jafar al Sofi—better known as Geber—considered to be the father and founder of Chemistry, and also a famous astronomer, and who is said to have written 500 hermetic works, should have descended to our times as the founder of that jargon known by the name of gibberish!

[2] Heckethorn, *loc. cit.*

[3] Freemasons' Chronicle, May 14, 1881.

[4] Freemason, Jan. 1 and Jan. 29, 1881.

[5] He says, "I may point out that Ashmole makes the London revival of Freemasonry and the occult Rosicrucian system, with which he was connected, as both taking place in 1686" (Freemason, Jan. 29, 1881).

[6] Biographia Britannica, vol i., 1747, *s. v.* Ashmole. As the ensuing monograph of Ashmole is derived mainly from the memoirs of him in the work last cited; in Collier's "Historical Dictionary," 1707, Supplement, 2d Alphabet; Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," vol. iii., col. 354; and *Masonic Magazine*, December 1881 (W. H. Rylands, Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century—Warrington, 1646); together with his own "Diary," published by Charles Burman in 1717; I shall only refer to these authorities in special instances.

In 1638 he settled himself in the world, and on March 27 of that year, married Eleanor, daughter of Mr Peter Mainwaring of Smallwood, in the county of Chester, and in Michaelmas term the same year became a Solicitor in Chancery. In 1641 he was sworn an Attorney in the Common Pleas, and in the same year lost his wife, who died suddenly. The following year—owing to the unsettled condition of affairs—he retired to Smallwood, where he prosecuted his studies, and in 1644 went to Oxford, and at Brazen-Nose College and the public library, "applied himself vigorously to the sciences, but more particularly to natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, and his intimate acquaintance with Mr, afterwards Sir, George Wharton, gave him a turn to astrology, which was in those days in greater credit than now."[1] On March 12, 1646, at the recommendation of Sir John Heydon,[2] he was made a captain in Lord Ashley's regiment at Worcester, and on June 12, Comptroller of the Ordnance. After the surrender of the town of Worcester, Ashmole again withdrew to Cheshire, and on October 16 in the same year (1646) was made a Freemason at Warrington in Lancashire, respecting which occurrence, as it will form the subject of our inquiry, from a different point of view, in the next chapter, I shall merely pause to observe, that whilst he is stated to have regarded his admission as a great distinction, there is no direct proof that he was present at more than two Masonic meetings in his life.[3]

Ashmole left Cheshire at the end of October, and arriving in London, became intimate with Mr, afterwards Sir, Jonas Moore, Mr William Lilly, and Mr John Booker,[4] esteemed the greatest astrologers living, by whom he was "caressed, instructed, and received into their fraternity, which then made a very considerable figure, as appeared by the great resort of persons of distinction to their annual feast, of which he was afterwards elected steward."[5] On November 16, 1649, he became the fourth husband of Lady Mainwaring,[6] and shortly afterwards settled in London, when his house became a fashionable *rendezvous* for the most learned and ingenious persons of the time. In 1661 he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. Twice he declined the office of Garter-King-at-Arms. His wife, Lady Mainwaring, died on April 1, 1668, and he was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Dugdale, on November 3 in the same year. Ashmole died on May 18, 1692, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Anthony à Wood, who seldom erred on the side of panegyric, says of him, "He was the greatest virtuoso and curioso that ever was known or read of in England before his time. *Uxor Solis* took up its habitation in his breast, and in his bosom the great God did abundantly store up the treasures of all sorts of wisdom and knowledge. Much of his time, when he was in the prime of his years, was spent in chymistry; in which faculty being accounted famous, did worthily receive the title of

[1] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.* According to Ashmole's "Diary," he "first became acquainted with Captain Wharton, Ap. 17, 1645;" and their friendship, which had been discontinued many years, by reason of the latter's "unhandsome and unfriendly dealing, began to be renewed about the middle of December 1669." Wharton died Nov. 15, 1678.

[2] Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, who died October 16, 1653, and is to be carefully distinguished from John Heydon (Eugenius Theodidactus) the astrologer, of whom anon.

[3] *E.g.* on October 16, 1646; and on March 11, 1682. See, however, *post*, p. 137.

[4] Booker died in 1667, and Lilly in 1681; gravestones were placed over them by Ashmole, who purchased both their libraries.

[5] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.*

[6] Sole daughter of Sir William Forster of Aldermarston, Berks, first married to Sir Edward Strafford, next to Mr T. Hamlyn, Pursuivant of Arms, and then to Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Knt., one of the Masters in Chancery.

Mercuriophilus Anglicus."[1] This, Dr Campbell—who can himself see no defects in Ashmole's character—allows to be "an extraordinary commendation from so splenetic a writer,"[2] though, as we shall see, it was somewhat qualified, by the further remarks of the Oxford Antiquary. After mentioning the rarities, coins, medals, books, and manuscripts given by Elias Ashmole in his lifetime, and at his death, to the University of Oxford, he very abruptly goes on to say —"But the best *elixir* that he enjoyed, which was the foundation of his riches, wherewith he purchased books, rarities, and other things, were the lands and joyntures which he had by his second wife .·. .·. Mr Ashmole taking her to wife on the 16th of Nov. 1649, enjoyed her estate, tho' not her company for altogether, till the day of her death, which hapned on the first of Apr. 1668."

Ashmole's greatest undertaking was his history of the "Most Noble Order of the Garter," published in 1672, and of which it has been said, "if he had published nothing else, it ought to have preserved his memory for ever, since it is in its kind one of the most valuable books in our language."[3]

As it is, however, with his Hermetic works that we are alone concerned, I proceed with their enumeration; premising that he made his first appearance as an editor and translator before taking upon himself the character of an author.

1. "*Fasciculus Chymicus:*[4] or, Chymical Collections expressing the Ingress, Progress, and Egress of the Secret Hermetick Science. Whereunto is added the *Arcanum,*[5] or Grand Secret of Hermetick Philosophy. Both made English by James Hasolle, Esq.; *Qui est Mercuriophilus Anglicus.* London, 1650."

To these translations was prefixed a kind of hieroglyphical frontispiece in several compartments, of which a brief notice will suffice—"a scrowl from above, and a *mole* at the foot of an *ash*-tree, express the author's name, which is also anagramised in *James Hasolle, i.e., Elias Ashmole.* A column on the right hand refers to his proficiency in music, and to his being a Freemason,[6] as that on the left does to his military preferments. Ashmole's *prolegomena* alone runs to thirty-one pages. According to Wood, "farc'd with Rosycrucian language," and dedicated to "all the ingeniously elaborate students of Hermetick Learning."[7]

2. "Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum: or, Annotations on Several Poetical Pieces of our Famous English Philosophers who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their own ancient language. London, 1652."

In this he designed a complete collection of the works of such English chymists as had till then remained in MS.; and finding that a competent knowledge of Hebrew, was absolutely

[1] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii., col. 359. [2] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Arthur Dee, Fasciculus Chymicus de Abstrusis Hermeticæ Scientæ, Ingressu, Progressu, etc., Par. 1631. Besides the libraries of Booker, Lilly, Milbourn, and Hawkins, Ashmole also bought that of Dr Dee.

[5] As to the authorship of this, see *post*, p. 133.

[6] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.* "A pillar adorned with musical instruments, rules, compasses, and mathematical schemes" (*Ibid*). In Ben Jonson's comedy, "The Alchemist," 1610, Subtle says—

> "He shall have *a bel*, that's *Abel:*
> And by it standing one whose name is *Dee*,
> In a *rug* gown, there's D, and *Rug*, that's *drug:*
> And right anenst him a dog snarling *er:*
> There's *Drugger*, Abel Drugger. That's his sign.
> And here's now mystery and hieroglyphic."

[7] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iv., col. 861.

necessary, for understanding and explaining such authors as had written on the Hermetic science, he had recourse to Rabbi Solomon Frank, by whom he was taught the rudiments of the sacred tongue, which he found very useful to him in his studies. The work last described gained him a great reputation among the learned, especially in foreign countries.

3. "The Way to Bliss," in three books, made public by Elias Ashmole, 1658.

This was penned by an unknown author, who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Ashmole received the copy from William Backhouse, and published it, because a pretended copy was in circulation, which it was designed "to pass for the child of one Eugenius Theodidactus, being—by re-baptisation—called 'The Wise-Man's Crown, or Rosie-crusian Physic.'" [1]

This Eugenius Theodidactus—*i.e.*, the taught of God—was one John Heydon, a great pretender to Rosicrucian knowledge, who married the widow of Nicholas Culpepper, the famous quack, and published many idle books, in one [2] or more of which he abused Ashmole on this subject. In his "Wiseman's Crown, or the Glory of the Rosy Cross," 1664, are the following curious passages:

"The Rosie Crucians, with a certain terible authority of religion, do exact an oath of silence from those they initiate to the arts of Astromancy, Geomancy, and Telesmaticall Images, &c."

"The late years of tirany admitted Stocking weavers, Shoemakers, Millers, *Masons*, Carpenters, Bricklaiers, Gunsmiths, Hatters, Butlers, &c., to write and teach astrology, &c." [3]

My readers can place what construction they please on the preceding quotations, but their value for any useful purpose is much lessened by the general character of the writer's productions. In one of these, indeed, he speaks of the Rosicrucians as "a divine fraternity that inhabite the subburbs of Heaven;" and in another place says, "I am no Rosicrucian." [4] His knowledge, therefore, of the fraternity must have been of the slightest. The passage relating to the masons appears to me to prove rather too much, though I insert it, in deference to the learning and research of the friend from whom I received it; for not masons only, but apparently all kinds of mechanics, were admitted into the ranks of the astrologers; indeed, this is placed beyond doubt by Lilly's description of his colleagues.[5]

"The Way to Bliss" was a treatise in prose on the Philosopher's Stone, to which he prefixed a preface, dated April 16, 1658. This address to the reader was a kind of farewell to Hermetic philosophy on the part of Ashmole. The treatise itself is pronounced by Dr Campbell "*to be the best and most sensible book in our language*" [6]—an expression of opinion which

[1] The Way to Bliss, Ashmole's preface.

[2] The Idea of the Law, 1660. Heydon, according to his own statement, was born in 1629. He has been confounded with Sir John Heydon, probably from the fact that the latter's father, Sir C. Heydon, wrote a "Defence of Judicial Astrology," 1603. Twenty years afterwards, Dr George Carleton, successively Bishop of Llandaff and Chichester, published "Astrologimania: or, the Madness of Astrologers," which was an answer to Sir C. Heydon's book (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i., col. 745; vol. ii., col. 422).

[3] For these extracts I am indebted to the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford. The work from which they are taken is not in the library of the British Museum.

[4] The Rosie Crucian Infallible Axiomata, or General Rules to Know All Things, Past, Present, and to Come. 1660. (Preface.) A complete list of Heydon's works is given in the "Athenæ Oxonienses," vol. iv., col. 362.

[5] Alexander Hart had been a soldier; William Poole, a gardener, plasterer, and bricklayer; Booker, a haberdasher's apprentice; and Lilly, a domestic servant (Life of Lilly, with notes by Elias Ashmole).

[6] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.*

induced the late Mr Crossley [1] to remark, "I rather agree with Dr Dibdin,[2] who pronounced it 'a work invincibly dull,' and 'a farrago of sublime nonsense.' Probably neither of us have the true Hermetic vein, which only

"'Pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter'

are blessed with. Dr Campbell might be one of those more favoured readers of whom Ashmole speaks: 'It is a cause of much wonder where he that reads, though smatteringly acquainted with nature, should not meet with clear satisfaction; but here is the reason: *Many are called, but few are chosen.* 'Tis a haven towards which many skilful pilots have bent their course, yet few have reached it. For, as amongst the people of the Jews, there was but one who might enter into the Holy of Holies, (and that but once a year,) so there is seldom more in a nation whom God lets into this Sanctum Sanctorum of philosophy; yet some there are. But though the number of the elect are not many, and generally the fathom of most men's fancies that attempt the search of this most subtle mystery is too narrow to comprehend it, their strongest reason too weak to pierce the depth it lies obscured in, being indeed so unsearchable and ambiguous, it rather exacts the sacred and courteous illuminations of a cherub than the weak assistance of a pen to reveal it; yet let no man despair." [3]

After Ashmole once addicted himself to the study of antiquities and records, he never deserted it, or could be prevailed upon to resume his design of sending abroad the works of the other English *Adepti,* though he had made large collections towards it.

It has been suggested, that some of the abler alchemists showed him his mistakes, in what he had already published, particularly as to the *Arcanum* before mentioned, which he calls "the work of a concealed author," though in what seems to be the motto,—viz., the words *Penes nos unda Tagi,*—the very name of the author was expressed, viz., Jean Espagnet.[4] But this piece published by Ashmole, was only the second part of Espagnet's work, the first being published under the title of "Enchiridion Physicæ restitutæ cum Arcano Philosophiæ Hermeticæ." [5] Paris, 1623. In the title of this work, the author's name is concealed under another anagrammatical motto, viz., *Spes mea in agno est.* The second part was entitled, "Enchiridion Philosophiæ Hermeticæ," 1628. It was printed again in 1647, and a third time in 1650; and from this last volume Ashmole translated it. "The truth is," says Dr Campbell, "and the Abbé Fresnoy [6] has justly observed it, our author was never an Adept, and began to write when he was but a disciple. He grew afterwards more cautious, and though he never missed any opportunity of purchasing chymical MSS., yet he was cured of the itch of publishing them, and held it sufficient to deposit them in the Bodleian Library, for their greater security, and for the benefit of society." [7]

Ashmole's claim to the title, of which the Abbé Fresnoy would deprive him, rests in the

[1] Chetham Soc. Pub., vol. xiii., p. 157, note 1.

[2] Bibliomania, p. 387.

[3] Fasciculus Chymicus, 1650, *prolegomena.*

[4] "President of the Parliament of Bordeaux, and esteemed the ablest writer on this sort of learning whose works are extant" (Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.*).

[5] The Enchiridion of Revived Physic, with the Secret of the Hermetic Philosophy. Citing Histoire de la Philosophie Hermétique, tom. iii., p. 105.

[6] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.*

main, upon certain entries in his diary which refer to Mr William Backhouse,[1] who himself was reputed an Adept, and, it is said, instilled into the mind of the younger inquirer his affection for chemistry. These are as follow:

"1651. April 3. *Post merid.* Mr William Backhouse of Swallowfield, in *com.* Berks, caused me to call him father thenceforward."

"June 10. Mr Backhouse told me I must now needs be his son, because he had communicated so many secrets to me."

"1652. March 10. This morning my father Backhouse opened himself very freely, touching the great secret."

"1652. May 13. My father Backhouse lying sick in Fleet Street, over against St Dunstan's Church; and not knowing whether he should live or die, about one of the clock, told me, in syllables, the true matter of the Philosopher's Stone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy."[2]

The nature of this kind of philosophic adoption is very copiously explained by Ashmole himself, in his notes on Norton's "Ordinal,"[3] and perhaps the passage may not be disagreeable to the reader.[4]

"There has been a continued succession of Philosophers in all ages, altho' the heedless world hath seldom taken notice of them; for the antients usually (before they died) adopted one or other for their sons, whom they knew well fitted with such like qualities, as are set down in the letter that Norton's master wrote to him, when he sent to make him his heir unto this science, and otherwise than for pure virtue's sake, let no man expect to attain it, or, as in the case of Tonsile—

"'For almes I will make no store,
Plainly to disclose it, that was never done before.'[5]

"Rewards nor terrors (be they never so munificent or dreadful) can wrest this secret out of the bosom of a Philosopher, amongst others, witness Thomas Daulton.[6]

"Now under what ties and engagements, this secret is usually delivered (when bestowed by word of mouth), may appear in the weighty obligations of that oath, which Charnock took before he obtained it: For thus spake his master to him[7]—

[1] Born in 1593, "a most renown'd Chymist, Rosicrucian, and a great encourager of those that studied chymistry and astrology, especially Elias Ashmole, whom he adopted his son, and opened himself very freely to him the *secret*. He died on the 30th of May 1662, leaving behind him the character of a good man, and of one eminent in his profession" (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii., col. 577).

[2] *Query:* Was this to follow the course of ordinary legacies, *i.e.*, not to fall in, until the *death* of the testator, which, as stated in the previous note, did not take place until 1662?

[3] Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 440.

[4] In Ben Jonson's comedy, Sir Epicure Mammon thus addresses Subtle the Alchemist, "Good morrow, *father*;" to which the latter replies, "Gentle *son*, good morrow." Also when the deacon Ananias, announcing himself as "a faithful *brother*"—as the Puritans styled themselves—Subtle affects to misunderstand the expression, and to take him for a believer in Alchemy. He says—"What's that?—a Lullianist?—a Ripley?—Filius Artis?" (The Alchemist, 1610, Act ii. Sc. i.; Jonson's Works, edit. 1816, vol. iv., pp. 59, 81).

[5] Norton's Ordinal, *apud* Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 41.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[7] Breviary of Philosophy, chap. v. (Theat. Chem. Brit., p. 299).

"'Will you with me to-morrow be content,
Faithfully to receive the Blessed Sacrament,
Upon this Oath that I shall heere you give;
For ne Gold, ne Silver, as long as you live;
Neither for love you beare towards your Kinne,
Nor yet to no great Man, preferment to wynne,
That you disclose the seacret that I shall you teach
Neither by writing, nor by no swift speech;
But only to him which you be sure
Hath ever searched after the seacrets of Nature?
To him you may reveale the seacrets of this *art*,
Under the Covering of *Philosophie*, before this world yee depart.'

"And this oath he charged him to keep faithfully, and without violation, as he thought to be saved from the Pit of Hell.

"And if it so fell out, that they met not with any, whom they conceived in all respects worthy of their adoption,[1] they then resigned it into the hands of God, who best knew where to bestow it. However, they seldom left the world, before they left some written legacy behind them, which (being the issue of their brain) stood in room and place of children, and becomes to us both parent and schoolmaster, throughout which they were so universally kind, as to call all students by the dear and affectionate title of Sons[2] (Hermes, giving the first precedent), wishing all were such, that take the true pains to tread their fathers' steps, and industriously to follow the rules and dictates they made over to posterity, and wherein they faithfully discovered the whole mystery—

"'As lawfully as by their fealty thei may,
By lycence of the dreadful Judge at domesday.'[3]

"In these legitimate children, they lived longer than in their adopted sons; for though these certainly perished in an age, yet their writings (as if when they dyed, their souls had been transmigrated into them) seemed as immortal, enough at least to perpetuate their memories, till time should be no more. And to be the father of such sons, is (in my opinion) a most noble happinesse."

"Our author's Commentary making this point quite clear," says Dr Campbell, "there is no necessity of insisting farther upon it; only it may be proper to observe, that Mr Ashmole's father, Backhouse, did not die till May 30, 1662, as appears by our author's 'Diary.'[4] He was esteemed a very great Chemist, and admirably versed in what was styled the Rosicrucian learning, and he was so; but it appears plainly from Mr Ashmole's writings, that he understood his father, Backhouse, in too literal a sense, and did not discover the confusion occasioned by applying a method of removing all the imperfections of metals to physic, and thereby misleading people on that subject, by the promises of an universal medicine,[5] true

[1] Norton's Ordinal, chap. ii. in the story of Thomas Daulton, a famous Hermetic Philosopher, who flourished in the reign of Edward IV. (Theat. Chem. Brit., p. 37).

[2] Hermes in Pimandro. [3] Norton's Ordinal, in his Introduction. [4] P. 28.

[5] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.* The Universal Medicine of the Rosicrucians shows that physical science had something to do with it. The mystical philosophy branches off into two—the one mental, the other physical—both equally absurd, though not without some grains of truth (for there generally are, even in the greatest absurdities), and both declined shortly after to give way beneath the general advance of human knowledge.

perhaps in the less obvious sense and false in the other, in which, however, it is generally taken."

In the opinion of the same authority, Ashmole, by saving so many of the best chemical writers from oblivion, has very worthily filled that post which he assigned himself, when declining the arduous labours which were necessary to the gaining his father Backhouse's legacy, and becoming an Adept; and that, in modestly and truly styling himself *Mercurio-philus Anglicus*, he selected a title so just, and so expressive of his real deserts, that one would have thought he had exerted his skill as a herald in devising it, if we had not known that chemistry was his first, and to his last continued his favourite, study.[1]

In next proceeding with an examination of the influence, real or supposed, of Ashmole upon our early Freemasonry, I shall ask my readers to cast a backward glance at the extracts already given from the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana."[2] This article, from the pen it should be recollected, of a learned Masonic writer, is decidedly plausible, and, what is of infinitely greater importance, it is also to a very considerable extent consonant with common sense. Nor shall I attempt to deny that in all probability some process of transformation such as is here indicated took place about this time; but I think Sandys falls into the error of asserting too much, and of going too minutely into detail. For without reckoning the facts that there never was a German Rosicrucian Society, and that the era of the mania is slightly antedated, we may well ask, was there ever a Rosicrucian Society established in London? If there was, did Ashmole belong to it? How do we know that the members made use of certain emblems? Did Ashmole and his friends[3] transfer the same, with sundry rites, ceremonies, and teachings to the Masonic body? Did the Society meet in the Mason's Hall?—together with other queries of a like nature.

The argument usually brought forward, on behalf of the Ashmolean theory, is an admirable specimen of the kind of reasoning too often employed on such matters. Certain observances and ideas which did not exist before are found, or are supposed to have been found, prevalent among Masons towards the commencement of the eighteenth century. Ashmole was known to have been a Mason, and to have been fond of wasting his time upon all sorts of queer, out of the way, and unprofitable pursuits—therefore these new conceits were taught by Ashmole to the Freemasons! But in the first place let us see, by his own showing, what manner of man Ashmole really was. A strange being, very learned,[4] very credulous, very litigious, and, to use a vulgarism, extremely cantankerous, perfectly capable of acquiring money and taking care of it when so acquired, capable also of writing one or two books of crabbed and ponderous learning, and capable of very little else. As a rule his "Diary" is trifling where it is not simply nauseous.[5] Pepys and Evelyn, judging from the tone of the allusions to Ashmole,

[1] Biog. Brit., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ante*, p. 115.

[3] Who were they? Ashmole was intimate at various times with Wharton, Lilly, Moore, Booker, Vaughan, Backhouse, Oughtred, and other votaries of the Hermetic art; but the only *Freemason* among them, so far as any proof extends, was Sir Robert Moray.

[4] Evelyn, however, thus speaks of him:—"He has divers MSS., but most of them Astrological, to which study he is addicted, *though I believe not learned*, but very industrious, as his 'History of the Order of the Garter' proves" (Diary, July 23, 1678).

[5] "1657. October 8. The cause between me and my wife was heard, where Mr Serjeant Maynard observed to the

in their respective diaries, seem to have had no very exalted opinion of him. When the former says he found him "a very ingenious gentleman," it is damning with faint praise, in the same way as people call a person "good natured," when by no possibility can any other salient trait of goodness be ascribed to him.

This was not the kind of man to influence any considerable body or bodies of his fellow-men, either for good or for evil, to inoculate them with his own ideas, or to guide their steps into new fields of inquiry. Moreover, we do not actually know that he was a philosopher of the class supposed. An astrologer, or a believer at least in astrology, he certainly was, though it may be doubted whether any of the charlatans forming his *entourage* ever succeeded in getting money from him; but it is believed by competent authorities, as has been stated on a former page, that he was never an adept or professional at either this or any similar art. It is also denied that he was a Rosicrucian, although Wood asserts the contrary. By "Rosicrucian," we must, I imagine, in the former instance, understand a disciple of Fludd, of which I do not find any positive proof; whilst what Wood meant must clearly have been that he was addicted to pursuits which passed under that generic term. We have also to consider, that the taste for such trifles had considerably died out, in the last half of the seventeenth century, during the greater part of which period lay Ashmole's connection with the Freemasons.

Moreover, what were the circumstances attending his connection with the Masonic body? Only two allusions to the Freemasons occur under his own hand—one relating to his admission in 1646, the other to his attending a meeting at Mason's Hall in 1682, thirty-five years subsequently, and it has been inferred from his silence that these were the only two occasions on which he ever attended a lodge.[1] But not to mention that his diary obviously omits many things of infinitely greater interest than his colds, purges, or "the heavy form which fell and hurt his great toe,"[2] it is difficult to account for his being *summoned* to a Lodge at Mason's Hall, London, in 1682, thirty-five years after his initiation at far distant Warrington, if he held altogether aloof from Masonic meetings in the *interim*, or what is virtually the same thing, strictly concealed the fact of his being a member of the Fraternity. Is it likely, under either supposition, that the Masons of the metropolis—even had the fact of his initiation in any way leaked out—would have gone so far as to *summon* (not invite) their distinguished and "unattached" brother to take part in the proceedings of a society upon which he had long since virtually turned his back? It is probable, therefore, that he did in some way keep up his connection with the Freemasons, but that it was of such a slender character as not to merit any special mention. He might not, and probably would not, have entered into any detail—his diary

Court that there were 800 sheets of depositions on my wife's part, and not one word proved against me of using her ill, nor ever giving her a bad or provoking word.

"October 9. The Lords Commissioners having found no cause for allowing my wife alimony, did, 4 *hor. post merid.*, deliver my wife to me; whereupon I carried her to Mr Lilly's, and there took lodgings for us both."

This summary mode of issuing a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights will astonish some readers. Poor Lady Mainwaring had, I doubt not, at least 800 good reasons for leaving such a man, who must certainly have been most "provoking." Still, as he was her fourth husband, she ought to have been pretty well used to the ways of the sex, and, at her time of life—she had a grown-up family when she made her fourth venture—had no one but herself to thank for her troubles, more especially as her acquaintance with Ashmole was not a sudden one.

[1] Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 113.

[2] Of the trivial character of the entries, the following affords a good specimen:—"1681. April 11. I took early in the morning a good dose of Elixir, and hung three spiders about my neck, and they drove my ague away—*Deo gratias.*"

scarcely gives details on any point except his ailments and his law-suits—but he would probably have given at least notices of his having attended Lodges—had he done so with any frequency—as he does of having attended the Astrologers' feasts. Moreover, if Dr Knipe's account[1] of his collections relative to Freemasonry be correct, he does not appear to have been much inclined to mix the new mystical and symbolical ideas, with the old historical or quasi-historical traditions of the craft. My own view, therefore, is, that the Ashmolean influence on Freemasonry, of which so much has been said, is not proved to have had any foundation in fact, though it is fair to state that I base this opinion on circumstantial evidence alone, which is always liable to be overthrown by apparently the most trifling discovery.

Hence, whilst admitting that Freemasonry may have received no slight tinge from the pursuits and fancies of some of its adherents, who were possibly more numerous than is generally supposed—and the larger their number, the greater the probability that some of the more influential among them may have indoctrinated their brethren with their peculiar wisdom—still I do not think that such a proceeding can with safety be ascribed to a particular set of men, much less to any one individual.[2]

To sum up. We may assume, I think, (1.) That while there was an abundance of astrologers, alchemists, charlatans, and visionaries of all kinds, who seem to have pursued their hobbies without let or hindrance, yet there was no organised *society* of any sort, unless the Astrologers' Feast, so often mentioned by Ashmole, be accounted one; (2.) That there is no trace of any *sect* of Rosicrucians or Fluddian philosophers;[3] (3.) That Hartlib's attempt at a "Macaria" ended as might have been supposed, and was never either anticipated or revived by himself or anybody else; and (4.) That there is no trace, as far as any remaining evidence is concerned, that the Freemasons were in any way connected with any one of the above, but on the contrary, that, although they had probably in a great measure ceased to be entirely operatives, they had not amalgamated with any one of the supposed Rosicrucian or Hermetic fraternities—of the actual existence of which there is no proof—still less that they were their actual descendants, or themselves under another name.[4] To assume this, indeed, would be to falsify the whole of authentic Masonic history, together with the admittedly genuine documents upon which it rests.

I have now finished this portion of my task, which has, I am conscious, somewhat exceeded its allotted limits, though I am equally well aware that I have only succeeded in collecting some

[1] See next chapter.

[2] Mr John Yarker, however, pronounces Elias Ashmole to have been, *circa* 1686, "the leading spirit, both in Craft Masonry and in Rosicrucianism;" and is of opinion that his diary establishes the fact "that both Societies fell into decay together, and both revived together in 1682." He adds, "It is evident, therefore, that the Rosicrucians—who had too freely written upon their instruction, and met with ridicule—found the Operative Guild conveniently ready to their hand, and grafted upon it their own Mysteries. Also, from this time Rosicrucianism disappears, and Freemasonry springs into life, with all the possessions of the former" (Speculative Freemasonry, an historical lecture, delivered March 31, 1883, p. 9). *Cf. ante*, p. 129.

[3] If it is held, that by some process of evolution the *fraternity* of the Rosie Cross became the first *English* Freemasons—Hermeticism, as a possible factor in the historical problem, is at once shut out, and the Masonic traditions as contained in the "Old Charges") are quietly ignored, to say nothing of Scottish Freemasonry, of which the Fluddian philosophy would in this case prove to be an unconscious plagiarism!

[4] In the common practice of sweeping everything into their net, Masonic writers too often follow the example of Autolycus, described as "*a collector of unconsidered trifles.*"

of the materials for an exhaustive chapter on the subjects above treated, not in writing such a chapter itself.

Many of my conclusions, I doubt not, will be disputed, and many more may be overturned by a more thorough investigation. It is quite possible that, buried in the dust of long-forgotten works of Hermetic learning, or enshrined amidst the masses of manuscripts contained in our great collections, there may still exist the materials for a far more perfect, if, indeed, not a complete elucidation of this dark portion of our annals. The indulgent reader will, however, pardon my errors. It is impossible not to stumble in the midst of intense darkness; and in the course of my explorations I have but too often found, not only the cave to be dark, but that the guides are blind. I can truly say, with Nennius, that my work has been "non quidem ut volui sed ut potui,"[1] and my motto must be the modest one of the Greek sculptors, of 'ΕΠΟΊΕΙ, since I feel myself to be rather the finger-post pointing the way to others, than I a guide.

[1] Historia Britonum, chap. i.

CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY BRITISH FREEMASONRY.

ENGLAND.—III.

ASHMOLE—MASONS' COMPANY—PLOT—RANDLE HOLME—THE "OLD CHARGES."

ALTHOUGH the admission of Elias Ashmole into the ranks of the Freemasons may have been, and probably was, unproductive of the momentous consequences which have been so lavishly ascribed to it, the circumstances connected with his membership of what in South Britain was then a very obscure fraternity—so little known, indeed, that not before the date of Ashmole's reception or adoption does it come within the light of history—are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance in our general inquiry, since, on a close view, they will be found to supply a quantity of information derivable from no other source, and which, together with the additional evidence I shall adduce from contemporary writings, will give us a tolerably faithful picture of *English* Freemasonry in the seventeenth century.

The entries in Ashmole's "Diary" which relate to his membership of the craft are three in number, the first in priority being the following:—

"1646. Oct. 16, 4.30. P.M.—I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Coll: Henry Mainwaring of Karincham in Cheshire. The names of those that were then of the Lodge, [were] M^{r} Rich Penket Warden, M^{r} James Collier, M^{r} Rich. Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam Rich: Ellam & Hugh Brewer."[1]

The "Diary" then continues:—

"Oct. 25.—I left Cheshire, and came to London about the end of this month, viz., the 30th day, 4 *Hor. post merid.* About a fortnight or three weeks before [*after?*] I came to London, Mr Jonas Moore brought and acquainted me with Mr William Lilly: it was on a Friday night, and I think on the 20th of Nov."

"Dec. 3.—This day, at noon, I first became acquainted with Mr John Booker."

It will be seen that Ashmole's initiation or admission into Freemasonry, preceded by upwards of a month, his acquaintance with his astrological friends, Lilly and Booker.

In ascending the stream of English Masonic history, we are deserted by all known contemporary testimony, save that of the "Old Charges" or "Constitutions," directly we have passed the year 1646. This of itself would render the proceedings at Warrington in that year

[1] Copied from a facsimile plate, published by Mr W. H. Gee, 28 High Street, Oxford.

of surpassing interest to the student of Masonic antiquities. That Ashmole and Mainwaring,[1] adherents respectively of the Court and the Parliament, should be admitted into Freemasonry at the same time and place, is also a very noteworthy circumstance. But it is with the internal character, or, in other words, the composition, of the lodge into which they were received that we are chiefly concerned. Down to the year 1881 the prevalent belief was, that although a lodge was in existence at Warrington in 1646,[2] all were of the "craft of Masonry" except Ashmole and Colonel Mainwaring. A flood of light, however, was suddenly shed on the subject by the research of Mr W. H. Rylands, who, in perhaps the very best of the many valuable articles contributed to the now defunct *Masonic Magazine*, has so far proved the essentially *speculative* character of the lodge, as to render it difficult to believe that there could have been a single *operative* Mason present on the afternoon of October 16, 1646. Thus Mr Richard Penket[h], the *Warden*, is shown to have been a scion of the Penketh of Penketh, and the last of his race who held the family property.[3]

The two names which next follow were probably identical with those of James Collyer or Colliar, of Newton-le-Willows, Lancashire, and Richard Sankie, of the family of Sonkey, or Sankey of Sankey, as they were called, landowners in Warrington from a very early period; they were buried respectively at Winwick and Warrington—the former on January 17, 1673-4, and the latter on September 28, 1667.[4] Of the four remaining Freemasons named in the "Diary," though without the prefix of "Mr," it is shown by Rylands that a gentle family of Littler or Lytlor existed in Cheshire in 1646; while he prints the wills of Richard Ellom, Freemason of Lyme [Lymme], and of John Ellams, husbandman, of Burton, both in the county of Cheshire—that of the former bearing date September 7, 1667, and of the latter June 7, 1689. That these were the Ellams named by Ashmole cannot be positively affirmed, but they were doubtless members of the same yeoman family, a branch of which had apparently settled at Lymm, a village in Cheshire, about five miles from Warrington. Of the family of Hugh Brewer, nothing has come to light beyond the fact that a person bearing this patronymic served in some military capacity under the Earl of Derby in 1643.

The proceedings at Warrington in 1646 establish some very important facts in relation to the antiquity of Freemasonry, and to its character as a speculative science. The words Ashmole uses, "the names of those who were *then* of the lodge," implying as they do either

[1] Ashmole's first wife was the daughter of Colonel Mainwaring's uncle.

[2] See "Masonic History and Historians," by Masonic Student [the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford], Freemason, Aug. 6, 1881.

[3] "From the Herald's visitation of Lancashire, made by St George in 1613, it appears that Richard Penketh of Penketh, who died *circa* 1570, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Sonkey of Sonkey [gent.], and had a son, Thomas Penketh of Penketh, county Lancaster, who married Cecilye, daughter of Roger Charnock of Wellenborough, county Northampton, Esq., whose son Richard (dead in 1652), married Jane, daughter of Thomas Patrick of Bispham, in the county of Lancaster. This, no doubt, was the Richard Penketh who was a Freemason at Warrington in 1646" (W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A., "Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century," Warrington, 1646—Masonic Magazine, London, Dec. 1881).

[4] Rylands prints the will of James Colli*ar*, which was executed April 18, 1668, and proved March 21, 1674. It bears the following endorsement:—"*Captin* James Collier's Last Will and Testament." He also observes, in the excellent fragment of Masonic history to which I have already alluded:—"The hamlet of Sankey, with that of Penketh, lies close to Warrington, and, coupled with the fact that at no very distant date a Penketh married a Sankey of Sankey, as mentioned above, it is not extraordinary to find two such near neighbours and blood relations associated together as Freemasons."

that some of the *existing* members were absent, or that at a previous period the lodge-roll comprised other and *additional* names beyond those recorded in the "Diary," amply justify the conclusion that the lodge, when Ashmole joined it, was not a new creation. The term "Warden," moreover, which follows the name of Mr Rich. Penket, will of itself remove any lingering doubt whether the Warrington Lodge could boast a higher antiquity than the year 1646, since it points with the utmost clearness to the fact, that an actual official of a subsisting branch of the Society of Freemasons was present at the meeting.

The history or pedigree of the lodge is therefore to be carried back beyond October 16, 1646, but how far, is indeterminable, and in a certain sense immaterial. The testimony of Ashmole establishes beyond cavil that in a certain year (1646), at the town of Warrington, there was in existence a lodge of Freemasons, presided over by a Warden, and largely (if not entirely) composed of speculative or non-operative members. Concurrently with this, we have the evidence of the Sloane MS., 3848 (13),[1] which document bears the following attestation:—

"Finis p me
Eduardu^{s}: Sankey
decimo sexto die Octobris
Anno Domini 1646."

Commenting upon the proceedings at the Warrington meeting, Fort remarks, "it is a subject of curious speculation as to the identity of Richard Sankey, a member of the above lodge. Sloane's MS., No. 3848, was transcribed and finished by one Edward Sankey, on the 16th day of October 1646, the day Elias Ashmole was initiated into the secrets of the craft."[2] The research of Rylands has afforded a probable, if not altogether an absolute, solution of the problem referred to, and from the same fount I shall again draw, in order to show that *an* Edward Sankey, "son to Richard Sankey, gent.," was baptized at Warrington, February 3, 1621-2.[3]

It therefore appears that on October 16, 1646, *a* Richard Sankey was present in lodge, and that *an* Edward Sankey copied and attested one of the old manuscript Constitutions; and that a Richard Sankey of Sankey flourished at this time, whose son Edward, if alive, we must suppose would have then been a young man of four or five and twenty.[4] Now, as it seems to me, the identification of the Sankeys of Sankey, father and son, with the Freemason and the copyist of the "Old Charges" respectively, is rendered as clear as anything lying within the doctrine of probabilities can be made to appear.

I assume, then, that a version of the old manuscript Constitutions, which has fortunately come down to us, was in circulation at Warrington in 1646. Thus we should have, in the year named, speculative, and, it may be, also operative masonry, co-existing with the actual use, by lodges and brethren, of the Scrolls or Constitutions of which the Sloane MS., 3848 (13), affords an illustration in point. Upon this basis I shall presently contend, that, having

[1] As the "Old Charges," or "Constitutions," will be frequently referred to in the present chapter, I take the opportunity of stating that in every case where figures within parentheses follow the title of a manuscript, as above, these denote the corresponding number in Chapter II.

[2] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 137.

[3] Rylands, Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century, citing the Warrington Parish Registers.

[4] As Rylands gives no further entry from the Parish Registers respecting *Edward*, though he cites the burial of "*Chas.*, son to Richard Sankey, Ap. 30, 1635," the inference that the former was living in 1646 is strengthened.

traced a system of Freemasonry, combining the speculative with the operative element, together with a use or employment of the MS. legend of the craft, as prevailing in the first half of the seventeenth century—when contemporary testimony fails us, as we continue to direct our course up the stream of Masonic history, the evidence of manuscript Constitutions, successively dating further and further back, until the transcripts are exhausted, without apparently bringing us any nearer to their common original, may well leave us in doubt at what point of our research between the era of the *Lodge* at Warrington, 1646, and that of the *Loge* at York, 1355, a monopoly of these ancient documents by the working masons can be viewed as even remotely probable.

The remaining entries in the "Diary" of a Masonic character are the following:—

"March, 1682.

"10.—About 5 P.M. I rec^{d}: a Sumons to app^{r} at a Lodge to be held the next day, at Masons Hall London.

"11.—Accordingly I went, & about Noone were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons,

"S^{r} William Wilson[1] Knight, Capt. Rich: Borthwick, M^{r} Will: Woodman, M^{r} W^{m} Grey, M^{r} Samuell Taylour & M^{r} William Wise.

"I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 yeares since I was admitted) There were p^{r}sent beside my selfe the Fellowes after named.

"M^{r} Tho: Wise M^{r} of the Masons Company this p^{r}sent yeare. M^{r} Thomas Shorthose, M^{r} Thomas Shadbolt, Waindsford Esq^{r} M^{r} Nich: Young M^{r} John Shorthose, M^{r} William Hamon, M^{r} John Thompson, & M^{r} Will: Stanton.[2]

"Wee all dyned at the halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapeside, at a Noble dinner prepaired at the charge of the New = accepted Masons."

From the circumstance, that Ashmole records his attendance at a meeting of the *Freemasons*, held in the hall of the Company of *Masons*, a good deal of confusion has been engendered, which some casual remarks of Dr Anderson, in the Constitutions of 1723, have done much to confirm. By way of filling up a page, as he expresses it, he quotes from an old Record of Masons, to the effect that, "the said Record describing a *Coat* of *Arms*, much the same with *that* of the LONDON COMPANY of *Freemen* Masons, it is generally believ'd that the said *Company* is descended of the ancient *Fraternity;* and that in former Times no Man was *Free* of that *Company* until he was install'd in some *Lodge* of *Free* and *Accepted Masons*, as a necessary Qualification." "But," he adds, "that laudable Practice seems to have been long in Dissuetude."[3]

Preston, in this instance not unnaturally, copied from Anderson, and others of course have followed suit; but as I believe myself to be the only person who has been allowed access

[1] Born at Leicester, a builder and architect; married the widow of Henry Pudsey, and through her influence obtained knighthood in 1681. Built Four Oaks Hall (for Lord ffolliott); also Nottingham Castle. Was the sculptor of the image of Charles II. at the west front of Lichfield Cathedral. Died in 1710 in his seventieth year (The Forest and Chase of Sutton, Coldfield, 1860, p. 101).

[2] All the persons named in this paragraph—also Mr Will. Woodman and Mr William Wise, who are mentioned in the earlier one, were members of the Masons' Company. Thomas Wise was elected Master, January 1, 1682. By —— *Waindsford, Esq.*, is probably meant *Rowland Rainsford*, who is described in the records of the Company as "late apprentice to Robert Beadles, was admitted a freeman, Jan. 15, 166$\frac{2}{3}$;" and William Hamon is doubtless identical with William Hamond, who was present at a meeting of the Company on April 11, 1682. John Shorthose and Will. Stanton were Wardens.

[3] Anderson. The Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 82.

to the books and records of the *Masons'* Company for purposes of historical research, the design of this work will be better fulfilled by a concise summary of the results of my examination, together with such collateral information as I have been able to acquire, than by attempting to fully describe the superstructure of error which has been erected on so treacherous a foundation.

This I shall proceed to do, after which it will be the more easy to rationally scrutinise the later entries in the "Diary."

The Masons' Company, London.

The original grant of arms to the "Hole Crafte and felawship of Masons," dated the twelfth year of Edward IV. [1472-1473], from William Hawkeslowe, Clarenceux King of Arms, is now in the British Museum.[1] No crest is mentioned in the grant, although one is figured on the margin,[2] with the arms, as follows:—Sable on a chevron engrailed between three square castles triple-towered argent, masoned of the first, a pair of compasses extended silver. *Crest*, on a wreath of the colours a castle as in the arms, but as was often the case slightly more ornamental in form.

This grant was confirmed by Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux, twelfth Henry VIII. or 1520-21, and entered in the visitation of London made by Henry St George, Richmond Herald in 1634.

At some later time the engrailed chevron was changed for a plain one, and the old ornamental towered castles became single towers, both in the arms and crest. The arms thus changed are given by Stow in his "Survey of London," 1633, and have been repeated by other writers since his time. A change in the form of the towers is noticed by Randle Holme in his "Academie of Armory," 1688.[3] "Of olde," he says, "the towers were triple towered;" and to him we are indebted for the knowledge that the arms had columns for supporters. These arms he attributes to the "Right Honored and Right Worshipfull company of ffree-Masons."

Seymour in his "Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster," 1735,[4] gives the date of the incorporation of the company "about 1410, having been called Free-Masons, a Fraternity of great Account, who having been honour'd by several Kings, and very many of the Nobility and Gentry being of their Society," etc. He describes the colour of the field of the arms, *azure* or blue.

Maitland in his "History and Survey of London," 1756,[5] describes the arms properly, and adds that the motto is "In the Lord is all our Trust." Although of considerable antiquity, he says that the Company was "only incorporated by Letters Patent on the 29th of Charles II., 17th September, anno 1677, by the name of the Master, Wardens, Assistants, and Commonalty of the Company of Masons of the City of London," etc.[6]

Berry in his "Encyclopædia Heraldica"[7] states that it was incorporated 2d of Henry II., 1411, which may be a misprint for 12th of Henry IV., 1410-11, following Stow (1633), or

[1] Addl. MS. 19, 135.

[2] A facsimile in colours will be found in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 87, and the text of the document is there given at length.

[3] Page 204, *verso*; and Mas. Mag., Jan. 1882.

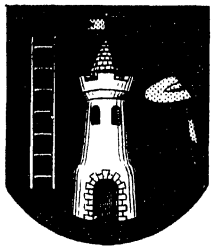
[4] Vol. ii., book iv., p. 381.

[5] P. 1248.

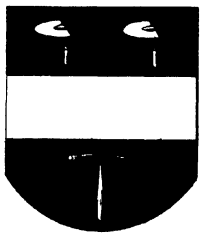
[6] Rec. Roll, Pat. 29, Car. ii., p. 10, n. 3.

[7] Vol. i., Masons (London).

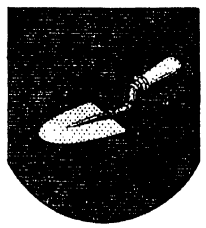
ARMS OF MASONS, CARPENTERS, ETC.



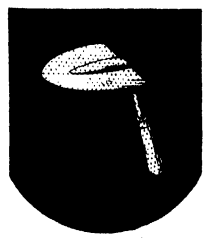
TILERS *OF TOURS*



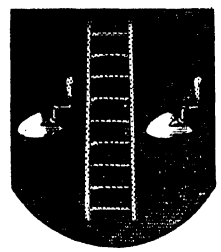
TILERS
LA ROCHELLE



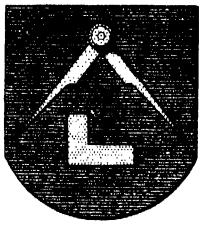
MASONS
SAUMUR



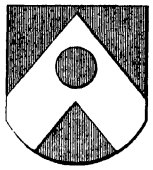
MASONS
TOURS



TILERS *PARIS*



CARPENTERS
VILLEFRANCHE



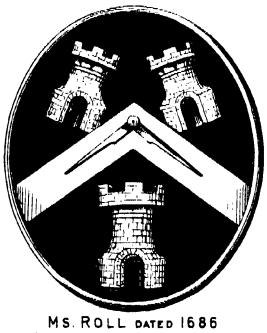
JOINERS
METZ



CARPENTERS
BAYONNE

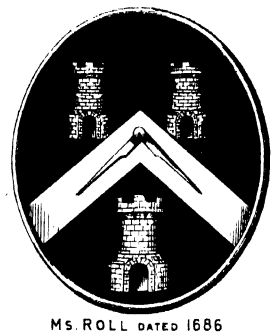


MASONS *BEAULIEU*

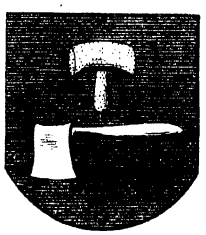


MS. ROLL DATED 1686
MUSEUM 33 GOLDEN SQUARE

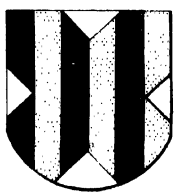
ARMS OF THE MASONS
GERMAN
from an old drawing
A.D. 1515
(Heideloff)



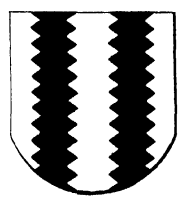
MS. ROLL DATED 1686
LODGE OF ANTIQUITY N°2



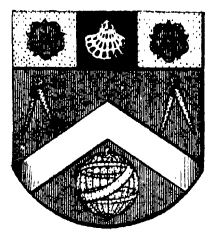
CARPENTERS
ANGERS



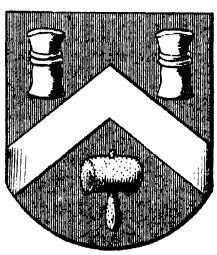
JOINERS
PERONNE



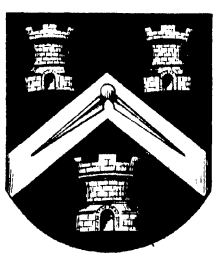
JOINERS
AMIENS



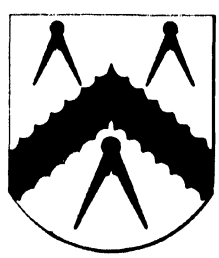
JOINERS *LONDON*
Stow 1633



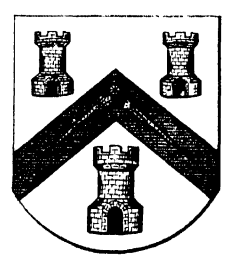
MARBLERS
LONDON
Stow 1633



MASON'S COMPANY
LONDON
Stow 1633



CARPENTERS
LONDON
Stow 1633



MASON'S COMPANY
EDINBURGH
Burke (description)

W H Rylands Del

Thomas C Jack London & Edinburgh.

Wm M Smith Sculp

for the date at which the arms were granted—12th Edw. IV. He adds that the Company was re-incorporated September 17, 12th Charles II., 1677. Here is again an error. By no calculation could the 12th Charles II. be the year 1677; it was the 29th regnal year of that king as stated by Maitland from the Patent Roll.

On the annexed plate will be found the arms of the companies as given by Stow in 1633; and with them a number of arms of the French and German companies of Masons, Carpenters, and Joiners taken from the magnificent work of Lacroix and Seré, "Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance."[1] The latter show the use of various building implements, the square, compasses, rule, trowel, in the armorial bearings of the Masons, etc. of other countries. To these are added in the plate, for comparison, the arms as painted upon two rolls of the "Old Charges," both *dated* in the same year, viz., 1686,—one belonging to the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2; and the other preserved in the museum at 33 Golden Square. Only the former of these bears any names, which will be considered in another place when dealing with the early English records of Freemasonry. It is, however, interesting to note that the arms are precisely similar to those figured by Stow in 1633, and that in each case they are associated with the arms of the City of London, proving beyond doubt that both these rolls, which are handsomely illuminated at the top, were originally prepared for London Lodges of Masons or Freemasons.

In a future plate I shall give a coloured representation of the arms, showing the original coat as granted in the reign of Edward IV. and other forms subsequently borne.

As it is with the later, rather than the earlier history of the Masons' Company, that we are concerned, I shall dwell very briefly on the latter period. One important misstatement, however, which has acquired general currency, through its original appearance in a work of deservedly high reputation,[2] stands in need of correction. Mr Reginald R. Sharpe,[3] who in 1879 was kind enough to search the archives of the City of London, for early references to the terms *Mason* and *Freemason*, obliged me with the following memorandum:—

"Herbert in his book on the 'Companies of London,' refers to 'lib. lx., fo. 46' among the Corporation Records for a list of the Companies who sent representatives to the Court of Common Council for the year 50 Edw. III. [1376-1377]. He probably means Letter Book H., fo. 46 b., where a list of that kind and of that date is to be found. In it are mentioned the 'Fre masons' and 'Masons,' but the representatives of the former are struck out and added to those of the latter.

"The term 'Fre[e]masons' never varies; 'Masons' becomes 'Masouns' in Norman French; and 'Cementarii' in Latin."

The preceding remarks are of value, as they dispel the idea that in early civic days the Masons and Freemasons were separate companies.[4] The former body, indeed, appears to have absorbed the Marblers,[5] of whom Seymour (following Stow) says—"The Company called by

[1] 1848-51.

[2] Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., p. 34.

[3] I take the opportunity of stating, that for the information thus obtained, as well as for permission to examine the Records of the Masons' and Carpenters' Companies, I am primarily indebted to Sir John Monckton, Town-Clerk of London, and President of the Board of General Purposes (Grand Lodge of England), who, in these and numerous other instances, favoured me with letters of introduction to the custodians of ancient documents.

[4] See *ante*, Chap. VI., p. 304.

[5] "Merblers—Workers in Marble. In his will, made in 1494, Sir Brian Rocliffe says, 'volo quod Jacopus Remus, *marbeler*, in Poules Churcheyerde in London, faciat meum epitaphium in Templo'" (The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, Surtees Soc., vol. xxxv., Glossary, p. 347).

the Name of Marblers, for their excellent knowledge and skill in the art of insculping Figures on Gravestones, Monuments, and the like, were an antient Fellowship, but no incorporated Company of themselves, tho' now joined with the Company of Masons.

"Arms :—*Sable, a chevron between two Chissels in Chief, and a Mallet in Base, Argent.*"[1]

Down to the period of the Great Fire of London, the Company of Carpenters would appear to have stood at least on a footing of equality with that of the Masons. If, on the one hand, we find in the early records, mention of the King's Freemason,[2] on the other hand there is as frequent allusion to the King's Carpenter,[3] and promotion to the superior office of Surveyor of the King's Works was as probable in the one case as in the other.[4] The city records show that at least as early as the beginning of the reign of Edward I. (1272), two master Carpenters, and the same number of master Masons, were sworn as officers to perform certain duties with reference to buildings, and walls, and the boundaries of land in the city, evidently of much the same nature as those confided to a similar number of members of these two companies, under the title of City Viewers, until within little more than a century ago.[5] In the matter of precedency the Carpenters stood the 25th and the Masons the 31st on the list of companies.[6] Nor was the freedom of their craft alone asserted by members of the junior body. If the Masons styled themselves *Free* Masons, so likewise did the Carpenters assume the appellation of *Free* Carpenters,[7] though I must admit that no instance of the latter adopting the common prefix, otherwise than in a collective capacity, has come under my notice.[8]

According to a schedule of wages for all classes of artificers, determined by the justices of

[1] Robert Seymour, A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, 1735, bk. iv., p. 892. Randle Holme describes the Marblers as *ston-cutters* (Harl. MS. 2035, fol. 207, *verso*).

[2] This title is applied by Anderson, apparently following Stow, in the Constitutions of 1723 and 1738, to Henry Yevele, of whom Mr Papworth says, "he was director of the king's works at the palace of Westminster, and Master Mason at Westminster Abbey, 1388-95." See Chap. VII., p. 342.

[3] *Cf.* E. B. Jupp, Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters, 1848, p. 165. During the erection of Christ Church College, Oxford, 1512-17, John Adams was the Freemason, and Thomas Watlington the Warden of the Carpenters (Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62, pp. 37-60).

[4] In the reign of Henry VIII. the office of Surveyor of the King's Works was successively held by two members of the Carpenters' Company (Jupp, *op. cit.*, p. 174).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 188, 193. The form of oath taken by the Viewers on their appointment is preserved in the City Records, and commences—

"The Othe of the Viewers,
Maister Wardens of Masons
and Carpenters."

[6] According to a list made in the 8th year of Henry VIII. (1516-17), the only one which had for its precise object the settling of the precedency of the companies. In 1501-2 the Carpenters stood the 20th, and the Masons the 40th, on the general list, the members of the former company being thirty in number, whilst those of the latter only mounted up to eleven (Jupp, Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters, Appendix A.).

[7] An address of the Carpenters' Company to the Lord Mayor on Nov. 5, 1666, complains of the "ill conveniences to the said Citty and freemen thereof, especially to the *Free Carpenters* vpon the entertainem^t of forriners for the rebuilding of London" (Jupp, Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters, p. 278).

[8] It is probable, however, that if the ordinances of more craft guilds had come down to us, the prefix "free," as applied to the trade or calling of individuals, would be found to have been a common practice. Thus the rules of the Tailors' Guild, Exeter, enact, "that euery seruant that ys of the forsayd crafte, that takyt wagys to the waylor (*value*) of xx*s.* and a-boffe [*above*], schall pay xx*d.* to be a *ffre Sawers* (*Stitcher*) to us and profyth [of the] aforsayd fraternyte" (Smith, English Gilds, p. 314).

the peace in 1610,[1] we find that the superior or Master Freemason was hardly on a footing of equality with the Master Carpenter, *e.g.*:

		With Meat. s. d.	Without Meat. s. d.
A Freemason which can draw his plot, work, and set accordingly, having charge over others—	Before Michaelmas,	8 0	12 0
	After Michaelmas,	6 0	10 0
A master carpenter, being able to draw his plot, and to be master of work over others—	Before Michaelmas,	8 0	14 0
	After Michaelmas,	6 0	10 0

I am far from contending that the details just given possess anything more *than* an *operative* significance; but the classification into "rough masons capable of taking charge over others," Freemasons *simpliciter*, and Freemasons who can draw plots—by justices of the peace, in a sparsely populated county—affords a good illustration of the difficulties which are encountered, when an attempt is made to trace the actual meaning of the operative term, by which the members of our speculative society are now described.

After the Great Fire of London, the demand for labour being necessarily great, "foreigners" as well as freemen readily obtained employment, much to the prejudice of the masons and carpenters, as well as to other members of the building trades. By a Statute of 1666, entitled "An act for Rebuilding the Citty of London," [2] it was ordained "That all Carpenters, Brickelayers, Masons, Plaisterers, Joyners, and other Artificers, Workemen, and Labourers, to be employed on the said Buildings [in the City of London], who are not Freemen of the said Citty, shall for the space of seaven yeares next ensueing, and for soe long time after as untill the said buildings shall be fully finished, have and enjoy such and the same liberty of worke-ing and being sett to worke in the said building as the Freemen of the Citty of the same Trades and Professions have and ought to enjoy, Any Usage or Custome of the Citty to the contrary notwithstanding: And that such Artificers as aforesaid, which for the space of seaven yeares shall have wrought in the rebuilding of the Citty in their respective Arts, shall from and after the said seaven yeares have and enjoy the same Liberty to worke as Freemen of the said Citty for and dureing their naturall lives. Provided alwayes, that said Artificers claiming such priviledges shall be lyeable to undergoe all such offices, and to pay and performe such Dutyes in reference to the Service and Government of the Citty, as Freemen of the Citty of their respective Arts and Trades are lyeable to undergoe, pay, and performe."

This statute materially affected the interests, and diminished the influence, of the two leading companies connected with the building trades. In 1675, Thomas Seagood, a tiler and bricklayer, was chosen by the Court of Aldermen as one of the four City Viewers, an innovation upon the invariable usage of selecting these officials from the Masons' and Carpenters' Companies. As three years later there occurred a similar departure from the ordinary custom, it has been suggested that as the fire of London had occasioned the erection of wooden houses to be prohibited, the Court of Aldermen considered that a bricklayer would be a better judge of the new buildings than a carpenter, and as good a judge as a mason; though it may well

[1] "With meat," a Freemason and master bricklayer were each to receive 6s.; "a rough mason, which can take charge over others," 5s.; and a bricklayer, 4s. (The Rates of Wages of Servants, Labourers, and Artificers, set down and assessed at Oakham, within the County of Rutland, by the Justices of the Peace there, the 28th day of April, Anno Domini, 1610—Archæologia, vol. xi., pp. 200, 203).

[2] 18 and 19, Car. II., c. viii., § xvi. Compare with "Fitzalwyne's Assize" (*Liber Albus*, Rolls Series, p. xxix).

excite surprise that a Glazier, a Weaver, and a Glover were successively chosen Viewers in the years 1679, 1685, and 1695.[1]

The masons, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, and plasterers of London, feeling themselves much aggrieved at the encroachments of "forreigners" who had not served an apprenticeship, made common cause, and jointly petitioned the Court of Aldermen for their aid and assistance, but though the matter was referred by the civic authorities to a committee of their own body, there is no evidence that the associated companies obtained any effectual redress.[2]

These details are of importance, for, however immaterial, upon a cursory view, they may seem to the inquiry we are upon, it will be seen as we proceed, that the statutory enactments passed for the rebuilding of London and of St Paul's Cathedral, by restricting the powers of the companies, may not have been without their influence in paving the way for the ultimate development of English Freemasonry into the form under which it has happily come down to us.

It was the subject of complaint by the free carpenters, and their grievance must have been common to all members of the building trades, that by pretext of the Stat. 18 and 19, Car. II., c. viii.,[3] a great number of artificers using the trade of carpenters, procured themselves to be made free of London, of other companies; whilst many others were freemen of other companies, not by the force of the said Act, and yet used the trade of carpenters. Such artificers, it was stated, refused to submit themselves to the by-laws of the Carpenters' Company, whereby the public were deceived by insufficient and ill workmanship. Even members of the petitioners' own company, it was alleged, had "for many years past privately obtained carpenters free of other companies to bind apprentices for them, and cause them to be turned over unto them," there being no penalty in the by-laws for such offences. "By means whereof," the petition goes on to say, "the carpenters free of other companies are already grown to a very great number; your Petitioners defrauded of their Quarterage and just Dues, which should maintain and support their increasing Poor; and their Corporation reduced to a Name without a Substance."[4]

The charter granted to the Masons' Company in the 29th year of Charles II. (1677) —confirming, in all probability, the earlier instrument which was (in the opinion of the present Master[5]) burnt in the Great Fire—provides that the privileges of the Masons' Company are not to interfere with the rebuilding of the Cathedral Church of St Paul.

[1] Jupp, Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters, p. 192.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[3] See § xvi. of this Act, *ante*, p. 147.

[4] The Humble Petition of the Master, Warden, and Assistants of the Company of Carpenters to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, *circa* 1690 (Jupp, *op. cit.*, Appendix I.). See, however, "The Ancient Trades Decayed, Repaired Again. Written by a Country Tradesman," London, 1678, p. 51, where the hardship endured by a person's trade being different from that of the company of which he is free, is pointed out; and it is contended that "it would be no prejudice to any of the Companies, for every one to have his liberty to come into that Company that his trade is of, without paying anything more for it."

[5] Mr John Hunter, for many years clerk of the company, to whom I am very greatly indebted for the patience and courtesy which he exhibited on the several occasions of my having access to the records, of which his firm are the custodians. Richard Newton was appointed clerk of the Masons' Company on June 14, 1741, to whom succeeded Joseph Newton, since which period the clerkship has continued in the same firm of solicitors, viz., John Aldridge, Frederick Gwatkin, John Hunter, and A. J. C. Gwatkin.

Richard Newton succeeded Mr Grose, an eminent attorney in Threadneedle Street, who in June 1738 was unanimously chosen clerk of the Company, in the room of Miles Man, Esq., resigned—and retired on being appointed Clerk to the Lieutenancy of the City of London, the present clerk of the latter body, Henry Grose Smith, being his lineal descendant.

At that time, except by virtue of the operation of the statute before alluded to,[1] no one could exercise the trade of a mason without belonging to, or by permission of, the Masons' Company.

Incidental to the jurisdiction of the company were certain powers of search, which we find exercised so late as 1678. In the early part of that year the minutes record that "a search was made after unlawful workers," and various churches appear to have been thus visited, amongst others, St Paul's. On April 25 in the same year a second search was made, which is thus recorded: "Went to Paul's with Mr Story, and found 14 foreigners." Afterwards, and apparently in consequence of the proceedings last mentioned, several "foreigners" were admitted members, and others licensed by the Masons' Company.

The "Freedom" and "Court" books of the company alike commence in 1677, which has rendered the identification of some of its members exceedingly difficult, inasmuch as, unless actually present at the subsequent meetings, their connection with the company is only established by casual entries, such as the binding of apprentices and the like—wherein, indeed, a large number of members, whose admissions date before 1677, are incidentally referred to. Still, it is much to be regretted that an accurate roll of the freemen of this guild extends no higher than 1677. One *old* book, however, has escaped the general conflagration, and though it only fills up an occasional *hiatus* in the list of members preceding the Great Fire, it contributes, nevertheless, two material items of information, which in the one case explains a passage in Stow[2] of great interest to *Freemasons*, and in the other by *settling* one of the most interesting points in Masonic history, affords a surer footing for backward research than has hitherto been attained.

The record, or volume in question, commences with the following entry:—

[1620].—"The ACCOMPTE of James Gilder, William Ward, and John Abraham, Wardens of the company of ffremasons."

The title, "Company of Freemasons," appears to have been used down to the year 1653, after which date it gives place to "Worshipful Company," and "Company of Masons."

The point in Masonic history which this book determines, is "that Robert Padgett, Clearke to the Worshippfull Society of the Free Masons of the City of London," in 1686, whose name —together with that of William Bray,[3] Freeman of London and Free-mason—is appended to the MS. "Constitutions" (23) in the possession of the Lodge of Antiquity,[4] was *not* the clerk of the Masons' Company. The records reveal, that in 1678 "*Henry* Paggett, Citizen and Mason," had an apprentice bound to him. Also, that in 1709, *James* Paget was the Renter's Warden. But the clerk not being a *member* of the company, his name was vainly searched for by Mr Hunter in the records post-dating the Great Fire. The minutes of 1686 and 1687 frequently mention "the clerk" and the payments made to him, but give no name. The old "Accompte Book," however, already mentioned, has an entry under the year 1687, viz., "Mr Stampe, Cleark," which, being in the same handwriting as a similar one in 1686, also referring to the clerk, but without specifying him by name, establishes the fact, that "the Worshippfull *Society* of the Free Masons of the City of London," whose clerk transcribed the "Constitutions" in the possession of our oldest English Lodge, and the "*Company* of Masons" in the same city, were distinct and separate bodies.

[1] 18 and 19 Car. II., c. viii., § xvi.

[2] Ed. 1633, p. 680. Given in full at p. 176, note 4, *post*.

[3] This name does not appear in any record of the Masons' Company.

[4] *Ante*, Chap. II., p. 68.

Whether Valentine Strong, whose epitaph I have given in an earlier chapter,[1] was a member of the Company, I have failed to positively determine, but as Mr Hunter entertains no doubt of it, it may be taken that he was. At all events, five of his sons, out of six,[2] undoubtedly were, viz., Edward and John, admitted April 6, 1680, the latter "made free by service to Thomas Strong," the eldest brother, whose own admission preceding, it must be supposed, the year 1677, is only disclosed by one of the casual entries to which I have previously referred; Valentine on July 5, 1687; and Timothy on October 16, 1690. Also Edward Strong, junior, made free by service to his father in 1698.

In terminating my extracts from these records, it is only necessary to observe, that no meeting of the Masons' Company appears to have taken place on March 11, 1682. Neither Ashmole, Wren, nor Anthony Sayer were members of the company. The books record nothing whatever under the years 1691 or 1716-17, which would lend colour to a great convention having been held at St Paul's, or tend to shed the faintest ray of light upon the causes of the so-called "Revival." The words "Lodge" or "Accepted" do not occur in any of the documents, and in all cases members were "admitted" to the freedom. Thomas Morrice (or Morris) and William Hawkins, Grand Wardens in 1718-19, and 1722 respectively, were members of the company, the former having been "admitted" in 1701, and the latter in 1712.

The significance which attaches to the absence of any mention whatever, of either William Bray or Robert Padgett, in the records of the Masons' Company, will be duly considered when the testimony of Ashmole and his biographers has been supplemented by that of Plot, Aubrey, and Randle Holme, which, together with the evidence supplied by our old manuscript "Constitutions," will enable us to survey seventeenth century masonry as a whole, to combine the material facts, and to judge of their mutual relations.

Before, however, passing from the exclusive domain of operative masonry, it may be incidentally observed that by all writers alike, no adequate distinction between the Freemasons of the Lodge, and those of the guild or company, has been maintained. Hence, a good deal of the mystery which overhangs the early meaning of the term. This, to some slight extent, I hope to dispel, and by extracts from accredited records, such as parish registers and municipal charters, to indicate the actual positions in life of those men who, in epitaphs and monumental inscriptions extending from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, are described as Freemasons.

To begin with, the "Accompte Book" of the Masons' Company informs us that from 1620 to 1653 the members were styled "ffremasons."[3] If there were earlier records, they would doubtless attest a continuity of the usage from more remote times. Still, as it seems to me, the extract given by Mr Sharpe from the City Archives[4] carries it back, inferentially, to the reign of Edward III.

In "The Calendar of State Papers"[5] will be found the following entry: "1604, Oct. 31. —Grant of an incorporation of the Company of Freemasons, Carpenters, Joiners, and Slaters of the City of Oxford." Richard Maude, Hugh Daives, and Robert Smith, "of the Citty of

[1] XII., p. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, note 3.

[3] It is highly probable that Valentine Strong was a member of the London company; but if not, he must, I think, have belonged to a similar one in some provincial town. *Cf. ante*, p. 40.

[4] *Ante*, p. 145.

[5] Domestic Series, 1603-1610, p. 163.

Oxon, Freemasons," so described in a receipt given by them, December 20, 1633, the *contractors* for the erection of "new buildings at St John's College,"[1] were probably members of this guild.

A charter of like character was granted by the Bishop of Durham, April 24, 1671, to "Miles Stapylton, *Esquire*, Henry Frisoll, *gentleman*, Robert Trollap, Henry Trollap," and others, "exerciseing the severall trades of ffree Masons, Carvers, Stone-cutters, Sculptures [Marblers], Brickmakers, Glaysers, Penterstainers, Founders, Neilers, Pewderers, Plumbers, Mill-wrights, Saddlers and Bridlers, Trunk-makers, and Distillers of all sorts of strong waters."[2]

This ancient document has some characteristic features, to which I shall briefly allude. In the first place, the Freemasons occupy the post of honour, and the two Trollops are known by evidence *aliunde* to have been members of that craft. On the north side of a mausoleum at Gateshead stood, according to tradition, the image or statue of Robert Trollop, with his arm raised, pointing towards the town hall of Newcastle, of which he had been the architect, and underneath were the following quaint lines:[3]

"Here lies Robert Trowlup
Who made yon stones roll up
When death took his soul up
His body filled this hole up."

The bishop's charter constitutes the several crafts into a "comunitie, ffellowshipp, and company;" names the first wardens, who were to be four in number, Robert Trollap heading the list, and subject to the proviso, that one of the said wardens "must allwaies bee a ffree mason;" directs that the incorporated body "shall, upon the fower and twentieth day of June, comonly called the feast of *St John Baptist*, yearely, for ever, *assemble* themselves together before nine of the clock in the fore noone of the same day, and there shall, by the greatest number of theire voices, elect and chuse fouer of the said fellowshippe to be theire wardens, and one other fitt person to be the clarke; ∴ ∴ and shall vpon the same day *make freemen and brethren;* and shall, vpon the said fover and twentieth day of June, and att three other feasts or times in the yeare—that is to saie, the feast of St Michael the Archangel, *St John Day in Christeninas*, and the five and twentieth day of March, ∴ for ever assemble themselves together, ∴ ∴ and shall alsoe consult, agree vpon, and set downe such orders, acts, and constitucons ∴ ∴ as shall be thought necessarie." Absence from "the said assemblies" without "any reasonable excuse" was rendered punishable by fine, a regulation which forcibly recalls the quaint phraseology of the Masonic poem:[4]

[1] This rests on the authority of some extracts from documents in the State Paper Office, sent to the Duke of Sussex by Mr (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel, April 26, 1830, and now preserved in the Archives of the Grand Lodge. Hughan, to whom I am indebted for this reference, published the extracts in the *Voice of Masonry*, October 1872.

[2] From a transcript of the original, made by Mr W. H. Rylands. On the dexter margin of the actual charter with others are the arms of the [Free] Masons, and on the sinister margin those of the Sculptures [marblers]. These arms will be given in their proper colours on a future plate.

[3] R. Surtees, History and Antiquities of the County of Durham, vol. ii., 1820, p. 120. According to the Gateshead Register, "Henry Trollop, free-mason," was buried November 23, 1677, and "Mr Robert Trollop, masson," December 11, 1686 (*Ibid.* See further, T. Pennant, Tour in Scotland, edit. 1790, vol. iii., p. 310).

[4] The Halliwell MS. (1), line 111.

"And to that semblé he must nede gon,
But he have a resenabul skwsacyon,
That ys a skwsacyon, good and abulle,
To that semblé withoute fabulle."

The charter and funds of the corporation were to be kept in a "chist," of which each warden was to have a key.[1] Lastly, the period of apprenticeship, in all cases, was fixed at seven years.

The value of this charter is much enhanced by our being able to trace two, at least, of the persons to whom it was originally granted. Freemason and mason would almost seem, from the Gateshead Register, to have been words of indifferent application, though, perhaps, the explanation of the varied form in which the burials of the two Trollops are recorded may simply be, that the entries were made by different scribes, of whom one blundered—a supposition which the trade designation employed to describe Robert Trollop does much to confirm.

The annual assembly on the day of St John the Baptist is noteworthy, and not less so the meeting on that of St John the Evangelist, in lieu of Christmas Day—the latter gathering forming as it does the only exception to the four yearly meetings being held on the usual quarter-days.

In holding four meetings in the course of the year, of which one was the general assembly or head meeting day, the Gateshead Company or fellowship followed the ordinary guild custom.[2] The "making of freemen and brethren" is a somewhat curious expression, though it was by no means an unusual regulation that the freedom of a guild was to be conferred openly. Thus No. XXXVI. of the "Ordinances of Worcester" directs "that no Burges be made in secrete wise, but openly, bifore sufficiaunt recorde."[3]

Whether the words "freemen" and brethren" are to be read disjunctively or as convertible terms, it is not easy to decide. In the opinion of Mr Toulmin Smith, the Craft Guild of Tailors, Exeter, "reckoned three classes," namely—(1.) the Master and Wardens, and all who had passed these offices, forming the livery men; (2.) the shop-holders or master tailors, not yet advanced to the high places of the Guild; and (3.) the "free-sewers" or journeymen sewing masters, who had not yet become shop-holders.[4]

[1] "The very soul of the Craft-Gild was its meetings, which were always held with certain ceremonies, for the sake of greater solemnity. The box, having several locks, like that of the trade-unions, and containing the charters of the Gild, the statutes, the money, and other valuable articles, was opened on such occasions, and all present had to uncover their heads" (Brentano, on the History and Development of Gilds, p. 61). It may be useful to state that all my references to Brentano's work are taken from the reprint in a separate form, and not from the historical Essay prefixed to Smith's "English Gilds."

[2] Mr Toulmin Smith gives at least twenty-three examples of quarterly meetings. "Every Gild had its appointed day or days of meeting—once a year, twice, three times, or four times, as the case might be. At these meetings, called 'morn-speeches,' in the various forms of the word, or 'dayes of spekyngges tokedere for here comune profyte,' much business was done, such as the choice of officers, admittance of new brethren, making up accounts, reading over the ordinances, etc.—one day, where several were held in the year, being fixed as the 'general day'" (English Gilds, introduction, by Lucy Toulmin Smith, p. xxxii). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XII., p. 55; Fabric Rolls of York Minster, Surtees Soc., vol. xxxv. (*pleghdai*), p. 11; Harl. MS. 6971, fol. 126; and Smith, English Gilds, pp. 8, 31, 76, and 274.

[3] Smith, English Gilds, p. 390. The rules of the "Gild of St George the Martyr," Bishops Lynn, only permitted the admission of new-comers at the yearly general assembly, and by assent of all, save good men from the country (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 324. The Ordinances of this Craft Guild, which, in their general tenor date from the last half of the

It is consistent with this analogy, that the "brethren" *made* at Gateshead, on each 24th of June, were the passed apprentices or journeymen out of their time, who had not yet set up in business on their own account; and the parallelism between the guild usages of Exeter and Gateshead is strengthened by the circumstance that the free-sewers,[1]—*i.e.*, stitchers—or journeymen sewing masters, are also styled "ffree Brotherys" in the Exeter Ordinances.

These regulations ordain that "alle the ffeleshyppe of the Bachelerys" shall hold their feast "at Synte John-ys day in harwaste,"—the principal meeting thus taking place as at Gateshead, on the day of St John the Baptist—every shopholder was to pay 8*d.* towards it, every servant at wages 6*d.*, and "euery yowte (*out*) Broder" 4*d.*[2]

There were four regular days of meeting in the year, and on these occasions, the Oath, the Ordinances, and the Constitutions were to be read.[3]

It is improbable that all apprentices in the Incorporated Trades of Gateshead, attained the privileges of "full craftsmen" on the completion of the periods of servitude named in their indentures, and their position, I am inclined to think, *mutatis mutandis*, must have approximated somewhat closely to that of the Tailors of Exeter;[4] on the other hand, and in a similarly incorporated body, *i.e.*, not composed exclusively of Masons, we find by a document of 1475, that each man "worthy to be a master" was to be made "*freman* and fallow."[5]

It may be mentioned, moreover, that in the Records of the Alnwick Lodge (1701-1748), no distinction whatever appears to be drawn between "freemen" and "brethren." A friend, to whom I am indebted for many valuable references,[6] has suggested, that as there is sufficient evidence to support the derivation of "Freemason" from "Free Stone Mason," Free-man mason, and Free-mason—*i.e.*, *free* of a Guild or Company—it is possible that my deductions may afford satisfaction to every class of theorist. Before, however, expressing the few words with which I shall take my leave of this philological *crux*,[7] some additional examples of the use of the word "Freemason" will not be out of place, and taken with those which have been given in earlier chapters,[8] will materially assist in making clear the conclusions at which I have arrived.

The earliest use of the expression in connection with *actual* building operations—so far, at least, as research has yet extended—occurs in 1396, as we have already seen, and I

fifteenth century, enact, "That all Past Masters shall be on the Council of the Guild, and have the same authority as the Wardens; also, that the Master, and not less than five Past Masters, together with two of the Wardens, must assent to every admittance to the Guild" (*Ibid.*, p. 329).

[1] Besides Free Masons, Free Carpenters, Free Sewers, and the "Free Vintners" of London, there were the "Free Dredgers" of Faversham, chartered by Henry II., and still subsisting as the corporation of "free fishermen and free dredgermen" of the same hundred and manor in 1798. Each member had to serve a seven years' apprenticeship to a *freeman*, and to be a married man, as indispensable qualifications for admission (E. Hasted, Historical and Topographical Survey of Kent, 1797-1801, vol. vi., p. 352); also the "ffree Sawiers," who in 1651, "indited a fforreine Sawier at the Old Bayly" (Jupp, *op. cit.*, p. 160); "Free Linen Weavers" (Minutes, St Mungo Lodge, Glasgow, Sept. 25, 1784); and lastly, the "Free Gardeners," who formed a *Grand Lodge* in 1849, but of whose prior existence I find the earliest trace, in the "St Michael Pine-Apple Lodge of Free Gardeners in Newcastle," established in 1812 by *warrant* from the "St George Lodge" of North Shields, which was itself derived from a Lodge "composed of Soldiers belonging to the Forfar Regiment of Militia" (E. Mackenzie, A Descriptive and Historical Account of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1827, vol. ii., p. 597).

[2] Smith, English Gilds, p. 313. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 315. [4] See Chap. VII., p. 380.

[5] Chap. VIII., p. 401. See, however, p. 414, note 2. [6] Mr Wyatt Papworth.

It is somewhat singular that the word *Freemason* is not given in Johnson's Dictionary, 1st edit., 1755.

[8] II., p. 66; VI., pp. 302-308; VII., *passim*; VIII., p. 407 and XI., p. 488, note 1.

shall pass on to the year 1427, and from thence proceed downwards, until my list overlaps the formation of the Grand Lodge of England. It may, however, be premised, that the examples given are, as far as possible, representative of their class, and that to the best of my belief, a large proportion of them appear for the first time in a collected form. For convenience sake, each quotation will be prefaced by the date to which it refers. Arranged in this manner, we accordingly find under the years named:—

1427.—John Wolston and John Harry, Freemasons, were sent from Exeter to Beere to purchase stone.[1]

1490, Oct. 23.—"Admissio Willi Atwodde Lathami."

The Dean and Chapter of Wells granted to William Atwodde, "ffremason," the office previously held in the church by William Smythe, with a yearly salary. The letter of appointment makes known, that the salary in question has been granted to Atwodde for his good and faithful service in his art of "ffremasonry."[2]

1513, Aug. 4.—By an indenture of this date, it was stipulated that John Wastell, to whom allusion has been already made,[3] should "kepe continually 60 fre-masons workyng."[4]

1535.—"Rec. of the goodman Stefford, ffre mason for the holle stepyll wt Tymbr, Iron, and Glas, xxxviij*l*."[5]

1536.—John Multon, Freemason, had granted to him by the prior and convent of Bath "the office of Master of all their works commonly called freemasonry, when it should be vacant."[6]

1550.—"The free mason hewyth the harde stones, and hewyth of, here one pece, & there another, tyll the stones be fytte and apte for the place where he wyll laye them. Euen so God the heavenly free mason, buildeth a christen churche, and he frameth and polysheth us, whiche are the costlye and precyous stones, wyth the crosse and affliccyon, that all abhomynacyon & wickednes which do not agree unto thys gloryous buyldynge, myghte be remoued & taken out of the waye . i. Petr . ii."[7]

God a free mason.

1590-1, March 19.—"John Kidd, of Leeds, Freemason, gives bond to produce the original will of William Taylor, junr., of Leeds."[8]

1594.—On a tomb in the church of St Helen, Bishopsgate Street, are the following inscriptions[9]:—

South side—

"HERE | LYETH THE BODIE OF WILLIAM KERWIN OF THIS CITTIE OF LON DON
FREE | MASON WHOE DEPARTED THIS LYFE THE 26 ^{H} DAYE OF DECEMBER AN$\bar{O}$ 1594."

[1] From the Exeter Fabric Rolls; published in Britton's Hist. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Exeter, 1836, p. 97; also by the late E. W. Shaw in the *Freemasons' Mag.*, Ap. 18, 1868; and in the *Builder*, vol. xxvii., p. 73. John Wolston, I am informed by Mr James Jerman of Exeter, was Clerk of the Works there in 1426.

[2] "Nos dedisse et concisse Willielmo Atwodde ffremason, pro suo bono et diligenti servicio in arte sua de ffremasonry," etc. (Rev. H. E. Reynolds, Statutes of Wells Cathedral, p. 180).

[3] Chap. VI., p. 306.

[4] Malden, Account of King's College, Cambridge, p. 80.

[5] Records of the Parish of St Alphage, London Wall (City Press, Aug. 26, 1882).

[6] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62, pp. 37-60.

[7] Werdmuller, A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle, tr. by Bishop Coverdale, 1550, fol. xxi.

[8] From the Wills Court at York, cited in the *Freemasons' Chronicle*, April 2, 1881.

[9] W. H. Rylands, An Old Mason's Tomb (Masonic Magazine, September 1881). A brief notice of Kerwin's epitaph will also be found in the *European Magazine*, vol. lxiv., 1813, p. 200.

North side—

"Ædibvs Attalicis Londinvm qui decoravi : Me dvce svrgebant alijs regalia tecta :
Exigvam tribvvnt hanc mihi fata domv̄ : Me dvce conficitvr ossibvs vrna meis :"[1]

Although the arms of the Kerwyn family appear on the monument, "the west end presents, from a Masonic point of view, the most interesting portion of the tomb. In a panel, supported on each side by ornamental pilasters,[2] is represented the arms of the Masons as granted by William Hawkeslowe in the twelfth year of Edward IV. (1472-3): —On a chevron engrailed, between three square castles, a pair of compasses extended—the crest, a square castle, with the motto, God is our Guide. It is interesting to find the arms here rendered as they were originally granted, with the chevron engrailed, and with the old square four-towered castles, and not the plain chevron and single round tower, as now so often depicted."



In the opinion of Mr Rylands, this is the earliest instance of the title "Freemason" being associated with these arms.[3]

1598.—The Will of Richard Turner of Rivington, co. Lanc. dated July 1, proved Sept. 19. An inventory of Horses, Cows, Sheep, tools etc. total £57. 16. 4.[4]

1604, Feb. 12.—"Humfrey son of Edward Holland ffremason bapt[ized]."[4]

1610-13.—Wadham College, Oxford, was commenced in 1610 and finished in 1613. In the accounts "the masons who worked the stone for building are called Free masons, or Freestone Masons, while the rest are merely called labourers. It is curious that the three statues over the entrance to the hall and chapel were cut by one of the free masons (William Blackshaw)."[5]

1627-8.—Louth steeple repaired by Thomas Egglefield, Freemason, and steeple mender.[6]

1638.—The will of Richard Smayley of Nether Darwen. co. Lanc. ffree Mayson (apparently a Catholic), dated the 8th, proved the 30th of May. In the inventory of his goods—£65. 9. 0 —with horses, cattle, sheep, and ploughs, there occur, "one gavelocke [*spear*], homars, Chesels, axes, and other Irne [*iron*] implem^ts^ belonging to a Mayson."[4]

1689.—On a tombstone at Wensley, Yorkshire, appear the words, "George Bowes, Free Mason." The Masons' Arms, a chevron charged with a pair of open compasses between three castles, is evidently the device on the head of the stone.[7]

[1] "The Fates have afforded this narrow house to me, who hath adorned London with noble buildings. By me royal palaces were built for others. By me this tomb is erected for my bones."

[2] "At the base of the left hand pilaster is a curious ornament, having in the upper division a rose with five petals, and in the lower what may also be intended to represent a rose."

[3] From Stow we learn more of the tomb and the family of William Kerwin; he writes:—"*In the South Ile of this Church, is a very faire Window with this inscription:* 'This window was glazed at the charges of *Joyce Featly*, Daughter to *William Kerwyn* Esquire, and Wife to *Daniel Featly*, D.D. *Anno Domini* 1632'" ("Remaines," a supplement to the "Survey," 1633, p. 837).

[4] W. H. Rylands, MS. collection. In the Manchester Registers *an* Edward Holland is styled "gentleman."

[5] Orlando Jewitt, The late or debased Gothic buildings of Oxford, 1850.

[6] Archæologia, vol. x., p. 70.

[7] T. B. Whytehead, in the *Freemason*, Aug. 27, 1881. . . . "buried Decem. ye 26, 1689" (Par. Reg.).

1701.—The orders (or rules) of the Alnwicke Lodge are thus headed:—"Orders to be observed by the Company and Fellowship of Free Masons[1] att a lodge held at Alnwick Septr. 29, 1701, being the genll. head meeting day."[2]

1708, Dec. 27.—Amongst the epitaphs in Holy Trinity Churchyard, Hull, is the following, under the above date:—"Sarah Roebuck, late wife of John Roebuck, Freemason."[3]

1711, April 29.—"Jemima, daughter of John Gatley, freemasson, Bapt[ized]."[4]

1722, Nov. 25.—In the churchyard of the parish of All Saints at York, there is the tomb of Leonard Smith, Free Mason.[5]

1737, Feb.—In Rochdale Churchyard, under the date given, is the following epitaph:—"Here lyeth Benj. Brearly Free Mason."[6]

The derivation of the term "Freemason" lies within the category of Masonic problems, respecting which, writers know not how much previous information to assume in their readers, and are prone in consequence to begin on every occasion *ab ovo*, a mode of treatment which is apt to weary and disgust all those to whom the subject is not entirely new.

In this instance, however, I have endeavoured to lead up to the final stage of an inquiry presenting more than ordinary features of interest, by considering it from various points of view in earlier chapters.[7] The records of the building-trades, the Statutes of the Realm, and the Archives of Scottish Masonry, have each in turn contributed to our stock of information, which, supplemented by the evidence last adduced, I shall now proceed to critically examine as a whole.

In the first place, I must demur to the conclusion which has been expressed by Mr Wyatt Papworth, "That the earliest use of the English *term* Freemason was in 1396." Though in thus dissenting at the outset from the opinion of one of the highest authorities upon the subject, the difference between our respective views being, however, rather one of form than of substance, I am desirous of placing on record my grateful acknowledgments of much valuable assistance rendered throughout the progress of this work, by the friend to whose dictum in this single instance, I cannot yield my assent, especially in regard to the true solution of the problem with which I am now attempting to deal.

[1] This singular combination of titles will be hereafter considered, in connection with the equally suggestive endorsements on the Antiquity (23) and Scarborough (28) MSS.

[2] From the account of this lodge, published by Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. i., p. 214; and from the MS. notes taken by Mr F. Hockley from the Alnwicke records. The 12th of the "Orders," referred to in the text, is as follows:—"Item, thatt noe Fellow or Fellows within this lodge shall att any time or times call or hold Assemblys to make any mason or masons *free:* nott acquainting the Master or Wardens therewith, For every time so offending shall pay £3 . 6 . 8."

[3] T. B. Whytehead, in the *Freemason*, citing Gent's History of Hull, p. 54.

[4] W. H. Rylands, in the *Freemason*, Aug. 7, 1883, citing the registers of the parish church of Lymm, Cheshire. It will be remembered that Richard Ellam was styled of "Lyme (Lymm), Cheshire, freemason."

[5] G. M. Tweddell, in the *Freemason*, July 22, 1882, citing Thomas Gent's History of York, 1730.

[6] James Lawton, in the *Freemasons' Chronicle*, Feb. 8, 1883.

[7] To use the words of Father Innes:—"I have been obliged to follow a method very different from that of those who have hitherto treated it, and to beat out to myself, if I may say so, paths that had not been trodden before, having thought it more secure to direct my course by such glimpses of light as the more certain monuments of antiquity furnished me, then to follow, as so many others have done, with so little advantage to the credit of our antiquities, the beaten road of our modern writers" (**A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, 1729, preface, p. x**).

That the word Freemason appears for the first time in 1396, in any records that are extant relating directly to building operations, is indeed clear and indisputable.[1] But the same descriptive term occurs in other and earlier records, as I have already had occasion to remark.[2] In 1376-77—50 Edw. III.—the number of persons chosen by the several mysteries to be the Common Council of the City of London was 148, which divided by 48—at which figure Herbert then places the companies—would give them an average of about 3 representatives each. Of these the principal ones sent 6, the secondary 4, and the small companies 2.[3] The names of all the companies are given by Herbert, together with the number of members which they severally elected to represent them. The Fabrm. chose 6, the Masons 4, and the Freemasons 2. The Carpenters are not named, but a note explains *Fabrm* to signify *Smiths*, which if a contraction of *Fabrorum*, as I take it to be, would doubtless include them. The earliest direct mention of the Carpenters' Company occurs in 1421, though as the very nature of the trade induces the conviction that an association for its protection must have had a far earlier origin, Mr Jupp argues from this circumstance and from the fact of two Master Masons, and a similar number of Master Carpenters having been sworn, in 1272, as officers to perform certain duties[4] with regard to buildings, that there is just ground for the conjecture that these Masons and Carpenters were members of existing guilds.[5] This may have been the case, but unquestionably the members of both the callings—known by whatever name—must have been included in the Guilds of Craft, enumerated in the list of 1376-77.

Verstegan, in his Glossary of "Ancient English Words," *s.v.* Smithe, gives us:—"To smite, hereof commeth our name of a Smith, because he Smitheth or smiteth with a Hammer. Before we had the Carpenter from the *French*, a Carpenter was in our Language also called a Smith, for that he smiteth both with his Hammer, and his Axe; and for distinction the one was a Wood-smith, and the other an Iron-smith, which is nothing improper. And the like is seen in *Latin*, where the name of *Faber* serveth both for the Smith and for the Carpenter, the one being *Faber ferrarius*, and the other *Faber lignarius*."[6]

[1] As the authority on which this statement rests, has been insufficiently referred to in Chap. VI., p. 308, I subjoin it in full, from a transcript made by Rylands, which I have collated with the actual document in the Library of the British Museum.

In the Sloane Collection, No. 4595, page 50, is the following copy of the original document, dated 14th June, 19th Richard II., or A.D. 1396.

14 June. Pro Archiepiscopo Cantuar.

(Pat. 19 R. 2. p 2. m. 4.) Rex omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem Sciatis quod concessimus Venerabili in Christo Patri Carissimo Consanguineo nostro Archiepiscopo Cantuar. quod ipse pro quibusdam operationibus cujusdam Collegii per ipsum apud Villam Maidenston faciend. viginti et quatuor lathomos vocatos ffre Maceons et viginti et quatuor lathomos vocatos ligiers per deputatos suos in hac parte capere et lathomos illos pro denariis suis eis pro operationibus hujusmodi rationabiliter solvend. quousque dicti operationes plenarie facte et complete existant habere et tenere possit. Ita quod lathomi predicti durante tempore predicto ad opus vel operationes nostras per officiarios vel ministros nostros quoscumque minime capiantur.

In cujus &c.

Teste Rege apud Westm xiiij die Junii

Per breve de Privato Sigillo.

[2] Chap. VI., p. 304; and Chap. XIV., p. 145.

[3] Herbert, Companies of London, vol i., pp. 33, 34.

[4] Almost identical with those afterwards confided to a similar body under the title of city viewers, see *ante*, p. 146.

[5] Hist. of the Carpenters' Company, p. 8.

[6] Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the.....English Nation, 1634, p. 231. *Cf. ante*, Chap. I., pp. 38, 44.

As it is almost certain that the Company of Fabrm. comprised several varieties of the trade, which are now distinguished by finer shades of expression, I think we may safely infer that the craftsmen who in those and earlier times were elsewhere referred to as *Fabri lignarii* or *tignarii*, must have been included under the somewhat uncouth title behind which I have striven to penetrate.[1]

In this view of the case, the class of workmen, whose handicraft derived its *raison d'être* from the various uses to which wood could be profitably turned, were in 1376-7 associated in one of the *principal* companies, returning six members to the common council. It could hardly be expected that we should find the workers in stone, the infinite varieties of whose trade are stamped upon the imperishable monuments which even yet bear witness to their skill, were banded together in a fraternity of the second class. Nor do we; for the Masons and the Freemasons, the city records inform us, *pace* Herbert, were in fact one company, and elected six representatives. How the mistake originated, which led to a separate classification in the first instance, it is now immaterial, as it would be useless to inquire. It is sufficiently clear, that in the fiftieth year of Edward III. there was a use of the term *Free-mason*, and that the persons to whom it was applied were a section or an offshoot of the Masons' Company, though in either case probably reabsorbed within the parent body. Inasmuch, however, as no corporate recognition of either the Masons or the Freemasons of London can be traced any further back than 1376-7, it would be futile to carry our speculations any higher. It must content us to know, that in the above year the trade or handicraft of a Freemason was exercised in the metropolis. In my judgment, the Freemasons and Masons of this period—*i.e.*, those referred to as above in the city records—were parts of a single fraternity, and if not *then* absolutely identical, the one with the other, I think that from this period they became so. In support of this position there are the oft-quoted words of Stow,[2] "*the masons, otherwise termed 'free-masons,'* were a society of ancient standing and good reckoning;" the monument of William Kerwin;[3] and the records of the Masons' Company; not to speak of much indirect evidence, which will be considered in its proper place.

Whilst, however, contending that the earliest use of "Freemason" will be found associated with the freedom of a company and a city, I readily admit the existence of other channels through which the term may have derived its origin. The point, indeed, for determination, is not so much the relative antiquity of the varied meanings under which the word has been passed on through successive centuries, but rather the particular *use* or *form*, which has merged into the appellation by which the present Society of Freemasons is distinguished.

The absence of any mention of *Free*masons in the York Fabric Rolls[4] is rather singular,

[1] The only other branch of carpentry represented in the list of companies (1375), appears under the title of *Wodmog*, which Herbert explains as meaning "Woodsawyers (mongers)." This is very confusing, but I incline to the latter interpretation, *viz.*, woodmongers, or vendors of wood, which leaves all varieties of the smith's trade under the title Fabrm. This Company of Wodmog had 2 representatives.

[2] Survey of London, 1633, p. 630. *Post*, p. 176, note 4.

[3] *If* Valentine Strong was a member of the London Company of Masons, the title *Freemason* on his monument (1662) would be consistent with the name used in the company's records down to 1653; but even if the connection of the Strong family with the London Guild commenced with Thomas Strong, the son, it is abundantly clear that Valentine, the father, must have been a member of some provincial company of Masons (see Chap. XII., p. 40).

[4] The references to *masons*, on the contrary, are very numerous; the following, taken from the testamentary

and by some has been held to uphold what I venture to term the guild theory,—that is to say, that the prefix *free* was inseparably connected with the freedom of a guild or company. However, if the records of one cathedral at all sustain this view, those of others[1] effectually demolish the visionary fabric which has been erected on such slight foundation. The old operative regulations were of a very simple character; indeed Mr Papworth observes—"The 'Orders' supplied to the masons at work at York Cathedral in 1355 give but a poor notion of there being then existing in that city anything like a guild claiming in virtue of a charter given by Athelstan in 926, not only over that city, but over all England."

That *Freemason* was in use as a purely operative term from 1396 down to the seventeenth, and possibly the eighteenth, century, admits of no doubt whatever; and discarding the mass of evidence about which there can be any diversity of opinion, this conclusion may be safely allowed to rest on the three allusions to "Freemasonry"[2] as an operative art, and the metaphor employed by Bishop Coverdale in his translation from Werdmuller. In the former instance the greater may well be held to comprehend the less, and the "art" or "work" of "Freemasonry" plainly indicates its close connection with the *Freemasons* of even date. In the latter we have the simile of a learned prelate,[3] who, it may be assumed, was fully conversant with the craft usage, out of which he constructed his metaphor. This, it is true, only brings us down to the middle of the sixteenth century, but there are especial reasons for making this period a halting-place in the progress of our inquiry.

The statute 5 Eliz., c. IV., passed in 1562, though enumerating, as I have already observed, every other known class of handicraftsmen, omits the Freemasons, and upon this circumstance I hazarded some conjectures which will be found at the close of Chapter VII.

It is somewhat singular, that approaching the subject from a different point of view, I find in the seventh decade of the sixteenth century, a period of transition in the use of Freemason, which is somewhat confirmatory of my previous speculations.

Thus in either case, whether we trace the guild theory *up*, or the strictly operative theory *down*—and for the time being, even exclude from our consideration the separate evidence respecting the Masons' Company of London—we are brought to a stand still before we quite reach the era I have named. For example, assuming as I do, that John Gatley and Richard Ellam of Lymm, John Roebuck, George Bowes, Valentine Strong, Richard Smayley, Edward Holland, Richard Turner, William Kerwin, and John Kidd, derived in each case their title of Freemason from the freedom of a guild or company—still, with the last named worthy, in 1591, the roll comes to an end.[4] Also, *descending* from the year 1550, the records of the building trades afford very meagre notices of operative Freemasons.[5] I am far

registers of the Dean and Chapter, being one of the most curious:—"Feb. 12, 1522-3. Christofer Horner, mason, myghtie of mynd and of a hooll myndfulness. To Sanct Petur wark all my tuyllis [tools] within the mason lughe [lodge]."

[1] Exeter, Wells, and Durham. See under the years 1427 and 1490; also Chap. VI., p. 308.

[2] See above under the years 1490 and 1536, and Chap. VI., p. 408, note 4.

[3] Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, who published a translation of the Bible in 1535.

[4] Culling from all sources, it can only be carried back to 1581 (see next page, note 10).

[5] Further examples of the use of the word *Freemason*, under the years 1597, 1606, 1607, and 1624, will be found in *Notes and Queries*, Aug. 31, 1861, and Mar. 4, 1882; and the *Freemasons' Chronicle*, Mar. 26, 1881. The former journal—July 27, 1861—cites a will dated 1641, wherein the testator and a legatee are each styled "Freemason;" and—Sept. 1, 1866—mentions the baptism of the son of a "Freemason" in 1685, also his burial under the same title in 1697.

from saying that they do not occur,[1] but having for a long time carefully noted all references to the word Freemason from authentic sources, and without any idea of establishing a foregone conclusion, I find, when tabulating my collection, such entries relating to the last half of the sixteenth century are conspicuous by their absence.

In 1610, there is the Order of the Justices of the Peace, indicating a class of rough masons able to take charge over others, as well as apparently two distinct classes of Freemasons.[2] A year or two later occurs the employment of Freemasons at Wadham College, Oxford. In 1628, Thomas Egglefield, Freemason and Steeple-mender, is mentioned, and five years after there is the reference to Maude and others, Freemasons and Contractors.

Such a contention, as that the use of Freemason as an operative term, came to an abrupt termination about the middle of the seventeenth century, is foreign to the design of these remarks, and though I am in possession of no references which may further elucidate this phase of Masonic history during the latter half of the century, the records of the Alnwick Lodge,[3] extending from 1701 to 1748, may be held by some to carry on the use of Freemason as a purely operative phrase until the middle of the eighteenth century.

My contention is, that the class of persons from whom the Freemasons of Warrington,[4] Staffordshire,[5] Chester,[6] York[7], London,[8] and their congeners in the seventeenth century, derived the descriptive title which became the *inheritance* of the Grand Lodge of England, were *free men*,[9] and Masons of Guilds or Companies.

Turning to the early history of Scottish Masonry, the view advanced with regard to the origin of the title, which has now become the common property of all speculative Masons throughout the universe, is strikingly confirmed.

Having in an earlier chapter[10] discussed, at some length, the use of the title Freemason from a Scottish stand-point, I shall not weary my readers with a recapitulation of the arguments there adduced, though I cite the leading references below, in order to facilitate what I have always at heart, viz., the most searching criticism of disputed points, whereon I venture to dissent from the majority of writers who have preceded me in similar fields of inquiry.[11]

As cumulative proofs that the Society of Freemasons has derived its name from the Freemen Masons of more early times, the examples in the Scottish records have an especial value.

[1] It is fair to state, that the fount upon which I have chiefly drawn for my observations on the early Masons, viz., Mr Papworth's "Essay on the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages," becomes dried up, at this point of our research, in accordance with the limitations which the author has prescribed to himself.

[2] According to the Stat. 11 Hen. VII., c. xxii. (1495), a *Free*mason was to take less wages than a *Master* Mason.

[3] These will be duly examined at a later stage.

[4] Ashmole, Diary, Oct. 16, 1646.

[5] Plot, Natural History of Staffordshire, 1686, p. 316-318.

[6] Harl. MS. 2054 (12).

[7] Hughan, History of Freemasonry in York, 1871.

[8] Gould, The Four Old Lodges, 1879, p. 46.

[9] "Wherever the Craft Gilds were legally acknowledged, we find foremost, that the right to exercise their craft, and sell their manufactures, *depended upon the freedom of their city*" (Brentano, History and Development of Gilds, p. 65).

[10] Chap. VIII., p. 410, *q.v.* See further, *Master frie mason* (1581), p. 409; *frei men Maissones* (1601), p. 383; *frie mesones* of Ednr. (1636), p. 407; *frie mason* (Melrose, 1674), p. 450; and *frie Lodge* (1658), p. 41.

[11] The references in Smith's "English Gilds," to the exercise of a trade being contingent on the possession of its freedom, are so numerous, that I have only space for a few examples. Thus in the City of Exeter no cordwainer was allowed to keep a shop, "butte he be a ffraunchised man" (p. 333); "The Old Usages" of Winchester required that "non ne shal make burelle werk, but if he be of ye ffraunchyse of ye toun" (p. 351); and the "Othe" of the Mayor contained a special proviso, that he would "meyntene the fraunchises and *free custumes* whiche beth gode in the saide toune" (p. 416).

Examined separately, the histories of both English and Scottish Masonry yield a like result to the research of the philologist, but unitedly, they present a body of evidence, all bearing in one direction, which brushes away the etymological difficulties, arising from the imperfect consideration of the subject as a whole.

Having now pursued, at some length, an inquiry into collateral events, hitherto very barely investigated, and expressed with some freedom my own conjectures respecting a portion of our subject lying somewhat in the dark, it becomes necessary to return to Ashmole, and to resume our examination of the evidence which has clustered round his name.

It is important, however, to carefully discriminate between the *undoubted* testimony of Ashmole, and the opinions which have been *ascribed* to him. So far as the former is concerned—and the reader will need no reminder that *direct* allusions to the Masonic fraternity are alone referred to—it comes to an end with the last entry given from the "Diary" (1682); but the latter have exercised so much influence upon the writings of all our most trustworthy historians, that their careful analysis will form one of the most important parts of our general inquiry.

In order to present this evidence in a clear form, it becomes necessary to dwell upon the fact, that the entries in the "Diary" record the attendance of Ashmole at two Masonic meetings only—viz., in 1646 and 1682 respectively.

This "Diary" was not printed until 1717. Rawlinson's preface to the "History of Berkshire" saw the light two years later;[1] and the article *Ashmole* in the "Biographia Britannica" was published in 1747. During the period, however, intervening between the last entry referred to in the "Diary" (1682) and its publication (1717), there appeared Dr Plot's "Natural History of Staffordshire" (1686),[2] in which is contained the earliest critico-historical account of the Freemasons. Plot's remarks form the ground-work of an interesting note to the memoir of Ashmole in the "Biographia Britannica;" and the latter, which has been very much relied upon by the compilers of Masonic history, is scarcely intelligible without a knowledge of the former. There were also occasional references to Plot's work in the interval between 1717 and 1747, from which it becomes the more essential that, in critically appraising the value of statements given to the world on the *authority* of Ashmole, we should have before us all the evidence which can assist in guiding us to a sound and rational conclusion.

This involves the necessity of going, to a certain extent, over ground with which, from previous research, we have become familiar; but I shall tread very lightly in paths already traversed, and do my best to avoid any needless repetition of either facts or inferences that have been already placed before my readers.

I shall first of all recall attention to the statement of Sir William Dugdale, recorded by Aubrey in his "Natural History of Wiltshire." No addition to the text of this work was made after 1686—Aubrey being then sixty years of age—and giving the entry in question no earlier date (though in my opinion this might be safely done), we should put to ourselves the inquiry, what distance back can the expression, "many years ago," from the mouth of a man of sixty, safely carry us? Every reader must answer this question for himself, and I shall merely postulate, that under any method of computation, Dugdale's *verbal* statement must be presumed to date from a period somewhere intermediate between October 16, 1646, and March 11, 1682.

[1] Chap. XII., p. 17.

[2] *Cf. ante*, Chaps. II., p. 73; VII., p. 351; and XII., pp. 4, 16, 44.

It is quite certain that it was made *before* the meeting occurred in the latter year at the Masons' Hall.

Ashmole informs us:

"1656 . September . 13 . About 9 *hor* . *ante merid.* . I came first to Mr Dugdale's at Blyth-Hall."

"December 19 . I went . towards Blyth-Hall." A similar entry occurs under the date of March 27 in the following year; after which we find:

"1657 . May . 19 . I accompanied Mr Dugdale in his journey towards the Fens 4 . *Hor* . 30 minites *ante merid.*"

Blyth-Hall seems to have possessed great attractions for Ashmole, since he repeatedly went there between the years 1657 and 1660. In the latter year he was appointed Windsor Herald, and in 1661 was given precedency over the other heralds. He next records:

"1662 August . I accompanied Mr Dugdale in his visitation of Derby and Nottingham shires."

"1663 . March . I accompanied Mr Dugdale in his visitation of Staffordshire and Derbyshire."

"August 3. 9 *Hor. ante merid.* . I began my journey to accompany Mr Dugdale in his visitations of Shropshire and Cheshire."

Further entries in the "Diary" relate constant visits to Blyth-Hall in 1665 and the three following years; and seven months after the death of his second wife, the Lady Mainwaring, Ashmole thus describes his third marriage:

"1668 . November . 3 . I married Mrs Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to William Dugdale, Esq., Norroy King of Arms, at Lincoln's Inn Chapel."

As the ideas of the two antiquaries necessarily became very interchangeable from the year 1656, and in 1663 they were together in Staffordshire, Ashmole's native county, we shall not, I think, go far astray if, without assigning the occurrence any exact date, we at least assume that the *earliest* colloquy of the two Heralds,[1] with regard to the Society of Freemasons, cannot with any approach to accuracy be fixed at any *later* period than 1663. I arrive at this conclusion, not only from the intimacy between the men, and their both being officials of the College of Arms, but also because they went together to make the Staffordshire "Visitation," which, taken with Plot's subsequent account of the "Society," appears to me to justify the belief, that the prevalence of Masonic lodges in his native county, was a circumstance of which Ashmole could hardly have been unaware—indeed the speculation may be hazarded, that the "customs" of Staffordshire were not wholly without their influence, when he cast in his lot with the Freemasons at Warrington in 1646; and in this view of the case, the probability of Dugdale having derived a portion of the information which he afterwards passed on to Aubrey, from his brother Herald in 1663, may, I think, be safely admitted.

It will not be out of place, if I here call attention to the extreme affection which Ashmole appears to have always entertained for the city of his birth. His visits to Lichfield were very frequent, and he was a great benefactor to the Cathedral Church, in which he commenced his

[1] Sir William Dugdale was born September 12, 1605, and died February 10, 1686. His autobiography is to found in the 2d edition of his "History of St Paul's Cathedral," and was reprinted by W. Hamper, with his "Diary" and Correspondence, in 1827. He was appointed Chester Herald in 1644, and became Garter-King-at-Arms—his son-in-law declining the appointment—in 1677.

early life as a chorister.[1] In 1671, he was, together with his wife, "entertained by the Bailiffs at a dinner and a great banquet." Twice the leading citizens invited him to become one of their Burgesses in Parliament. It is within the limits of probability, that the close and intimate connection between Ashmole and his native city, which only ceased with the life of the antiquary, may have led to his being present at the Masons' Hall, London, on March 11, 1682. Sir William Wilson, one of the "new accepted" Masons on that occasion, and originally a Stonemason, was the sculptor of the statue of Charles II., erected in the Cathedral of Lichfield at the expense of, and during the episcopate of, Bishop Hacket,[2] and it seems to me that we have in this circumstance an explanation of Ashmole's presence at the Masons' Hall, which, not to put it any higher, is in harmony with the known attachment of the antiquary for the city and Cathedral of Lichfield—an attachment not unlikely to result, in his becoming personally acquainted with any artists of note, employed in the restoration of an edifice endeared to him by so many recollections.

Sir William Wilson's approaching "admission" or "acceptance" may therefore have been the disposing cause of the *Summons* received by Ashmole, but leaving this conjecture for what it is worth, I pass on to Dr Plot's "Natural History of Staffordshire," the publication of which occurred in the same year (1686) as the transcription of the Antiquity MS. (23) by Robert Padgett, a synchronism of no little singularity, from the point of view from which it will hereafter be regarded.

Although Plot's description of Freemasonry, as practised by its votaries in the second half of the seventeenth century, has been reprinted times without number, it is quite impossible to exclude it from this history. I shall therefore quote from the "Natural History of Staffordshire,"[3] premising, however, that if I am unable to cast any new light upon the passages relating to the Freemasons, it arises from no lack of diligence on my part, as I have carefully read every word in the volume from title-page to index.

Dr Plot's Account of the Freemasons, A.D. 1686.

§ 85. "To these add the *Customs* relating to the *County*, whereof they have one, of admitting Men into the *Society* of *Free-Masons*, that in the *moorelands*[4] of this *County* seems to be of greater request, than any where else, though I find the *Custom* spread more or less all over the *Nation;* for here I found persons of the most eminent quality, that did not disdain to be of this *Fellowship*. Nor indeed need they, were it of that *Antiquity* and *honor*, that is pretended

[1] Dr T. Harwood, History of Lichfield, 1806, pp. 61, 69, 441.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 72. Dr John Hacket was made Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry at the Restoration, and in that situation exhibited a degree of munificence worthy of his station, by expending £20,000 in repairing his Cathedral, and by being a liberal benefactor to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he had been a member. He died in 1670.

[3] Dr Plot's copy (Brit. Mus. Lib., containing MS. notes for a second edition), chap. viii., §§ 85-88, pp. 316-318. Throughout this extract, the original notes of the Author in the only printed edition (1686), are followed by his name.

[4] This word is explained by the Author at chap. ii., § 1, p. 107, where he thus quotes from Sampson Erdeswick's "Survey of Staffordshire:"—"The moorlands is the more northerly mountainous part of the county, laying betwixt Dove and Trent, from the three Shire-heads; southerly, to Draycote in the Moors, and yeildeth lead, copper, rance, marble, and mill-stones."

Erdeswick's book was not published during his life-time. His MSS. fell into the hands of Walter Chetwynd of Ingestrie, styled by Bishop Nicolson, "venerande antiquitatis cultor maximus." Plot was introduced into the county by Chetwynd, and liberally assisted by his patronage and advice (Erdeswick, A Survey of Staffordshire, edited by Dr T. Harwood, 1844, preface, p. xxxvii).

in a large *parchment volum*[1] they have amongst them, containing the *History* and *Rules* of the craft of *masonry*. Which is there deduced not only from *sacred writ*, but *profane story*, particularly that it was brought into *England* by *St. Amphibal*,[2] and first communicated to S. *Alban*, who set down the *Charges* of *masonry*, and was made paymaster and Governor of the *Kings* works, and gave them *charges* and *manners* as St. *Amphibal* had taught him. Which were after confirmed by King *Athelstan*, whose youngest son *Edwyn* loved well masonry, took upon him the *charges*, and learned the *manners*, and obtained for them of his Father a *free-Charter*. Whereupon he caused them to assemble at *York*, and to bring all the old *Books* of their *craft*, and out of them ordained such *charges* and *manners*, as they then thought fit: which *charges* in the said *Schrole* or *Parchment volum*, are in part declared; and thus was the *craft* of *masonry* grounded and confirmed in *England*.[3] It is also there declared that these *charges* and *manners* were after perused and approved by King *Hen.* 6. and his *council*,[4] both as to *Masters* and *Fellows* of this right Worshipfull *craft*."[5]

§ 86. "Into which *Society* when any are admitted, they call a *meeting* (or *Lodg* as they term it in some places), which must consist at lest of 5 or 6 of the *Ancients* of the *Order*, whom the *candidats* present with *gloves*, and so likewise to their *wives*, and entertain with a *collation* according to the Custom of the place: This ended, they proceed to the *admission* of them, which cheifly consists in the communication of certain *secret signes*, whereby they are known to one another all over the *Nation*, by which means they have maintenance whither ever they travel: for if any man appear though altogether unknown that can shew any of these *signes* to a *Fellow* of the *Society*, whom they otherwise call an *accepted mason*, he is obliged presently to come to him, from what company or place soever he be in, nay, tho' from the top of a *Steeple*[6] (what hazard or inconvenience soever he run), to know his

[1] See *ante*, Chap. II., MS. 40, p. 73.

[2] All that is recorded of this Saint is, that he was a Roman Missionary, martyred almost immediately after his arrival in England. *Cf. ante*, Chap. II., p. 85.

[3] These assertions belong to the period which began towards the close of the Middle Ages, and continued until the end of the seventeenth century, if not later, when all the wild stories of King Lud, Belin, Bladud, Trinovant or Troy Novant (evidently a corruption of Trinobantes), Brutus and his Trojans, sprang up with the soil, and, like other such plants, for a time flourished exceedingly. For references to these wholly imaginary worthies—of whose actual existence there is not the faintest trace—as well as for a bibliographical list of their works drawn up with a precision worthy of Allibone, the reader may consult Leland, Pits, and Bale, but especially the last named. King Cole is also another of these heroes, though some writers have made him a publican of later date in Chancery Lane! The subject, however, is not one of importance.

[4] This evidently refers, though in a confused manner, like so many other similar notices, to the Statutes of Labourers (*ante*, Chap. VII., p. 351, Stat. 3, Hen. VI., c. I., *q.v.*). *Cf.* the statements at p. 75 of the Constitutions (1738), copied by Preston in his "Illustrations of Masonry," edit. 1792, p. 200. There can hardly be a doubt as to the "old record," under whose authority Anderson and Preston shield themselves, being the "*Schrole* or *Parchment Volum*" referred to by Plot.

[5] Ex Rotulo membranaceo penes Cœmentariorum Societatem.—PLOT.

[6] The *London Journal* of July 10, 1725, gives a parody of the Entered Apprentice Song, of which the fifth verse runs—

"If on House ne'er so high,
A Brother they spy,
As his Trowel He dextrously lays on,
He must leave off his Work,
And come down with a Jerk,
At the Sign of an Accepted Mason."

See also the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford's reprint of the Sloane MSS. 3329, p. xvi.

pleasure, and assist him; *viz.*, if he want *work* he is bound to find him some; or if he cannot doe that, to give him *mony*, or otherwise support him till *work* can be had; which is one of their *Articles;* and it is another, that they advise the *Masters* they work for, according to the best of their *skill*, acquainting them with the goodness or badness of their *materials;* and if they be any way out in the *contrivance* of their *buildings*, modestly to rectify them in it; that *masonry* be not dishonored: and many such like that are commonly known: but some others they have (to which they are *sworn* after their fashion), that none know but themselves, which I have reason to suspect are much worse than these, perhaps as bad as this *History* of the *craft* it self; than which there is nothing I ever met with, more false or incoherent."

§ 87. "For not to mention that S^t^ *Amphibalus* by judicious persons is, thought rather to be the *cloak*, than *master* of S^t^ *Alban;* or how unlikely it is that S^t^ *Alban* himself in such a barbarous Age, and in times of persecution, should be *supervisor* of any *works;* it is plain that King *Athelstan* was never marryed, or ever had so much as any natural issue; (unless we give way to the fabulous *History* of *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, whose eldest son *Reynburn* is said indeed to have been marryed to *Leoneat*, the supposed daughter of *Athelstan*,[1] which will not serve the turn neither) much less ever had he a lawfull son *Edwyn*, of whom I find not the least umbrage in *History*. He had indeed a *Brother* of that name, of whom he was so jealouse, though very *young* when he came to the crown, that he sent him to *Sea* in a *pinnace* without *tackle* or *oar*, only in company with a *page*, that his death might be imputed to the *waves* and not *him;* whence the Young *Prince* (not able to master his passions) cast himself headlong into the *Sea* and there dyed. Who how unlikely to learn their *manners;* to get them a *Charter;* or call them together at *York;* let the *Reader* judg."

§ 88. "Yet more improbable is it still, that *Hen.* the 6 and his *Council*, should ever peruse or approve their *charges* and *manners*, and so confirm these right Worshipfull *Masters* and *Fellows*, as they are call'd in the *Sorole:* for in the third of his reigne (when he could not be 4 years old) I find an *act* of *Parliament* quite abolishing this *Society*. It being therein ordained, that no *Congregations* and *Confederacies* should be made by *masons*, in their general *Chapters* and *Assemblies*,[2] whereby the good course and effect of the *Statutes* of *Labourers*, were violated and broken in subversion of *Law:* and that those who caused such *Chapters* or *Congregations* to be holden, should be adjudged *Felons;* and that those *masons* that came to them should be punish't by *imprisonment*, and make *fine* and *ransom* at the *King's* will.[3] So very much out was the *Compiler* of this *History* of the *craft* of *masonry*,[4] and so little skill had he in our *Chronicles* and *Laws*. Which *Statute* though repealed by a subsequent *act* in the 5 of Eliz.,[5] whereby *Servants* and *Labourers* are compellable to serve, and their *wages* limited; and all *masters* made punishable for giving more wages than what is taxed by the *Justices*, and the *servants* if they take it, &c.[6] Yet this *act* too being but little observed, 'tis still to be feared these *Chapters* of *Free-masons* do as much mischeif as before, which, if one may

[1] Job Rowse's Hist. of Guy, E. of Warw.—PLOT. It may be here remarked that the famous Dun Cow was, in all probability, an Aurochs, the slaying of which single-handed would suffice to ennoble a half savage chieftain.

[2] See *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 354.

[3] Ferd Pulton's Collect. of Statutes, 3 Hen. 6, chap. i.—PLOT. The Acts of Parliament quoted by the Doctor have been amply considered in Chap. VII., *ante*.

[4] See *post*, pp. 175, 176. [5] Lord Cook's [*Coke's*] Institutes of the Laws of Engl., part 3, chap. 35.—PLOT.

[6] Ferd. Pulton's Collect. of Statutes, 5 Eliz., chap. 4.—PLOT.

estimate by the penalty, was anciently so great, that prehaps it might be usefull to examin them now."

In the extracts just given, we have the fullest picture of the Freemasonry which preceded the era of Grand Lodges, that has come down to us in contemporary writings, and the early Masonic "customs" so graphically portrayed by Dr Plot will be again referred to before I take final leave of my present subject.

Among the subscribers to the "Natural History of Staffordshire" were Ashmole, Robert Boyle, Sir William Dugdale, John Evelyn, Robert Hook, and Sir Christopher Wren.

It now only remains at this stage to consider the character and general reputation of the writer, to whom we are so much indebted for this glimpse of light in a particularly dark portion of our annals.

Evelyn, who was a good judge of men, says of Plot: "Pity it is that more of this industrious man's genius were not employed so as to describe every county of England."[1] It must be confessed, however, that extreme credulity appears to have been a noticeable feature of his character. Thus a friendly critic observes of him: "The Doctor was certainly a profound scholar; but, being of a convivial and facetious turn of mind, was easily imposed on, which, added to the credulous age in which he wrote, has introduced into his works more of the marvellous than is adapted to the present more enlightened period."[2]

In Spence's "Anecdotes" we meet with the following: "Dr Plot was very credulous, and took up with any stories for his 'History of Oxfordshire.' A gentleman of Worcestershire was likely to be put into the margin as having one leg rough and the other smooth, had he not discovered the cheat to him out of compassion; one of his legs had been shaved."[3]

Edward Lhuyd,[4] who succeeded Plot as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in a letter still preserved, gives a very indifferent character of him to Dr Martin Lister. "I think," says Lhuyd, "he is a man of as bad morals as ever took a doctor's degree. I wish his wife a good bargain of him, and to myself, that I may never meet with the like again."[5]

Plot's "morals" were evidently at a low ebb in the estimation of his brother antiquaries, for Hearne, writing on November 6, 1705, thus expresses himself: "There was once a very remarkable stone in Magd. Hall library, which was afterwards lent to Dr Plott, who never returned it, replying, when he was asked for it, that *'twas a rule among antiquaries to receive, and never restore!*"[6]

But as it is with our author's veracity, rather than with his infractions of the decalogue, that we are concerned, one of the marvellous stories related by him in all good faith may here be fittingly introduced.

A "foole" is mentioned, "who could not only tell you the changes of the Moon, the times of Eclipses, and at what time Easter and Whitsuntide fell, or any *moveable* feast

[1] Diary, July 11, 1675.

[2] Rev. Stebbing Shaw, History and Antiquities of Staffordshire, vol. i., 1798, preface, p. vi. Some further remarks on the subject by the same and other commentators will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxii., p. 694; vol. lxv., p. 897; and vol. lxxiv., p. 519.

[3] Rev. J. Spence, Anecdotes of Books and Men, ed. 1820 (Singer), p. 333.

[4] Or Llwyd, of Jesus College, Oxford, an eminent antiquary and naturalist, born about 1670, died in 1709. He was the author of a learned work entitled, "Archæologia Britannica." *Cf.* Leland's Itinerary, vol. ii., 1711 (Hearne), preface, p. iii; and Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxxvii., 1807, pt. i., p. 419.

[5] Athenæ Oxonienses (Bliss), vol. iv., col. 777.

[6] Reliquiæ Hearnianæ (P. Bliss), 1857, vol. i., p. 47.

whatever, but at what time any of them had, or should fall, at any distance of years, past or to come."[1]

Upon the whole, in arriving at a final estimate of the value of Plot's writings, and especially of the work from which an extract has been given, we shall at least be justified in concluding, with Chalmers, that "In the eagerness and rapidity of his various pursuits he took upon trust, and committed to writing, some things which, upon mature consideration, he must have rejected."[2]

Between 1686 and 1700 there are, at least, so far as I am aware, only two allusions to English Freemasonry by contemporary writers—one in 1688, the other in 1691. The former is by the *third* Randle Holme,[3] which I shall presently examine in connection with Harleian MS., No. 2054, and the old Lodge at Chester; the latter by John Aubrey, in the curious memorandum to which it will be unnecessary to do more than refer.[4]

One further reference, indeed, to the Freemasons, or rather, to the insignia of the Society, is associated by a later writer with the reign of William and Mary—February 1688-9 to December 1694—and although unconnected with the progressive development or evolution of Ashmolean ideas, which I am endeavouring to chronicle, may perhaps be more conveniently cited at this than at any later period.

Describing the two armouries in the Tower of London as "a noble building to the northward of the White Tower," Entick goes on to say—"It was begun by King James II., and by that prince built to the first floor; but finished by King William, who erected that magnificent room called the New or Small Armoury, in which he, with Queen Mary his consort, dined in great form, having all the warrant workmen[5] and labourers to attend them, dressed in white gloves and aprons, the usual badges of the Order of Freemasonry."[6]

As a revised issue of the "Book of Constitutions" was published in 1756—the year in which the above remarks first appeared—*also* under the editorial supervision of the Rev. John Entick, it would appear to me, either that his materials for the two undertakings became a little mixed up, or that a portion of a sentence intended for one work has been accidentally

[1] Plot, Natural History of Staffordshire, chap. viii., § 67. He also gravely states, that "one John Best, of the parish of Horton, a man 104 years of age, married a woman of 56, who presented him with a son so much like himself, that according to his informant, the god-father of the child, 'nobody doubted but that he was the true father of it'" (*Ibid.*, chap. viii., § 3, p. 269).

[2] Biographical Dictionary, vol. xvi., 1816, p. 65.

[3] The Academie of Armory; or, a Store-house of Armory and Blazon, etc. By Randle Holme, of the City of Chester, Gentleman Sewer in Extraordinary to his late Majesty King Charles 2. And sometime Deputy for the Kings of Arms. Printed for the author, Chester, 1688, fol.

[4] See Chap. XII., *passim*.

[5] This would include all the *master* tradesmen, *e.g.*, the Master Mason and the Master Carpenter. Robert Vertue (who built, in 1501, a chamber in the Tower of London), Robert Jenyns, and John Lobins are called "ye Kings iii Mr Masons," about 1509, when estimating for a tomb for Henry VII. (Wyatt Papworth). In the reign of Henry VII., or in that of his successor, two distinct offices were created: those of Carpenter of the King's Works in England, and of Chief Carpenter in the Tower (Jupp, Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters, p. 166). In the thirty-second year of Henry VIII., the yearly salaries of Thomas Hermiden and John Multon, *Masons;* John Russell and Wm. Clement, *Carpenters;* John Ripley, *Chief Joiner;* and William Cunne, *Plumber*, respectively, "to the King," were in each case £18, 5s., *i.e.*, 1s. a day—whilst those of Richard Ambros and Cornelius Johnson, severally, "Master Carpenter" and "Master Builder" *in the Tower*, were only £12, 3s. 4d. (*Ibid.*, p. 169).

[6] W. Maitland, History of London, continued by Entick, 1756, p. 168; and see London and its Environs Described, 1761, vi. 171.

dovetailed with a similar fragment appertaining to the other. However this may be, the readers of this history have the passage before them, and I shall not make any attempt to forecast the judgment which they may be disposed to pass upon it.

A short notice of Ashmole from the pen of Edward Lhwyd was given in Collier's "Historical Dictionary" in 1707,[1] but his connection with the Masonic fraternity was first announced by the publication of his own "Diary" in 1717,[2] from a copy of the original MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, made by Dr Plot, and afterwards collated by David Parry, M.A., both in their time official custodians of the actual "Diary."[3]

In 1719 two posthumous works were published by E. Curll, and edited by Dr Rawlinson, viz., Aubrey's "Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey," and Ashmole's "History and Antiquities of Berkshire." The former, containing the dedication and preface of Aubrey's "Natural History of Wiltshire," and the latter, the account of the Freemasons, which I have already given.[4] Subsequent editions of Ashmole's "Berkshire" appeared in 1723[5] and 1736, to both of which the original preface, or memoir of Ashmole, written by Rawlinson, was prefixed.

By those who, at the present time, have before them the identical materials from which Rawlinson composed his description of our Society—and the most cursory glance at his memoir of Ashmole, will satisfy the mind, that it is wholly based on the antiquary's "Diary," and the notes of John Aubrey—the general accuracy of his statements will not be disputed. Upon his contemporaries, however, they appear to have made no impression whatever, which may, indeed, be altogether due to their having been published anonymously, though even in this case, there will be room for doubt whether the name of Rawlinson would have much recommended them to credit.

Dr Richard Rawlinson, the fourth son of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor of London in 1706, was born in 1690, educated at St John's College, Oxford, and admitted to the degree of D.C.L. by diploma in 1719.[6] It has been stated on apparently good authority, that he was not only admitted to holy orders, but was also a member of the non-juring episcopate, having been regularly consecrated in 1728.[7]

He evinced an early predilection for literary pursuits, and was employed in an editorial capacity before he had completed his twenty-fifth year. The circumstances, however, as related in the "Athenæ Oxonienses," are far from redounding to his credit.

[1] 2d ed., Supplement, 2d Alphabet, *s.v.*

[2] Memoirs of the Life of Elias Ashmole, Esq., published by Charles Burman, Esq., 1717.

[3] To the preface, which is dated February 1716-7, is appended the signature of *Charles* Burman, said to have been Plot's stepson. As the doctor married a Mrs Burman, whose son *John*, at the decease of his stepfather, became possessed of his MSS. (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iv., col. 776), this is likely to have been the case.

[4] *Ante.*, Chap. XII., pp. 5, 17.

[5] London, printed for W. Mears and J. Hooke, 1723; Reading, printed by William Cardan, 1736. Another edition was begun in 1814 by the Rev. Charles Coates, author of "A History of Reading," but not completed. There are two copies of the first edition in the Bodleian Library, with MS. notes—one with those of Dr Rawlinson, the other by E. Rowe Mores (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iv., col. 360).

[6] Chalmers, Biog. Dict. Thomas Rawlinson, the eldest son, like his younger brother, was a great collector of books. Addison is said to have intended his character of *Tom Folio* in the "Tatler," No. 158, for him. While he lived in Gray's Inn, he had four chambers so completely filled with books, that it was necessary to remove his bed into the passage. After his death, in 1725, the sale of his manuscripts alone occupied sixteen days (*Ibid.*).

[7] Reliquiæ Hearnianiæ (P. Bliss), 1857, vol. ii., p. 847 (editorial note).

"In 1714, a work called 'Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects,' was published by E. Curll, and at p. 43 appeared a copy of a letter from Robert Plott, LL.D., design'd to be sent to the Royal Society in London. He has, however, no claim to the authorship. The original letter is now among Dr Rawlinson's collections in the Bodleian,[1] and the fabrication of Plot's name must be ascribed to the Doctor, who was editor, or rather the collector, of Curll's 'Miscellanies.' The latter part of the letter Dr Rawlinson has omitted, and altering the word *son* to *servant*, has compleatly erased the name and substituted the initials R. P." "Why he should have been guilty of so unnecessary a forgery," says Dr Bliss, "is not easy to determine; unless he fancied Plott's name of greater celebrity than the real author, and adopted it accordingly to give credit to his book." [2]

After the preceding example of the manner in which the functions of an editor were discharged by Rawlinson in 1714, the unfavourable verdict passed upon his subsequent compilation of 1719 will excite no surprise.

The following is recorded in the "Diary" of Thomas Hearne:—

"Ap. 18. [1719]. a present hath been made me of a book called the 'Antiquities of Barkshire,' by Elias Ashmole, Esq., London, printed for E. Curll, in Fleet Street, 1719, 8vo, in three volumes. It was given me by my good friend Thomas Rawlinson, Esq. As soon as I opened it, and looked into it, I was amazed at the abominable impudence, ignorance, and carelessness of the publisher,[3] and I can hardly ascribe all this to any one else, than to that villain, Curll. Mr Ashmole is made to have written abundance of things since his death. ∴ ∴ I call it a rhapsody, because there is no method nor judgment observed in it, nor one dram of true learning." [4]

Rawlinson was a zealous Freemason, a grand steward in 1734, and a member about the same time of no less than four lodges,[5] but could not, I think, have joined the Society much before 1730, as none of the memoranda or newspaper cuttings of any importance preserved in his masonic collection at the Bodleian Library bear any earlier date,—that is to say, if I have not overlooked any such entries.[6] His active interest in Freemasonry, if the collection made by him is any criterion, appears to have ceased about 1738. It is hardly possible that he *could* have been a Freemason *before* 1726, as in that year Hearne mentions his return from abroad, after "travelling for several years," also that "he was four years together at Rome." [7]

Rawlinson was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, July 29, 1714, Martin Folkes and

[1] Miscell. 390.

[2] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iv., col. 775.

[3] In an editorial note, Dr Bliss says, "Hearne was little aware that this was his *very good*, and notoriously *honest friend*, Richard Rawlinson." See further, F. Ouvry, Letters to T. Hearne, 1874, No. 39.

[4] Reliquiæ Hearnianiæ, vol. ii., p. 422. For a corroboration of Hearne's opinion, see Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iv., col. 860.

[5] Viz., Nos. 87, The Sash and Cocoa Tree, Upper Moore Fields; 40, The St Paul's Head, Ludgate Street; 71, The Rose, Cheapside; and 94, The Oxford Arms, Ludgate Street.

[6] This collection was described by the Rev. J. S. Sidebottom of New College, Oxford, in the *Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 1855, p. 81, as "a kind of masonic album or common-place book, in which Rawlinson inserted anything that struck him either as useful or particularly amusing. It is partly in manuscript, partly in print, and comprises some ancient masonic charges, constitutions, forms of summons, a list of all the lodges of his time under the Grand Lodge of England, together with some extracts from the *Grub Street Journal*, the *General Evening Post*, and other Journals of the day. The date ranges from 1724 to 1740." As stated above, I found, myself, nothing worth recording either before 1730, or after 1738.

[7] Reliquiæ Hearnianiæ, vol. ii., p. 594.

Dr Desaguliers being chosen Members on the same day. He became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, May 10, 1727.

His death occurred at Islington, April 5, 1755. By his will, dated June 2, 1752, he desired that at his burial in the chapel, commonly called Dr Bayly's Chapel, in St John's College, Oxford, his pall might be supported by six of the senior fellows of the said college, "to each of whom I give," so the words run, "one guinea, which will be of more use to them than the usual dismal accoutrements at present in use."

A large number of valuable MSS. he ordered to be safely locked up, and not to be opened until seven years after his decease,—a precaution, in the opinion of Dr Taylor, taken by the testator, "to prevent the right owners recovering their own," but this insinuation is without foundation, as the papers, the publication of which the Doctor wished delayed, were his collections for a continuation of the "Athenæ Oxonienses," with Hearne's "Diaries," and two other MSS.[1]

There are several codicils to the will, and the second, dated June 25, 1754, was attested, amongst others, by J. Ames,[2] presumably Joseph Ames, author of "Typographical Antiquities," 1749, and one of the editors of the "Parentalia."

Rawlinson's Library of printed books and books of prints was sold by auction in 1756; the sale lasted 50 days, and produced £1164. There was a second sale of upwards of 20,000 pamphlets, which lasted 10 days, and this was followed by a sale of the single prints, books of prints, and drawings, which lasted 8 days.[3]

Ashmole's connection with the Society is not alluded to in the "Constitutions" of 1723, but in the subsequent edition of 1738, Dr Anderson, drawing his own inferences from the actual entries in the "Diary," transmutes them into facts, by amending the expressions of the diarist, and making them read—prefaced by the words, "Thus Elias Ashmole in his 'Diary,' page 15, *says*,"—"I was made a Free Mason at Warrington, Lancashire, with Colonel Henry Manwaring, *by* Mr Richard Penket the Warden, and the *Fellow Crafts* (there mention'd) on 16 Oct. 1646."[4]

The later entry of 1682 was both garbled and certified in a similar manner, though, except in the statement that Sir Thomas Wise and the seven other Fellows, present, besides Ashmole at the reception of the New-Accepted Masons were "old Free Masons,"[5] there is nothing that absolutely conflicts with the actual words in the "Diary."

We next come to the memoir of Ashmole in the "Biographia Britannica," published in 1747, upon which I have already drawn at some length in the preceding chapter.

According to his biographer, Dr Campbell, "on the sixteenth of October 1646, he [Ashmole] was elected a brother of the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, which he looked upon as a very distinguishing character, and has therefore given us a very particular account of the lodge established at Warrington in Lancashire; and in some of his manuscripts there are very valuable collections relating to the history of the Free Masons."

The subject is then continued in a copious footnote, which is itself still further elucidated, after the manner of those times, by a number of subsidiary references, and to these I shall in

[1] Chalmers, Biog. Dict., vol. xxvi., 1816, *s.v.* Rawlinson.

[2] The Deed of Trust and Will of Richard Rawlinson, 1755, pp. 1, 22.

[3] Chalmers, *loc. cit.*

[4] Constitutions, 1738, p. 100.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

every case append the letter C., in order that my own observations and those of Dr Campbell may be distinguishable. The note thus takes up the thread :—

"He [Ashmole] made very large collections on almost all points relating to English history, of which some large volumes are remaining at Oxford, but much more was consumed in the fire at the Temple,[1] which will be hereafter mentioned. What is hinted above, is taken from a book of letters, communicated to the author of this life by Dr Knipe,[2] of Christ-church, in one of which is the following passage relating to this subject. 'As to the Ancient society of Free-Masons, concerning whom you are desirous of knowing what may be known with certainty, I shall only tell you, that if our worthy brother, E. Ashmole, Esq; had executed his intended design, our fraternity had been as much obliged to him as the brethren of the most noble Order of the Garter.[3] I would not have you surprized at this expression, or think it at all too assuming. The Soveraigns of that order have not disdained our fellowship, and there have been times when Emperors[4] were also Free-Masons. What from Mr E. Ashmole's collection I could gather, was, that the report of our society's taking rise from a Bull granted by the Pope, in the reign of Henry III., to some Italian Architects, to travel over all Europe, to erect chapels, was ill-founded.[5] Such a Bull there was, and those Architects were Masons; but this Bull in the opinion of the learned Mr Ashmole, was confirmative only, and did not by any means create our fraternity, or even establish them in this kingdom.[6] But as to the time and manner of that establishment, something I shall relate from the same collections. St Alban, the Proto-Martyr of England, established Masonry here, and from his time it flourished more or less, according as the world went, down to the days of King Athelstane, who, for the sake of his brother Edwin, granted the Masons a charter, tho' afterwards growing jealous of his brother, it is said he caused him together with his Page, to be put into a boat and committed to the sea, where they perished.[7] It is likely that Masons were affected by his fall, and

[1] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii., col. 888.—C. "1679. Jan. 26.—The fire in the Temple burned my library" (Diary).

[2] It has not yet been satisfactorily determined who *this* Dr Knipe was; and perhaps the present note, if it passes under the eye of any Oxford reader interested in Masonic research, may lead to the realisation of how much good work may yet be done in the way of fully examining the Ashmole MSS. *Cf.* Freemasons' Magazine, January to June 1863, pp. 146, 209, 227.

[3] The design, here attributed to Ashmole, of writing a History of Freemasonry, rests entirely upon the authority of Dr Knipe. It is difficult to believe that such a positive statement could have been a pure invention on his part; and yet, on the other hand, it is lacking in all the elements of credibility.

[4] This statement takes us outside the British Isles, and may either point to an embodiment of the popular belief, such as I have ventured to indicate in Chap. XII., pp. 29, 33, respecting the origin of the Society; or—in the opinion of those who cherish a theory the more ardently because it involves an absolute surrender of all private judgment—it may tend, not only to establish, but to crown the view of Masonic history associated with the Steinmetzen, by implying that the imperial confirmations of their ordinances must be taken as proof of the admission of the German emperors into the Stonemasons' Fraternity!

[5] History of Masonry, p. 3.—C. See *ante*, Chap. XII., pp. 16-18. It should be borne in mind that in 1747, when Dr Knipe wrote the letters from which an extract is professedly given, Rawlinson was only in his fifty-eighth year. The "Republic of Letters" was then a very small one. It is unlikely that the memoir of Ashmole given in the "Biographia Britannica" was prepared without assistance from members of the Royal Society; and in that portion of it dealing with his admission into Freemasonry, it seems especially probable that we should find the traces of information supplied by some of the Fellows of that learned body who were also Freemasons. Rawlinson, then, we may usefully bear in mind, was at once an F.R.S., a prominent Freemason, and a distinguished man of letters.

[6] *Vide* Chap. XII., p. 31.

[7] Ex Rotulo membranaceo penes Cœmentariorum Societatem.—C. This is evidently copied from a similar note by Dr Plot (*ante*, p. 164).

suffered for some time, but afterwards their credit revived, and we find under our Norman Princes, that they frequently received extraordinary marks of royal favour. There is no doubt to be made, that the skill of Masons, which was always transcendent, even in the most barbarous times, their wonderful kindness and attachment to each other, how different soever in condition, and their inviolable fidelity in keeping religiously their secret, must expose them in ignorant, troublesome, and suspicious times, to a vast variety of adventures, according to the different fate of parties, and other alterations in government. By the way, I shall note, that the Masons were always loyal, which exposed them to great severities when power wore the trappings of justice, and those who committed treason, punished true men as traitors. Thus in the third year of the reign of Henry VI, an Act of Parliament passed to abolish the society of masons,[1] and to hinder, under grievous penalties, the holding chapters, lodges, or other regular assemblies. Yet this act was afterwards repealed, and even before that King Henry VI, and several of the principal Lords of his court became fellows of the craft.[2] Under the succeeding troublesome times, the Free-Masons thro' this kingdom became generally Yorkists, which, as it procured them eminent favour from Edward IV, so the wise Henry VII, thought it better by shewing himself a great lover of Masons to obtrude numbers of his friends on that worthy fraternity, so as never to want spies enough in their lodges, than to create himself enemies, as some of his predecessors had done by an ill-timed persecution.[3] As this society has been so very ancient, as to rise almost beyond the reach of records, there is no wonder that a mixture of fable is found in it's history, and methinks it had been better, if a late insidious writer[4] had spent his time in clearing up the story of St Alban, or the death of Prince Edwin, either of which would have found him sufficient employment, than as he has done in degrading a society with whose foundation and transactions, he is visibly so very little acquainted,[5] and with whose history and conduct Mr Ashmole, who understood them so much better, was perfectly satisfied, &c."[6]

"I shall add to this letter" (writes Campbell), "as a proof, of it's author's being exactly right as to Mr Ashmole, a small note from his diary, which shews his attention to this society, long after his admission, when he had time to weigh, examine, and know the Masons secret."[7]

Dr Campbell then proceeds to give the entries, dated the 10th and 11th of March 1682, relating the meeting at Masons' Hall, only through interpolating the word "by" before the name of Sir William Wilson—an error into which subsequent copyists have been beguiled—he rather leaves an impression upon the mind, that the "new-accepted masons" were parties to their own reception, in a sense never contemplated by Elias Ashmole.

The Rev. S. R. Maitland says, "I do not know whether there ever was a time when readers looked out the passages referred to, or attended to the writer's request that they would 'see,' 'compare,' etc. such-and-such things, which, for brevity's sake, he would not transcribe: but if readers ever did this, I am morally certain that they have long since ceased to do it."[8] Concurring in this view, I have quoted the passage above, and also those from Dr Plot's work, at length; as, believing their right comprehension by my readers to be essential, I dare

[1] Fred. Pulton's Collect. of Statutes, 8 Hen. VI, chap. i.—C.
[2] History of Masonry, p. 29.—C.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 19.—C. The three allusions by Dr Campbell to a "History of Masonry" will be presently examined.
[4] Dr Plot.
[5] Plot's Nat. History of Staffordshire, pp. 316, 317, 318.—C.
[6] Dr W. to Sir D. N., June 9, 1687.—C.
[7] Diary, p. 66.—C.
[8] The Dark Ages, 1844, p. 36.

not content myself with referring even to such well-known books—to be met with in the generality of public libraries—as the "Biographia Britannica" and the "Natural History of Staffordshire."

It is not my intention to dwell at any length upon the discrepancies which exist between the several versions of Ashmole's connection with the Society. Still, when extracts professedly made from the actual "Diary" are given to the world in a garbled or inaccurate form, through the medium of such works of authority as the "Book of Constitutions" and the "Biographia Britannica," a few words of caution may not be out of place against the reception as evidence of colourable *excerpta* from the Ashmolean MSS., whether published by Dr Anderson—under the sanction of the Grand Lodge—in 1738, or by Findel and Fort, in 1862 and 1876 respectively. It has been well observed, that "if such licence be indulged to critics, that they may expunge or alter the words of an historian, because he is the sole relater of a particular event, we shall leave few materials for authentic history."[1] The contemporary writers to whom I last referred have severally reproduced, and still further popularised, the misleading transcripts of Doctors Anderson and Campbell. The former by copying from the "Constitutions" of 1738—though the authority he *quotes* is that of Ashmole himself[2]—and the latter[3] by relying apparently on the second edition of the "Diary," published in 1774, which adopts the interpolation of Dr Campbell, changes "*were*" into "*was*," and makes Ashmole, after reciting his summons to the Lodge at Masons' Hall on March 10, 1682, go on to state:—

"[March] 11. Accordingly I went, and about noon *was* admitted into the fellowship of Free-Masons, *by* Sir William Wilson, Knight, Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr William Wodman, Mr William Grey, Mr Samuel Taylour, and Mr William Wise."[4]

The preceding extract presents such a distorted view of the real facts—as related by Ashmole—that I give it without curtailment. Compared with the actual entry as shown at p. 143, and overlooking minor discrepancies,[5] it will be seen, that the oldest Freemason present at the meeting is made to declare, that he was "admitted into the fellowship" by the candidates for reception. Yet this monstrous inversion of the ordinary method of procedure at the admission of guild-brethren—which, as a travesty of Masonic usage and

[1] "Quod si hæc licentia daretur arti criticæ, ut si quæ in aliquo scriptore facta legimus commemorata, quæ ab aliis silentio involvantur, illa statim expungenda, aut per contortam emendationem in contrarium plane sensum forent convertenda, nihil fere certum aut constans in historicorum scriptorum commentariis reperiretur" (Professor Breitinger, Zurich, to Edward Gibbon, Lausanne: Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, edited by Lord Sheffield, 1814, vol. i., p. 479).

[2] "In Ashmole's 'Diary' we find the following," etc. (Findel, History of Freemasonry, 2d English edit., 1869, p. 113*n*).

[3] From Fort's description, it might be inferred that Ashmole was "admitted into the fellowship by Sir William Wilson, Knt.," *solus*, as he cites no other names (History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 137).

[4] The edition of Ashmole's "Diary," from which the above is extracted, was published, together with the life of William Lilly, the astrologer, in 1774. Lilly's autobiography (of which the latter was a reprint) first appeared in 1715, a memorandum on the fly-leaf stating—"The Notes at the Bottom of the Page, and the continuation to the time of his death, were the Performance of his good Friend Mr Ashmole." At p. 43, a footnote, explanatory of the text, is followed by the letters D. N., which is, so far, the only clue I have obtained towards the identification of the "Sir D. N." referred to by Dr Knipe.

[5] *E.g.* The Christian names of Borthwick, Woodman, and Grey, though shortened by Ashmole to Rich., Will., and Wm., respectively, are fully set out in the publication of 1774. This process, however, is reversed in the cases of Will. Wo*o*dman and Samuel*l* Taylour, so styled by the antiquary—the former becoming Wodman, and the latter losing the final *l* of his Christian name in the reprint.

ceremonial, is without a parallel—has been quietly passed over, and, in fact, endorsed, by commentators of learning and ability, by whose successive transcriptions of a statement originally incorrect, the original error has been increased, as a stone set rolling down hill accelerates its velocity.[1]

It has been observed by De Quincey, that "the labourers of the mine, or those who dig up the metal of truth, are seldom fitted to be also labourers of the mint—that is, to work up the metal for current use." Of this aphorism, as it seems to me, Dr Knipe—whose diligence and good faith I do not impeach—affords a conspicuous illustration. The paucity and inaccuracy of Ashmole's biographers leave much to be desired. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted, that the solitary "witness of history," whose contribution towards his memoir was based on original documents, notably the "collection" of papers, or materials for a contemplated work on Freemasonry, should have been unequal to the task of summarising with greater minuteness, the conclusions of the eminent man whom he describes as "our worthy brother," and by citing references that have now escaped us, have so far widened the area over which research can be profitably directed, as to carry us back to a period at least as far removed from Ashmole's time as the latter is from our own.

In his communication to the writer of Ashmole's life, Dr Knipe ignored the distinction which should always exist between the historian, properly so called, and the contributor or purveyor to history. "Those who supply the historian with facts must leave much of the discrimination to him, and must be copious, as well as accurate, in their information."[2] From the facts collected and arranged by antiquaries, the history of past ages is in a great measure composed. The services of this class of writers are invaluable to the historian, and he frequently applies and turns to account, in a manner which they never contemplated, facts which their diligence has brought to light.[3]

It has been well remarked that "we admire the strange enthusiast, who, braving the lethargic atmosphere of the Academic library, ventures in, and draws forth the precious manuscript from the stagnant pools, whose silent waters engulph the untouched treasures collected by Bodley or Laud, Junius or Rawlinson, Gale or Moor or Parker: yet fully as new and important is the information obtained from the trite, well known, and familiar authorities, which have only waited for the Interrogator, asking them to make the disclosure."[4]

If, then, either from a want of capacity on the part of Dr Knipe, or from the absence of the critical faculty in Dr Campbell, the memoir of Ashmole in the "Biographia Britannica" must be pronounced a very inferior piece of workmanship: let us, however, see whether, whilst anything like a *prècis* of his real views is withheld from our know-

[1] *Cf.* Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 295. "It is useful to observe on a large scale, and to collect much authentic material, which will afterwards undergo the winnowing process" (*Ibid.*).

[3] "It is difficult to draw the line between those facts which are important, and those which are unimportant to the historian. A power of seizing remote analogies, and of judging by slight though sure indications, may extract a meaning from a fact which, to an ordinary sight, seems wholly insignificant" (Lewis, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Sir F. Palgrave, History of Normandy and of England, vol. i., 1851, p. 18; *Cf.* Guizot, Hist. de la Civilisation en France, 27$^{\text{leme}}$ leçon, p. 63. "Facts pregnant with most signal truths have, until our own times, continued uninvestigated and unimproved; though plain and patent, presented to every reader, fruitlessly forcing themselves upon our notice, against which historians were previously constantly hitting their feet, and as constantly spurning out of their path" (Palgrave, *loc. cit.*).

ledge, we can extract any information from the references to authorities which, however trite and familiar in the estimation of the two doctors, now derive what vitality they may possess from the circumstance of filling up a casual footnote in a work of such high reputation.

Among the references given by Dr Knipe, there are two upon which I shall slightly enlarge. The first is to a "History of Masonry," the second a letter or communication from "Dr W. to Sir D. N., June 9, 1687." Taking these in their order—what is this "History of Masonry," to which allusion was made in 1747? It is something quite distinct from the histories given in the Constitutions of 1723 or 1738, and in the "Pocket Companions." The pagination, moreover, indicated in the notes—viz., 3, 19, and 29—not only shows that in the work cited, more space was devoted to the account of *English* Masonry in the Middle Ages, than we find in any publication of even date, with which it is possible to collate these references, but by resting the allusion to the Papal Bulls on the authority of page 3, materially increases the difficulties of identification. Dr Anderson fills sixty pages of his "Book of Constitutions"[1] before he names the first Grand Master or Patron of the Freemasons of England, and not until page 69 of that work do we reach Henry III., in connection, moreover, with which king there appears (in the "Constitutions" referred to) no mention of the Bulls.[2] The "Pocket Companions" were successively based on the Constitutions of 1723 and 1738, and no separate and independent "History of Masonry" was published, so far as I am aware, before the appearance of "Multa Paucis"[3] in 1763-4. It is true that in the inventory of books belonging to the Lodge of Relief, Bury, Lancashire—present No. 42—in 1756, we find, "History of Masonry (Price 3s.);"[4] but, as suggested by Hughan—and mentioned by the compiler in a note—this was probably Scott's "Pocket Companion" and "History of Masonry" 1754.

One of the further references by Dr Knipe to the work under consideration, is given as his authority for the statement, that Henry VII. used the Freemasons as spies—an item of Masonic history not to be found in any publication of the craft with which I am acquainted. A friend has suggested, that the "History" referred to, may have been that of Ashmole himself in its incomplete state. This, however, forcibly recalls the story of the relic exhibited as Balaam's sword, and the explanation of the *cicerone*, when it was objected that the prophet had no sword, but only wished for one, that it was the identical weapon he wished he had!

One expression, indeed, in the Memoir—"Book of Letters"—lets in a possible, though not, in my judgment, a probable, solution of the difficulty. The "*Book* of Letters, communicated by Dr Knipe" to the author of the life, *may* have been a bound or stitched volume of correspondence, paged throughout for facility of reference, and labelled "History of Masonry" by the sender. If this supposition is entertainable, it may be also assumed that the several letters would be arranged in due chronological order—a view of the case which is not only consistent with, but also to some extent supported by, the variation of method adopted by Dr Campbell in citing the authority for Ashmole's alleged dissent from the conclusions of Dr Plot, as a letter from Dr W. to Sir D. N., under a given date. As militating, however, against this hypothesis,

[1] Ed. 1738.

[2] Neither Henry III. nor the Papal Bulls are mentioned in the Constitutions of 1723.

[3] Chap. XII., p. 87.

[4] E. A. Evans, History of the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, p. 24. The "History of Freemasonry" is unfortunately no longer in the possession of the lodge.

it has been shewn that whilst Dr Campbell's references to the "History of Masonry" range from page 3 to page 29 of that work or volume, the entire subject-matter which their authority covers, is contained within the limits of a single letter—a letter, moreover, plainly replying to such questions as we may imagine the compiler of the memoir would have addressed to some Oxford correspondent, and which is only reconcilable with any other view of the facts by assuming that two other persons of *lost identity*—but the result of whose labours has happily been preserved—severally *preceded* Campbell and Knipe in the collection and preparation of materials for a similar biography of Ashmole.[1]

The letter or communication, which is made the authority for Ashmole having expressed disapproval of the statements in Plot's "Natural History of Staffordshire," is equally enigmatical, and I have quite failed to identify either the Dr W. or the Sir D. N., cited as the writer and recipient respectively of that document. Doctors Wilkins, Wharton, and Wren were all on friendly terms with Ashmole; but Wilkins died in 1672, Wharton in 1677, and Dr, became Sir Christopher Wren in 1674. The only trace of Sir D. N. I can find occurs, as previously stated,[2] in a note to Lilly's autobiography, which, as *all* the notes were professedly written by Ashmole, though not printed until after his death (1715), may point to the identity of what in these days would be termed his literary executor, with the individual to whom was addressed the letter of June 9, 1687.

The solution of these two puzzles I leave, however, to those students of our antiquities who, diverging from the high road, are content to patiently explore the by-paths of Masonic history, where, indeed, even should they find in this particular instance nothing to reward their research, their labours cannot fail to swell the aggregate of materials, upon which the conclusions of future historians may be as safely founded, as I shall venture to hope they will be gratefully recorded.

With the exceptions of the allusion to "the wise Henry VII.," the statement that Ashmole contemplated writing a History of the Craft, and the so-called "opinion" of the antiquary respecting the Papal Bull granted in the reign of Henry III., there is nothing in the memoir which we cannot trace in publications of earlier date. A great part of it is evidently based on Rawlinson's preface to the "Antiquities of Berkshire,"[3] of which the words, "Kings themselves have not disdain'd to enter themselves into this Society," are closely paraphrased by Dr Knipe, though the term "Emperors"—unless a free rendering of "Kings"—I take to be the coinage of his own brain. The view expressed with regard to the introduction of Freemasonry into England, is apparently copied from the Constitutions of 1738; whilst the allusions to Henry VI. and Edward IV.[4] are evidently based on the earlier or original edition of the same work.

[1] The *second* edition of the "Biographia Britannica," vol. i., 1778, contained a reprint of the article "*Ashmole;*" and as readers generally consult a work of reference *in its latest form*, the allusion to a "History of Masonry" in 1778, when not only "Multa Paucis" (*ante*, p. 37), but also several editions of Preston's "Illustrations," were in general circulation, would be devoid of the significance attaching to a like reference in the edition of 1747. Plot's *parchment volum*, or *History* of the *craft*, and Knipe's "History of Masonry," each allude to Hen. VI., but differ as to the origin of the Society. The words, moreover, "*ex rotulo membranaceo*," etc., are used by the *latter* doctor to describe something quite distinct from the "History."

[2] *Ante*, p. 173, note 4.

[3] *Ante*, Chap. XII., p. 17.

[4] In the Constitutions of 1738, p. 75, we read:—"A Record in the Reign of Edw. IV. says, the *Company of* Masons, *being otherwise termed* Free Masons, *of Auntient Staunding and good Reckoning, by means of affable, and kind Meetings*

To what extent, it may now be asked, does this memoir of Ashmole by Dr Campbell add to the stock of knowledge respecting the former's connection with our Society, and the conditions under which Freemasonry either flourished, or was kept alive during the first half of the seventeenth century? I am afraid very little. It generally happens that different portions of a mythico-historical period[1] are very unequally illuminated. The earlier parts of it will approximate to the darkness of the mythical age, while the later years will be distinguished from a period of contemporary history by the meagreness, rather than by the uncertainty of the events.[2] This is precisely what we find exemplified by the annals of the Craft, of which those most remote in date, are based to a great extent upon legendary materials, whilst later ones—extending over an epoch commencing with early Scottish Masonry in the sixteenth century, and ending with the formation of an English Grand Lodge in 1717—though closing what in a restricted sense I have ventured to describe as the pre-historic or mythico-historical period,[3] really deal with events which come within the light of history, although many of the surrounding circumstances are still enveloped in the most extreme darkness.

If, indeed, the extent to which Masonic archæology has been a loser, through the non-publication of Ashmole's contemplated work, can be estimated with any approach to accuracy, by a critical appraisement of the fragment given in his memoir—the worthlessness of the latter, regarded from an historical point of view, may well leave us in doubt, whether, except as to circumstances respecting which he could testify as an eye or ear witness, the history designed by "our worthy brother," would have fulfilled any other purpose, than reducing to more exact demonstration the learned credulity of the writer.

If Ashmole really expressed the *opinion* which has been ascribed to him, with regard to the Papal Bull in Henry III.'s time being *confirmative* only, and *if* the "collection" dipped into by Dr Knipe gave chapter and verse for the statement, the exhumation of the lost Ashmolean documents would seem a thing very greatly to be desired.

Yet, on the other hand, it is quite possible that if we could trace opinions to their actual sources, and assuming Ashmole to have really expressed the belief which has been ascribed to him, it might be found to repose upon no more substantial foundation, than the reveries of those philosophers who, to use the words of the elder Disraeli, "have too often flung over the gaping chasms, which they cannot fill up, the slight plank of a vague conjecture, or have

dyverse tymes, and as a loving Brotherhood use to do, did frequent this mutual Assembly in the tyme of Henry VI., in the twelfth year of his Most Gracious Reign, viz., A.D. 1434, when Henry was aged thirteen years." Dr Anderson's *authority* for this statement is probably the following:—"The Company of *Masons*, being otherwise termed *Free-masons*, of ancient standing and good reckoning, by meanes of affable and kinde meetings divers times, and as a loving Brotherhood should use to doe, did frequent this mutuall assembly in the time of King Henry the fourth, in the twelfth yeere of his most gracious Reigne" (Stow, The Survey of London, 1633, p. 680. In the earlier editions of 1603 and 1618, the compiler observes of the London Guild of Masons,—"but of what antiquitie that Company is, I haue not read"). *Cf. ante*, pp. 144, 149, 158.

[1] *I.e.*, The transition period between fable and contemporary history. Niebuhr observes:—"Between the completely poetical age, which stands in a relation to history altogether irrational, and the purely historical age, there intervenes in all nations a mixed age, which may be called the mythic-historical" (History of Rome, 3d edit., translated by Archdeacon Hare and Bishop Thirlwall, 1837, vol. i., p. 209).

[2] *Cf.* Lord Bacon, De Sapientia Veterum, præf. (Works, edit. Montagu, 1825, vol. xi., p. 271); and Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 282.

[3] Chaps. I. and XII., p. 2.

constructed the temporary bridge of an artificial hypothesis; and thus they have hazarded what yields no sure footing."[1]

Having, however, sufficiently placed on record my belief, that the seed of the tradition or fable of the Bulls, is contained in the early history of the Friars,[2] I shall not waste time over a minute dissection of possible causes which may have influenced the judgment of Elias Ashmole. *Ex pede Herculem.* From the fragment before them, I shall leave my readers to form their own conclusions with regard to the measure of indebtedness, under which we should have been placed by Dr Knipe, had his labours resulted in presenting us with the entire history, *executed* as well as *designed* by the eminent antiquary, of whose collection of papers, or materials for a work on Freemasonry, we, alas, know nothing beyond what may be gleaned from the scraps of information which have found their way into the pages of the "Biographia Britannica."

Having duly considered the actual testimony of the antiquary, as well as the opinions which have been somewhat loosely attributed to him, let us proceed to another part of our subject. I am in doubt whether to call it the next, for in examining seventeenth century Masonry as a whole, the parts are so connected, and so intimately dependent on each other, that it is not only impossible to separate them completely, but extremely difficult to decide in what order they should be taken.

First of all, however, it may be necessary to explain, that in deferring until a later stage, the general observations which have yet to be made, on the character of the Freemasonry into which Ashmole was admitted, I am desirous of placing before my readers all the evidence which may tend, either directly or even remotely, to clear away a portion of the obscurity still surrounding this early period of Masonic history.

Although the only contemporary writer (in addition to those already named), by whom either the Freemasons or their art, are mentioned in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, is Randle Holme[3]—yet the existence of several metropolitan lodges at this period was *subsequently* affirmed by Dr Anderson, who, in his summary of Masonic history, *temp.* William and Mary, states:—"Particular *Lodges* were not so frequent and mostly *occasional* in the *South*, except in or near the Places where great Works are carried on. Thus Sir *Robert Clayton* got an *occasional* Lodge of his Brother *Masters* to meet at St *Thomas's Hospital, Southwark*, A.D. 1693, and to advise the Governours about the best Design of rebuilding that Hospital as it now stands most beautiful; near which a *stated* Lodge continued long afterwards."

[1] Disraeli, Amenities of Literature, 1841, vol. iii., p. 360.

[2] Chap. XII., pp. 82, 83. It is possible, that in the opinion of some persons, the story of the Bulls will seem to have no ground or origin, as the authorities afford no explanation of the way by which it came into existence. However this may be, its pedigree, if it has one, must, in my judgment, be sought for outside the genuine traditions of the Society. Tradition will not supply the place of history. At best, it is untrustworthy and short-lived. Thus in 1770 the New Zealanders had no recollection of Tasman's visit. Yet this took place in 1643, less than one hundred and thirty years before, and must have been to them an event of the greatest possible importance and interest. In the same way the North American Indians soon lost all tradition of De Soto's expedition, although by its striking incidents it was so well suited to impress the Indian mind. *Cf.* Sir J. Lubbock, Pre-historic Times, 4th edit., p. 294; Dr J. Hawkesworth, Voyages of Discovery in the Southern Hemisphere, 1773, vol. ii., p. 388; and H. R. Schoolcraft, History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1853-1856, vol. ii., p. 12.

[3] *Ante*, p. 167.

"Besides that and the *old* Lodge of St *Paul's*, there was another in *Piccadilly* over against St *James's* Church, one near *Westminster* Abby, another near *Covent-Garden*, one in *Holborn*, one on *Tower-Hill*, and some more that assembled statedly."[1]

The value, however, of the preceding passages from the "Book of Constitutions," is seriously impaired by the paragraph which next follows them, wherein Anderson says—"The *King* was privately made a *Free Mason*, approved of their Choice of G. *Master* WREN, and encourag'd him in rearing St *Paul's Cathedral*, and the great *New* Part of Hampton-Court in the *Augustan Stile*, by far the finest *Royal* House in *England*, after an old Design of *Inigo Jones*, where a bright *Lodge* was held during the Building."[2]

A distinction is here drawn between *occasional* and *stated* lodges, but the last quotation, beyond indicating a possible derivation of the now almost obsolete expression, "bright Mason," is only of importance because the inaccuracies with which it teems render it difficult, not to say impossible, to yield full credence to any other statements, unsupported by no better source of authority.

Evelyn,[3] it may be incidentally observed, and also Ashmole[4] himself, were governors of St Thomas's Hospital, but in neither of their diaries, is there any allusion from which it might be inferred, that the practice of holding lodges there, was known to either of these persons. Ashmole's death, however, in the year preceding that in which Sir Robert Clayton is said to have assembled his Lodge, deprives the incident of an importance that might otherwise have attached to it, very much after the fashion of the precedent, afforded by the decease of Sir Robert Moray prior to the Masonic meeting of 1682, from which his absence, had he been alive, equally with his attendance, would have been alike suggestive of some curious speculation.[5]

We now come to the evidence, direct and indirect, which is associated with the name of Randle Holme, author of the celebrated "Academie of Armory," which has already been briefly referred to. The *third* Randle Holme, like his father and grandfather before him, was a herald and deputy to the Garter King of Arms, for Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, and North Wales. He was born December 24, 1627, and died March 12, 1699-1700. In the "Academie of Armory," which I shall presently cite, are several allusions to the Freemasons. These, even standing alone, would be of great importance, as embodying certain remarks of a non-operative Freemason, A.D. 1688, in regard to the Society. For a simple reference, therefore, to this source of information, which had so far eluded previous research, as to be unnoticed by Masonic writers, Rylands would deserve the best thanks of his brother archæologists. But he has done far more than this, and in two interesting papers, communicated to the *Masonic Magazine*,[6] which conclude a series of articles, entitled, "Freemasonry in the Seventeenth

[1] Constitutions, 1738, pp. 106, 107. In the spelling, as well as in the use of capitals and italics, the original is closely followed.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 107. [3] Diary, Sept, 5, 1687.

[4] "1684—March 5.—11 *Hor. ante merid.* A green staff was sent me by the Steward of St Thomas's Hospital, with a signification that I was chosen one of the governors" (Ashmole, Diary).

[5] *Ante*, p. 98.

[6] See W. H. Rylands, Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century, Chester, 1650-1700 (Masonic Magazine, January and February 1882). In this sketch, as well as in his notes on the Warrington meeting, A.D. 1646 (*ante*, p. 141, note 3), to which it is a sequel, the indefatigable research of the writer has been happily aided "by a species of fox-hound instinct, enabling him to scent out that game which, unearthed by previous sportsmen," still lurks in or between the

Century," we are presented with a more vivid picture of Masonic life, at a period distant some two centuries from our own, than has hitherto been limned by any artist of the craft. This has been accomplished, by research in the library of the British Museum, by piecing together all the items of information relating to the general subject lying ready to his hand, by instituting a careful search among the wills in the Chester Court of Probate, and lastly, by adding a facsimile of the material portions of an important manuscript, showing their original state in a manner which could never have been effected by printing types.[1]

Randle Holme is the central figure, around which a great deal is made to revolve; and it will become a part of our task to examine his testimony, of which, some more than the rest, may be said to be undesignedly commemorative of former usages—in the threefold capacity of text-writer, Freemason of the Lodge, and transcriber of the "Old Charges." In the two latter, he supplies evidence which carries us into the penultimate stage of our present inquiry, viz., the examination of our manuscript Constitutions, and of the waifs and strays in the form of Lodge records, from which alone it is at all possible to further illuminate the especially dark portion of our annals, immediately preceding the dawn of accredited history, wherein we may be said to pass gradually from a faint glimmer into nearly perfect light.

Reserving, therefore, for its proper place an explanation of the grounds upon which I deem the evidence of the "Old Charges" to form an essential preliminary to our passing a final judgment upon the scope and character of Freemasonry in the seventeenth century, I shall proceed to deal with Randle Holme, and the various circumstances which concur in rendering him so material a witness at the bar of Masonic history.

The following is from the "Academie of Armory:"—

"A Fraternity, or Society,[2] or Brotherhood, or Company; are such in a corporation, that are of one and the same trade, or occupation, who being joyned together by oath and covenant, do follow such orders and rules, as are made, or to be made for the good order, rule, and support of such and every of their occupations. These several Fraternities are generally governed by one or two Masters, and two Wardens, but most Companies with us by two Aldermen, and two Stewards, the later, being to receive and pay what concerns them."[3]

On page 111, in his review of the various trades, occurs: "Terms of Art used by Free Masons-Stone Cutters;" and then follows: "There are several other terms used by the Free-Masons which belong to buildings, Pillars and Columbs."

Next are described the "Terms of Art used by Free-Masons;" and at page 393,[4] under the heading of "Masons Tools," Randle Holme thus expresses himself: "I cannot but Honor the Felloship of the Masons because of its Antiquity; and the more, *as being a Member of*

close covers of parish registers. Both essays merit a careful perusal, and in limiting my quotations from them, I reluctantly acquiesce in the *dictum* of Daunou, that minute antiquarian discussions ought to be separated from actual history (Cours d'Études Historiques, 1842-47, tom. vii., p. 560).

[1] In cases of this kind, facsimiles of manuscripts are much more than mere specimens of palæography; they are essential elements for the critical knowledge of history. *Cf.* Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, vol. i., p. 749.

[2] The manner in which Randle Holme employs these terms, in 1688, may be usefully borne in mind when the passage is reached relating to his own membership of the *Society*. *Cf.* Chap. II., p. 68 (28); and Chap. XIV., p. 149.

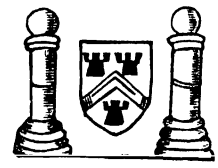
[3] Bk. III., chap. iii., p. 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, chap. ix.

that Society, called Free-Masons. In being conversant amongst them I have observed the use of these several Tools following some whereof I have seen born in Coats Armour." [1]

Later he speaks of "Free Masons" and "Free Masonry" tools; and, in his description of the "Use of Pillars," observes: "For it is ever a term amongst Work-men of the Free Masons Science, to put a difference between that which is called a *Column*, and that which they term a *Pillar*, for a *Column* is ever round, and the Capital and Pedestal answerable thereunto." [2] He continues: "Now for the better understanding of all the parts of a *Pillar*, or *Columb*, .·. I shall in two examples, set forth all their words of Art, used about them; by which any Gentleman may be able to discourse a Free-Mason or other workman in his own terms." [3]

In Harleian MS. 5955, are a number of engraved plates, intended for the second volume of the "Academie of Armory," which was not completed. On one of these is the annexed curious representation of the arms of the Masons, or ffree Masons.



"The arms of this body," says Rylands, "have been often changed, and seem to be enveloped in considerable mystery in some of its forms." In the opinion of the same authority, the form given by Randle Holme is the first and only instance of the two columns being attached to the arms as supporters. "It is also worthy of remark," adds Rylands, "that he figures the chevron plain, and not engrailed as in the original grant to the Masons' Company of London. The towers are single, as in his description, and not the old square four-towered castles. The colours are the same as those in the original grant to the Company of Masons."

Randle Holme describes the columns as being of the "Corinthian order," and of Or, that is, gold. Two descriptions, differing in some slight particulars, are given, in the second or manuscript volume of the "Academie," of the plate, fig. 18, from which the facsimile, the same size as the original, has been taken, and placed at my service for insertion above, by the friend to whose research I am indebted for these quotations from the work of Randle Holme. One runs as follows, and the other I subjoin in a note: "He beareth, Sable, on a cheueron betweene three towers Argent: a paire of compasses extended of the first w^{ch} is the Armes of the Right Honored & Right Worshipfull company of ffree = Masons: whose escochion is cotized (or rather upheld, sustained, or supported) by two columbes or pillars of the Tuscan, or Dorick, or Corinthian orders." [4]

We now approach the consideration of Harleian MS. 2054, described in the catalogue, "Bibliothecæ Harleianæ," as "a book in folio consisting of many tracts and loose papers .·. .·. by the second Randle Holme and others .·. .·. and the third Randle Holme's Account of the Principal Matters contained in this Book."

Among the "loose papers" is a version of the "Old Charges" (12), which has been already

[1] In the use of Italics, I here follow Rylands, who observes of the above paragraph that it caused him to put together the notes, forming the essay to which I have previously referred. He adds, "It appears to have never before been noticed, and I need hardly call attention to its importance."

[2] Bk. III., chap. xiii., p. 460.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 466.

[4] Harleian MS. 2035, p. 56. *Masons*, or ffree Masons, S. on a cheueron betw. 3 towers A, a paire of compasses extended S (of olde the towers were triple towered), "the crest on a Wreath, a Tower A, the Escochion is cotized with two columes of the corinthion Order O. Motto is, In the Lord is all our Trust; the free Masons were made a company, 12. H. IV." (*Ibid.*, p. 204, ·

analysed with some particularity in an earlier chapter.[1] This copy of the "Constitutions" was transcribed by the *third* Randle Holme. I arrive at this opinion, in the main, from the general character of the handwriting, which is evidently identical with that of the person who wrote the table of contents prefixed to the volume. In the index of the younger Holme[2] are the words:—"Free Masons' Orders & Constitutions," which are repeated, almost as it were in *fac-simile*, at the top of folio 29, the only difference being, that in the latter instance the word "the" begins the sentence, whilst the "&" is replaced by "and." The heading or title, therefore, of the MS. numbered 12 in my calendar or catalogue of the "Old Charges,"[3] is, "*The* Free Masons' Orders *and* Constitutions." The letter *f* and the long *s*, which in each case are twice used, are indistinguishable, and the final *s* in "Masons," "Orders," and "Constitutions," at both folios 2 and 29 is thus shown:—Orderȝ.

I have further compared the acknowledged handwriting of the younger Holme (fol. 2) and that which I deem to be his (fol. 29), with another table of contents from the same pen, given in a separate volume of the Harleian Collection.[4] The chirography is the same throughout the series, and it only remains to be stated, that in setting down the transcription of the Masonic Constitutions, given in the Harleian MS. 2054, to the *third* Randle Holme, I find myself in agreement with Rylands, to whose minute analysis of Freemasonry at Chester in the seventeenth century, I must refer the curious reader who may be desirous of pursuing the subject to any greater length.[5]

As there were two Randle Holmes *before* the author of the "Academie," as well as two *after* him, it has seemed desirable on all grounds to disentangle the subject from the confusion which naturally adheres to it, through the somewhat promiscuous use by commentators, of the same Christian and surname, without any distinctive adverb to mark which of the *five* generations is alluded to.

The *third* Randle Holme cannot, indeed, in the present sketch, be confused with his *later* namesakes, but it is of some importance in this inquiry to establish the fact—if fact it be—that the author of the "Academie of Armory," the Freemason of the Chester Lodge, and the copyist to whose labours we are indebted for the form of the "Charges" contained in the Harleian MS. 2054, was one and the same person.

In the first place, it carries us up the stream of Masonic history by easier stages, than if, let us say, the *second* Randle Holme either transcribed MS. 12, or was the Freemason whose name appears in connection with it.

To make this clearer, it must be explained that the *first* Randle Holme, Deputy to the College of Arms for Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales, was Sheriff of Chester in 1615, Alderman in 1629, and Mayor in 1633-4. He was buried at St Mary's-on-the-Hill at Chester, January 30, 1654-5. His second son and heir was the *second* Randle Holme, baptized July 15, 1601, and became a Justice of the Peace, Sheriff of Chester during his father's Mayoralty, and was himself Mayor in 1643, when the city was besieged by the Parliamentarians. With his father, he was Deputy to Norroy King of Arms for Cheshire, Lancashire, and North Wales. He died, aged sixty-three, September 4, 1659, and was also buried at St Mary's-on-the-Hill. His eldest son and heir, by his first wife, Catherine, eldest daughter of Matthew Ellis of Over-

[1] II., p. 64. [2] Harleian MS. 2054, fol. 2, line 7. [3] Chap. II.

[4] "The third Randle Holme's List of the things of principal Note in this Book" (Harleian MS. 2072, fol. 1).

[5] Masonic Magazine, January and February 1882.

legh, co. Chester, gent., was the *third* Randle Holme.[1] It is therefore evident, that if the Masonic papers in Harleian MS. 2054 point to the father instead of to the son, their evidence must date from a period certainly not later than 1659; whereas, on a contrary view, the entry referring to the membership of *a* Randle Holme, and the transcription of the "Legend of the Craft," will be brought down to the second half of the seventeenth century.

Although by Woodford[2] the date of the Harleian MS. 2054—*i.e.*, the Masonic entries—has been approximately fixed at the year 1625, and by Hughan[3] following Mr Bond[4] at 1650, it must be fairly stated that the evidence on which they relied, has crumbled away since their opinions were severally expressed. It is possible, of course, that the author of the "Academie" may have made the transcript under examination so early as 1650, when he was in his *twenty-third year;* but apart altogether from the improbability of this having occurred, either by reason of his age[5] or from the unsettled condition of the times, a mass of evidence is forthcoming, from which it may safely be inferred that the list of Freemasons, members of the Chester Lodge, was drawn up, and the Constitutions copied, at a date about midway between the years of transcription of manuscripts numbered 13 and 23 respectively in Chapter II. That is to say, the gap between the Sloane MS. 3848 (13), certified by Edward Sankey in 1646, and the Antiquity (23), attested by Robert Padgett in 1686, is lessened, if not entirely bridged over, by another accredited version of the "Old Charges," dating *circa* 1665. The evidence, upon the authority of which this period of origin may, in my judgment, be assigned to Harleian MS. 2054 (13), will be next presented; and at the conclusion of these notes on Randle Holme and the Chester Freemasons, I shall more fully explain the design of which the latter are slightly anticipatory, and, connecting the "Old Charges" of more recent date with the actual living Freemasonry which immediately preceded the era of Grand Lodges, I shall follow the clue they afford to our earlier history, as far into the region of the past as it may with any safety be relied upon as a guide.

In the same volume of manuscripts as the transcript of the Constitutions by Randle Holme, and immediately succeeding it, is the following form of oath, in the same handwriting—"There is seu^rall words & signes of a free Mason to be revailed to y^u w^ch as y^u will answ: before God at the Great & terrible day of Iudgm^t y^u keep Secret & not to revaile the same to any in the heares of any pson w but to the M^rs & fellows of the said Society of free Masons so helpe me God, xc."

This is written on a small scrap of paper, about which Rylands observes, "as it has evidently been torn off the corner of a sheet before it was used by Randle Holme, probably it is a rough memorandum."

The next leaf in the same volume contains some further notes by Randle Holme. These evidently relate to the economy of an existing Lodge, but some of the details admit of a varied

[1] W. H. Rylands, Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century, Chester, 1650-1700.

[2] The "Old Charges" of British Freemasons, 1872 (preface, p. xi).

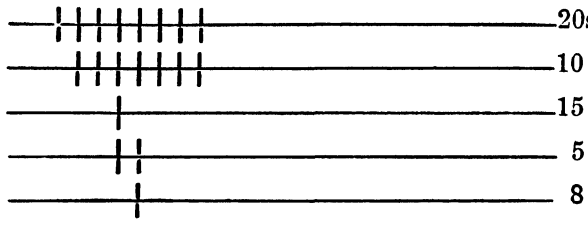
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8; Masonic Sketches and Reprints, 1871, part ii., p. 23.

[4] Letter, dated June 8, 1869, from Edward A. Bond, British Museum, to W. P. Buchan (Freemasons' Magazine, July 10, 1869, p. 29).

[5] The "General Regulations" of 1721 (Grand Lodge of England) enact, that no man under the age of *twenty-five* is to be made a Mason. Unless, however, this law was a survival of a far older one, it has no bearing on the point raised in the text.

interpretation. Facsimiles of this page, and of the fragment of paper on which the "Oath" is written, are given by Rylands, but in each case I have preferred transcribing from the fair copy which he prints of these MSS.[1] The following are the entries relating, it is supposed, to the Chester Lodge:—

William Wade w^t^ giue for to be a free Mason.



20s.	Robert Morris	
10	Willm Street Aldm	
15	John Hughes.	
5	Sam Pike taylor	
8	Willm Wade	

Willm Harvey——20
Mich Holden——20
Pet downham——20
Tho ffoulkes——10
Will Hughes——8
Jo ffletcher——10
Seth Hilton——15
Ran Holme——10
Ric Taylor——10
Ric Ratcliffe——20
Will Woods——5
Jo Parry——10
Tho Morris——10
Tho May——10
Will Robinson——20
James Mort——20
Jo Lloyd——20
Geo Harvey——20
Will Jackson——10
Robt Harvey——20
John Madock——10

for 1 li——9
for 10s.——9
for 15s.——1
for 5s.——1
for 8s.——1

[1] The Masonic entries in Harleian MS. 2054, were printed by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," Pt. ii., p. 46. Those, however, giving the names of Wade and others, have never been accurately reproduced except in the *facsimile* prefixed to Rylands' essay. The fuller extract I have collated, both with the *facsimile* and the actual MS., but as regards the "Oath" must express my indebtedness to Rylands, for deciphering interlineations which I print above on his authority.

Commenting upon these items, Rylands observes: "The reason for the difference in the amount of the entrance fees paid, as given in the analysis at the end of the list, is not easy to explain. Why, it may be asked, are the first five names separated from the others, and given in different form? Are they superior officers of the Fellowship, and are we to understand the marks occurring before their names as recording the number of their attendances at the lodge, the number of votes recorded at some election, or the payment of certain odd amounts?"

It is not, however, so clear as to be reduced to actual demonstration, that the various sums enumerated in the analysis at the foot of the list represent the entrance-money paid by the initiates or "newly made" brethren. The irregular amounts (if not old scores) might just as well stand for the ordinary subscriptions of the members, since there would be nothing more singular in the custom of a graduated scale of dues, than in that of exacting a varying sum at the *admission* of new members or brethren.

The first five names could hardly be those of superior officers of the Fellowship, except on the supposition that William Wade received promotion at a very early stage of his Masonic life. The marks, indeed, are placed before the names of the five—and on this point I shall again offer a few remarks—but between the two, is a row of figures, denoting sums of money varying in amount from twenty to five shillings. The strokes or dashes can hardly be regarded as a tally of attendances, except—to bring in another supposition—we imagine that the twenty-one members whose names appear in a separate column, stood somehow on a different footing in the lodge, from the five, which rendered a record of their attendances unnecessary? Lastly, as to the payment of odd amounts, this is a feature characterising the entire body of entries, and therefore nothing can be founded upon it, which is not equally applicable to both classes or divisions of members.

Yet, if we reject this explanation, what shall we offer in its place?

Can it be, that the amounts below the words "William Wade w^{t} give to be a free Mason," were received at the meeting, of which the folio in question is in part a register, and that the *five* names only are the record of those who attended? On this hypothesis, the clerk may have drawn the long horizontal lines opposite specific sums, and the crosses or vertical lines *may* represent the number of times each of these several amounts passed into his pocket. The column headed by the name of William Harvey, may be an inventory of the dues owing by absentees, and in this view, there were present, 5, and absent, 21, the total membership being 26. Those familiar with the records of old Scottish lodges will be aware, that frequently the brethren who attended were but few in number compared with those who absented themselves, the dues and fines owing by the latter being often largely in excess of the actual payments of the former.[1]

There is one, however, of Rylands' suggestions, to which it is necessary to return. He asks—may not the marks before the five names be understood as recording the number of votes at some election? That this is the true solution of these crossed lines, I shall not be so rash as to affirm, though, indeed, it harmonises with Masonic usage,[2] and is supported by some

[1] It may be worth remarking that excluding the two names, Hughes and Woods (8*s.* and 5*s.*), the number of those having 10*s.* and more attached to their names amounts to 19—exactly the number of scratches opposite the five names commencing the page; also no account is taken of the five names in the summary of amounts, which only accounts for the twenty-one entries. Further, Randle Holme could not have been both scribe and absentee!

[2] Chap. VIII., p. 395; and Freemasons' Magazine (Mother Kilwinning), Aug. 8, 1863, p. 96.

trustworthy evidence respecting the ancient practice at elections *dehors* the lodges of Freemasons.

The records of the Merchant Tailors, under the year 1573, inform us that at the election of Master and Wardens, the clerk read the names, and every one "made his mark or tick" against the one he wished to be chosen. "In the case of an equal number of ticks" (to quote directly from my authority), "the master pricks again."[1]

In the "Memorials of St John at Hackney,"[2] are given some extracts from the Minutes of the Select Vestry, among which, under the date of September 6, 1735, it is stated that the Vestry agreed "to scratch for the ten petitioners, according to the old method," which they did, and it is thus entered—

Hannah England, aged 66 years,	i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i . . .	16
Elizabeth Holmes, aged 71 do.,	i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i . .	18
Mary North, aged 59 do.,	i	1
Elizabeth Stanley, aged 60 do.,	i i i i i i i i	8

Having followed in the main, the beaten track of those commentators who have preceded me in an examination of the Masonic writings, preserved in volume 2054 of the Harleian MSS.; it becomes, however, at this stage, essential to point out, and, as it were, accentuate the fact, that, standing alone, and divested of the reference to William Wade, folio 34 of the MS. would contain nothing from which a person of ordinary intelligence might infer, that it related to the proceedings, or accounts, of a lodge or company of Masons or Freemasons. The names and figures would lend themselves equally well to the establishment of any other hypothesis having a similar basis in the usages of the craft guilds. But although the words "William Wade w^{t} giue for to be a free Mason," are brief—not to say enigmatical—the very brevity of the sentence which is given in Harleian MS. 2054, *at the commencement* of folio 34, if it does not prove the sheet to have been only a memorandum, suggests that it may be the continuation of a paragraph or entry from a previous folio, now missing.

It unfortunately happens, that dates, which might have aided in determining this point, are wholly wanting; but we are not without compensation for this loss, inasmuch as the baldness of the entries which are extant, induced Rylands to make the Holme MS. the subject of minute research, from which we get ground for supposing, that as at Warrington in 1646, so in Chester in 1665-75, and in the system of Freemasonry practised at both these towns, the speculative element largely preponderated. Also, that *all* the notes of Randle Holme, glanced at in these pages, were connected with the Lodge at Chester and its members, is placed beyond reasonable doubt; and that more of the latter than William Wade, were entitled to the epithet free Mason, by which he alone is described, will more clearly appear when the several occupations in life of the greater number of those persons whose names are shown on folio 34 of the Holme MS. are placed before my readers.

It may be remarked, however, that even prior to the exhumation of the Chester Wills by Rylands, the fact that the names of Randle Holme, author, herald, and son of the Mayor of

[1] Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., p. 194.

[2] By R. Simpson, 1882, p. 133.

Chester, William Street, alderman, and Samuel Pike, tailor, are included in the list, shows very clearly that the Lodge, Company, or Society was not composed exclusively of *operative* masons.

Rylands has succeeded in tracing twenty out of the twenty-six names given in the list, but whether in every, or indeed, in any case, the persons who are proved by accredited documents to have actually existed at a period synchronising with the last thirty-six years of Randle Holme's life (1665-1700), are identical with their namesakes of the Chester association or fellowship, I shall, as far as space will permit, enable each of my readers to judge for himself. The names of William Street, alderman, Michael Holden, Peter Downham, Seth Hilton, Randle Holme, John Parry, Thomas Morris, Thomas May, and George Harvey, do not appear in the index of wills at Chester; but William Street and George Harvey are mentioned in the wills of Richard Ratcliffe and Robert Harvey respectively, which, for the purposes of their identification as persons actually living between the years 1665 and 1700, is quite sufficient.

It will be seen that namesakes of Holden, Downham, Hilton, Parry, *Thomas* Morris, and May, have not been traced; and if we add to this list the names of John and William Hughes —of whom Rylands observes—"I am only doubtful if in either of the documents here printed under the name of Hughes we have the wills of the Freemasons," there will then be—in the opinion of the diligent investigator who has made this subject pre-eminently his own—only seven persons out of the original twenty-six, who still await identification.

The following table, which I have drawn up from the appendix to Rylands' essay, places the material facts in the smallest compass that is consistent with their being adequately comprehended. It is due, however, to an antiquary who finds time, in the midst of graver studies, to exercise his faculty of microscopic research in the elucidation of knotty problems, which baffle and discourage the weary plodder on the beaten road of Masonic history—to state, that whilst laboriously disinterring much of the forgotten learning that lies entombed in our great manuscript collections, and bringing to the light of day, from the obscure recesses of parochial registers, many valuable entries relating to the Freemasons—his efforts do not cease with the attainment of the immediate purpose which stimulated them into action. Thus, in the papers, upon which I am chiefly relying for the present sketch of Randle Holme and the Freemasons of Chester, we are given, not only the details sustaining the argument of the writer, but also those, which by any latitude of construction can be held to invalidate the conclusions whereat he has himself arrived. Indeed, he goes so far as to anticipate some objections that may be raised, notably, that in the wills he prints, the title "Mason," and not "Freemason" (as in the will of Richard Ellom,[1] 1667), is used; also that since in *four* only, the testator is even described as "Mason," it may be urged that the remainder "are not, or may not, be the wills of the persons mentioned in the MS. of Randle Holme."

The names shown in italics are those of persons, with whose identification as *Freemasons*, Rylands entertains some misgivings.

[1] *Ante*, p. 141.

LIST OF NAMES FROM THE CHESTER REGISTER OF WILLS.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	OCCUPATION.	WILL DATED.
Robert Morris	Chester	Glazier	1708
William Street[1]	Chester	Alderman	
John Hughes	Chester	Slater	1683
John Hughes	Chester	Husbandman	1708
Samuel Pyke	Chester	Tailor	1698
William Wade	Chester	Mason	1716
William Harvey	Chester	Alderman	1684[2]
Thomas Foulkes	Chester	Carpenter	1712[3]
William Hughes	Holt, co. Denbigh	Gentleman	1693
John Fletcher[4]	Chester	Clothworker	1665
Randle Holme[5]	Chester	Herald	
Richard Taylor, jun.	Chester	Merchant	1693
Richard Tayler[6]	Chester	Button Maker	1710
Richard Ratcliffe	Chester	Gentleman	1683[7]
William Woods[8]	Handbridge, co. Chester	Mason	1699[9]
William Robinson	Chester	Labourer	1680[10]
James Mort	Chester	Mason	1684[11]
John Lloyd	Chester	Mason	1675
George Harvey[12]	Chester	Bricklayer	
William Jackson	Chester	Tanner	1677
Robert Harvey	Chester	Alderman	1669
John Maddock	Chester	Alderman	1680

The above list comprises all the names which Rylands has succeeded in tracing. Those of the *three* Hughes—corresponding with the *two* persons of that name in Holme's MS.—and

[1] Appears as a legatee in the will of Richard Ratcliffe, Jan. 168$\frac{3}{4}$.

[2] *Proved*, 1687. [3] *Proved*, 1713.

[4] If the will of John Fletcher above be accepted as that of the Freemason, the date of Randle Holme's list cannot be later than 1665.

[5] The monument and epitaph of the *third* Randle Holme in the church of St Mary's, Chester, are described by Rylands, who cites Ormerod's "History of Cheshire," edit. 1875-6, p. 335.

[6] "Of the wills of Richard Taylor, merchant, and Richard Tayler, button maker, I should select the former" (Rylands). This opinion, in my judgment, is borne out by the will of John Maddocke, whose son-in-law and executor, a Richard Taylor, would appear to have been the *merchant* of that name. Amongst his residuary legatees the testator names "Ann Taylor and Elizabeth my daughter's children." Richard Tayler, from his will, could have had only one daughter (*Mary*) living in 1710. The children of the *merchant* are not named, but his wife was an *Elisabeth*.

[7] *Proved*, 1685.

[8] Rylands observes, "The name of Peter Bostock, *Mason*, is recorded as one of the executors of the will of William Woods, dated 1699. This date may perhaps help us in deciding the date of the document left by Randle Holme, as, had Peter Bostock been a mason when the list was compiled, his name ought, we may suppose, to have been included." With deference, this conclusion must be wholly demurred to. We have seen that the proposal or admission of William Wade, also a *mason*, formed the subject of a special entry by Randle Holme, and unless on the supposition that it represents the taking up, or desire to take up, the *freedom* of his trade, it must be held, I think, to plainly signify—as in the analogous case of William Woodman, and William Wise, of the Masons' Company, London (*ante*, p. 143)—that a *mason* of a *guild* or *company* was something very distinct from a *Freemason* of a *Lodge*.

[9] *Proved*, 1706. [10] *Proved*, 1685. [11] *Proved*, 1685.

[12] A remainderman under the will, and doubtless a relative, of the Robert Harvey whose name occurs next but one on the list.

of Richard Tayler, button-maker, may, however, be left out of consideration. This reduces the original twenty-six to twenty-four, from which, if we further deduct the names of Holden, Downham, Hilton, Parry, *Thomas* Morris, and May, there will remain eighteen, some of which, no doubt, and it may be all, were identical with those of the Freemasons, members of the Chester fellowship. In his classification or arrangement of the wills, Rylands has printed them in the same order as the testators' names are given by Holme. This, of course, was the most convenient method of procedure; but in dealing with an analysis of their dates, which is essential if a correct estimate of their value is desired, it becomes necessary to make a chronological abstract of the period of years over which these documents range.

For the purposes of this inquiry, I shall make no distinction between the fifteen persons whose wills have been printed and the three whose identification has been otherwise determined. To the former, therefore, I shall assign the dates when their respective wills were executed, to William Street and George Harvey those of the wills in which they are mentioned, and to Randle Holme the year 1700. This method of computation is doubtless a rough one; but, without assuming an arbitrary basis of facts, I am unable to think of any other which so well fulfils my immediate purpose, viz., to arrive at an approximate calculation with regard to the dates of decease of the eighteen. Thus we find that five die (execute, or are named in wills) between 1665 and 1677; six in 1680-1684; three in 1693-1699; and four in 1700-1716.

Now, Randle Holme was in his thirty-eighth year in 1665, the farthest point to which we can go back, if we accept the will of John Fletcher, clothworker, as that of the Freemason. If we do—and on grounds to be presently shown I think we safely may—the span of Holme's life will afford some criterion whereby we may judge of the inherent probability of his associates in the lodge, *circa* 1665, having succumbed to destiny in the same ratio as the testators whose wills have been examined. Holme died before he had quite completed his seventy-third year. Some of the Freemasons of A.D. 1665 must have been older, some younger, than himself. Among the latter we may probably include William Wade, who, as he outlived the herald a period of about sixteen years, it is possible that this nearly represented the difference between their ages—a supposition to which colour is lent by the character of the entry respecting him in the Holme MS. It would thus appear that he had not advanced beyond his twenty-second year when proposed for or admitted into the fellowship of Freemasons; and indeed, from this circumstance, I should be inclined to think either that the Holme MS. must be brought quite down to 1665, the date of John Fletcher's death, or that the disparity of years between Holme and Wade is not adequately denoted by the period of time separating the deaths of these men.

A material point for our examination is the trade or calling which is to be assigned to each of the eighteen.

Aldermen and Masons predominate, being four and four. There are two[1] gentlemen (including Holme), a merchant,[2] clothworker, glazier, tailor, carpenter, tanner, bricklayer, and labourer.

It will be seen that only *four* were of the *Mason's* trade, thus leaving fourteen (not to speak

[1] *Three*, if we accept *William* Hughes of Holt as the Freemason.

[2] An ambiguous term; in Scotland, retail dealers are often called "Merchants" at this day.

of the missing six), whose occupations in life, unless perhaps we except the bricklayer, and possibly the carpenter and glazier, had nothing in common with the operations of the stone-masons.

It is certain that a large number—and I should be inclined to say *all* the persons traced by Rylands as actually residing in the city or county of Chester between 1665 and 1716—must be accepted as the Freemasons with whose names their own correspond. In the first place, it may fairly be assumed that some at least, if for the present we go no further, of Holme's brethren in the fellowship were of a class with whom he could, in the social meaning of the term, associate. Indeed, this is placed beyond doubt by the MS. itself. William Street, alderman, falls plainly within this description. William and Robert Harvey and John Maddock, also aldermen, though their identification with the Freemasons depends upon separate evidence, must, I think, be accepted without demur as the persons Holme had in his mind when penning his list. Next, if regard is had to the fact that the index of the Chester Wills,[1] in two cases only, record duplicate entries of any of the twenty-six names in Holme's list,[2] it is in the highest degree improbable that in either of the remaining instances, where namesakes of the Freemasons are mentioned in the documents at the Probate Court, the coincidence can be put down as wholly fortuitous. If, moreover, the wills printed by Rylands are actually examined, the fact that many of the testators (and Freemasons) were so intimately connected with one another, as these documents make them out to have been, whilst strengthening the conviction that the men were members of the lodge, will supply, in the details of their intimacy and relationship, very adequate reasons for many of them being banded together in a fraternity.[3]

Here I part company, at least for a time, with Randle Holme. The evidence which his writings disclose, has been spread out before my readers. To a portion of it I shall return;[4] but it will be essential, first of all, to explain with some particularity the channel of evidence upon which I shall next embark.

As already stated, the preceding disquisition on Chester Freemasonry has been to some degree anticipatory of a few observations on our old manuscript Constitutions, in their collective character, which will next follow.

A passage in the interesting volume, which narrates the adventures of the French Lazarists, MM. Huc and Gabet, in the course of their expedition through Mongolia into Thibet, tends so much to illustrate the value of the "Old Charges" as historical muniments, connecting one century with another, and bridging over the chasm of ages, that I am induced to transcribe it.

[1] *I.e.*, of persons described as "of Chester." *Cf.* Masonic Magazine, Feb. 1882, pp. 309-319.

[2] John Hughes and Richard Taylor, or Tayler.

[3] Particularly William, Robert, and George Harvey; Richard Ratcliffe and William Street; and John Maddocke and Richard Taylor. In the last example, Maddocke by his will makes his "son-in-law, Richard Taylor," executor, and an inventory of his goods was taken by Rich. Taylor, *Senior*. As the other Richard Taylor is styled *Jun.* in his own will, this is a little confusing, though it doubtless identifies either father *or* son as the Freemason. For the reasons already expressed, I incline to the latter view. In the will of the *fourth* Randle Holme (1704), are named a niece, Barbara Lloyd, a cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter ffoulks, and a brother-in-law, Edward Lloyd, gentleman.

[4] *I.e.*, to the "Academie of Armory," *ante*, pp. 180, 181.

"On the third day we came, in the solitude, upon an imposing and majestic monument of antiquity,—a large city utterly abandoned. .·. .·. Such remains of ancient cities are of no unfrequent occurrence in the deserts of Mongolia; but everything connected with their origin and history is buried in darkness. Oh, with what sadness does such a spectacle fill the soul! The ruins of Greece, the superb remains of Egypt,—all these, it is true, tell of death; all belong to the past; *yet when you gaze upon them, you know what they are;* you can retrace, in memory, the revolutions which have occasioned the ruins and the decay of the country around them. Descend into the tomb, wherein was buried alive the city of Herculaneum,—you find there, it is true, a gigantic skeleton, *but you have within you historical associations wherewith to galvanize it.* But of these old abandoned cities of Tartary, not a tradition remains; *they are tombs without an epitaph,* amid solitude and silence, uninterrupted except when the wandering Tartars halt, for a while, within the ruined enclosures, because there the pastures are richer and more abundant."[1]

The language of metaphor is not, in this instance, inconsistent with the language of fact. What is faith to one man is but fancy to another, or, to vary the expression, what is dross to one person, to another is precious ore. Thus, our old manuscript "Constitutions" will be variously regarded from the different points of view of individual inquirers. To the superficial observer, indeed, they may appear as "*tombs without an epitaph;*"[2] but the thoughtful Freemason, *looking* "*upon them, will know what they are,*"[3] nor will it be necessary to receive by induction an inkling of the speechless past. The vital spark of tradition has been handed on without being extinguished. "Like the electric fire, transmitted through the living chain, hand grasping hand,"[4] there has been no break, the transmission has gone on.

The laxity which notoriously exists with respect to the history of antiquity—a laxity justified to some extent by the necessity of taking the best evidence which can be obtained—has caused it to be laid down by a great authority, that "where that evidence is wholly uncertain, we must be careful not to treat it as certain, because none other can be procured."[5] On the other hand, it is necessary to bear in mind that "historical pyrrhonism may become more detrimental to historical truth than historical credulity. We may reject and reject till we attenuate history into sapless meagreness,—like the King of France, who, refusing all food lest he should be poisoned, brought himself to death's door by starvation."[6]

I adduce the preceding quotations, because the views to which I am giving expression,

[1] E. R. Huc. Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, translated by W. Hazlitt, 1852, pp. 71, 72.

[2] "A mythology, when regarded *irrespective of the manner in which it may have been understood by those who first reduced it into a system,* is obviously susceptible of any interpretation that a writer may choose to give it. Hence we have historical, ethnological, astronomical, physical, and psychological or ethical explanations of most mythological systems" (Mallet, Northern Antiquities, p. 477).

[3] "Original historical documents, such as inscriptions, coins, and *ancient charters,* may be compared with the fossil remains of animals and plants, which the geologist finds embedded in the strata of the earth, and from which, even when in a mutilated state, he can restore the extinct species of a remote epoch of the globe" (Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 202). *Cf.* Lyell, Principles of Geology, Bk. I., chap. i.; and Isaac Taylor, Process of Historic Proof, p. 83.

[4] Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, vol. i., p. 6.

[5] Lewis, Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History, vol. i., p. 16.

[6] Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, vol. i., p. 533.

with respect to the value of the "Old Charges" as *historical* evidence, carrying back the ancestry of the Society to a very remote period, may not remain unchallenged—and apart from the estimation in which these "muniments of title" are regarded by myself, it has seemed desirable to justify on broader grounds their somewhat detailed examination at this advanced stage of our research.

I shall next group the several versions of the old Masonic Constitutions in six classes or divisions. The Halliwell (1) and Cooke (2) MSS., as they stand alone, and do not fall properly within this description, will be excluded, whilst three manuscripts recently brought to light, and therefore omitted from my general list in Chapter II., will be included in the classification, under the titles of the "Lechmere"[1] (14*a*), the Colne No. 1 (22*a*), and the Colne No. 2 (25*a*).

I.—Lodge Records, *i.e.*, copies or versions of the "Old Charges," in actual Lodge custody, with regard to which, there is no evidence of a possible derivation through any other channel than a purely Masonic one.

Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 26, and 30.

II.—Now, or formerly, in the custody of Lodges or Individuals, under circumstances which in each case raises a presumption, of their being actually used at the admission or reception of new members.[2]

Nos 12, 13, 22, 25, 27, and 28.

III.—Rolls or Scrolls,[3] and Copies in Book form.

Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 14*a*, 15, 20, 21, 22*a*, 24, 25*a*, 29, and 31*a*.[4]

IV.—On Vellum or Parchment.

Nos. 6 and 7.

V.—On Ordinary Paper.[5]

Nos. 3, 11, 13, 14, and 31.

VI.—MSS. *not* enumerated in the preceding categories (32-51)—viz., Late Transcripts, Printed Copies, Extracts, or References in printed books.[6]

[1] Printed in the Masonic Monthly, Dec. 1882, p. 377.

[2] In omitting Nos. 25 (York, 4)—on which rests the theory of female membership—and 28 (Scarborough) from Class I., it may be remarked that they do not, at least in my judgment, reach the highest pinnacle of authority.

[3] Although many of the documents combine features which would justify their inclusion within more classes than one, each is shown above in that class or division *only*, which determines their relative authority as historical witnesses.

[4] See Chap. II., last page; and "Descriptive List of 'Old Charges,'" *post* (49).

[5] It will be seen that Nos. 3 (Lansdowne) and 11 (Harleian, 1942), both in their way departures from the ordinary text, and as such relied upon accordingly by theorists, are placed in the *fifth* class of these documents. Nos. 12 (Harleian, 2054), 13 (Sloane, 3848), 25 (York, 4), and 28 (Scarborough), all, for reasons which it is hoped have been sufficiently disclosed, are included in the *second* category.

[6] Of these the most important are, the Dowland (39), Plot (40), and Roberts (44) MSS. No. 39 is regarded by Woodford as representing the oldest *form* of the Constitutions, with the single exception of No. 25 (York, 4), which latter, in the passage recognising female membership, he considers, takes us back to "the Guild of Masons mentioned in the York Fabric Rolls." In No. 40 we have the earliest printed reference to the "Old Charges;" and in No. 44 an allusion to a "General Assembly," held Dec. 8, 1663, which, if based on fact, would make it by far the most valuable record of our Society.

The above classification will show the relative estimation in which—according to my judgment—the "Old Charges" should be regarded as authoritative or accredited writings.

In setting a value on these documents, I have endeavoured in each case to hold the scales evenly, and whilst in a few instances the inclusion of some within either of the two leading classes may, at the first view, appear as unreasonable as the exclusion of others, I trust that the principles by which I have been guided, in making what I shall venture to term an "historical inventory" of our manuscript Constitutions, may meet with the ultimate approval of the few antiquaries who will alone fully traverse the ground over which my remarks extend.

In all cases, however, where the places assigned to those MSS., which are grouped in the first or second class, may appear to have been wrongly determined, it will only be necessary to refer to the "descriptive list" at p. 194, where the form of each document, and the material on which it is written, together with the information already supplied in Chapter II., will afford criteria for the formation of an independent judgment.

The following table, which I have drawn up with some care, will serve the double purpose of saving trouble to those who take my statements on trust, whilst indicating to the more cautious reader the sources of authority upon which he must mainly rely for verifying them. The MSS. Nos. 3, 14, 22, and 25, in each case with an *a* superadded—Melrose No. 1, the Lechmere and the two Colnes—are *additions* to the general list given in Chapter II. Melrose No. 1 is indeed named in the text, though omitted from the roll of these documents. These are shown in the subjoined table in *italics*. No. 14*a*—in the possession of Sir Edward Lechmere—I bring down to a later date than has been assigned to it by Woodford (1646).[1] Its text resembles that of No. 13. Nos. 22*a* and 25*a*—preserved in the archives of the "Royal Lancashire Lodge," No. 116, Colne—have been transcribed by Hughan, on whose authority they are now described. No. 22*a*—of which the junior Colne MS. (25*a*) is a copy, though the latter does not contain the "Apprentice" Charges given in the former—presents some unimportant variations from the common readings.

The words *Lodge Record*, under the column headed "Form," describe in each case documents *coming from the proper custody*, and where there has apparently been *no interruption of possession*. Some of the other MSS. may have been, and doubtless were, veritable "Lodge Records" in the same sense, but having passed out of the *proper custody*, now fail in the highest element of proof. The muniments in Class II. stand indeed only one step below what I term "Lodge Records" as historical documents, and very slightly above the "Rolls" or "Scrolls," and copies in "Book Form;"[2] still between each of the three divisions there is a marked deterioration of proof, which steadily increases, until at the lower end of the scale the inference that some of the manuscripts were solely *used* for antiquarian purposes merges into absolute certainty.

[1] Freemason, Nov. 18, 1882.

[2] The authority of Dr Tregelles might be made to cover the inclusion of MSS. from the hands of anonymous copyists, in the first class. He observes: "Nor can it be urged as an objection of any weight, that we do not know *by whom* the ancient copies were written; if there had been any force of *argument* in the remark, it would apply quite as much to a vast number of the modern codices. If I find an anonymous writer, who appears to be intelligently acquainted with his subject, and if in many ways I have had the opportunity of testing and confirming his accuracy, I do not the less accept him as a witness of historic facts, than I should if I knew his name and personal circumstances." (The Greek New Testament, p. 176).

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE "OLD CHARGES."

No.	TITLE.	FORM.	MATERIAL.	DATE.	PAGE. Chap. II.
1	Halliwell	Book	Vellum	Late 14th Century	60
2	Cooke	Book	Vellum	Early 15th Century	60
3	Lansdowne	Ordinary MS.	Paper	16th Century	61
3*a*	*Melrose*, No. 1	*Not known*	*Not known*	1581	66
4	Grand Lodge	Roll	Parchment	1583	61
5	York, No. 1	Roll	Parchment	17th Century	62
6 & 7	Wilson	Ordinary MS.	Vellum	17th Century	62
8	Inigo Jones	Book (folio MS.)	Paper	1607	63
9	Wood	Book	Parchment	1610	63
10	York, No. 3	Roll	Parchment	1630	63
11	Harleian, 1942	Ordinary MS.	Paper	17th Century	63
12	Harleian, 2054	Ordinary MS.	Paper	17th Century	64
13	Sloane, 3848	Ordinary MS.	Paper	1646	65
14	Sloane, 3323	Ordinary MS.	Paper	1659	65
14*a*	*Lechmere*	Roll	Parchment	Late 17th Century	[*Not cited*]
15	Buchanan	Roll	Parchment	17th Century	65
16	Kilwinning	Lodge Record	Paper	1675	65
17	Atcheson Haven	Lodge Record	Paper	1666	66
18	Aberdeen	Lodge Record	Paper	1670	66
19	Melrose, No. 2	Lodge Record	Paper	1674	66
20	Hope	Roll	Parchment	17th Century	67
21	York, No. 5	Roll	Paper	17th Century	67
22	York, No. 6	Roll	Parchment	17th Century	67
22*a*	*Colne*, No. 1	Roll	Paper	Late 17th Century	[*Not cited*]
23	Antiquity	Roll and Lodge Record	Parchment	1686	67
24	Supreme Council, No. 1	Roll	Parchment	1686	68
25	York, No. 4	Roll	Paper	1693	68
25*a*	*Colne*, No. 2	Roll	Paper	Early 18th Century	[*Not cited*]
26	Alnwick	Lodge Record	Paper	1701	69
27	York, No. 2	Roll	Parchment	1704	69
28	Scarborough	Roll (?)	Paper	1705	69
29	Papworth	Roll	Paper	1714	70
30	Gateshead	Lodge Record	Paper	1730	70
31	Rawlinson	Ordinary MS.	Paper	1730	71
31*a*	*Harris*	Roll	Parchment	18th Century	106

The documents above enumerated constitute the first five of the classes or divisions in which I have arranged the manuscript "Constitutions." Those composing the sixth or last group, not being of equal importance, will be described with less particularity. Nos. 32-37 are late transcripts, and the remainder, printed copies, extracts, or references, except the Harris MS., which, to avoid confusion, appears below as No. 49, though newly classified as No. 31*a* in the preceding list.[1]

[1] See Chap. II., last page.

"OLD CHARGES" (*continued*), CLASS VI.

No.	TITLE.	DATE.	No.	TITLE.	DATE.
32	Spencer	1726	42	Morgan	17th Century
33	Woodford	1728	43	Masons' Co.	17th Century
34	Supreme Council, No. 2	1728	44	Roberts	17th Century
35	Melrose, No. 3	1762	45	Briscoe	17th Century
36	Tunnah	1828	46	Baker	17th Century
37	Wren	1852	47	Cole	17th Century
38	Dermott	16th Century	48	Dodd	17th Century
39	Dowland	17th Century	49	*Harris*[1]	18th Century
40	Plot	17th Century	50	Batty Langley	18th Century
41	Hargrove	17th Century	51	Krause	18th Century

Such is the fallibility of judgment from internal evidence, that we may well lament our incapacity to trace every distinct version of the "Old Charges" from the hands of the scribe, to its first possessor, and thence through its successive places of deposit. But we are precluded from dealing with these documents according to the rules of legal testimony; we can neither cross-examine nor confront the original copyists. "If insufficient, we cannot summon more than are to be had; if uninformed, we must not indoctrinate them; if silly, we cannot make them wise. When they stop short, we cannot extract an additional word. Livy may be a credulous writer, but how shall we supply his place if we tell Livy to go down?"[2]

Whilst, however, fully conceding that "the forensic treatment of history is the application of a process entirely unsuitable to the materials," nevertheless, as it seems to me, in dealing with the "Old Charges" as historical muniments, a classification of their relative authority, based on legal principles, is an essential preliminary.

When, in a court of law, *ancient documents* are tendered in support of *ancient possession*, care is especially taken to ascertain the *genuineness* of the ancient documents produced; and this may in general be shown, *primâ facie*, by proof that they come from the *proper custody*.[3] It is not, however, necessary *that they should be found in the best and most proper place of deposit*,[4] but it must appear that the instrument comes from such custody, as though not strictly proper in point of law, is sufficient to afford a reasonable presumption in favour of its genuineness; and that it is otherwise free from just ground of suspicion.[5] Where old deeds have been produced as evidence in cases of title, from *collections of manuscripts made for antiquarian purposes*, they have been rejected. They must be produced from the custody of persons interested in the estate.[6] Thus an ancient writing, enumerating the possessions of a monastery, produced from the Herald's office; a curious manuscript book, entitled the "Secretum Abbatis," preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, containing a grant to an

[1] See Chap. II., last page.

[2] Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, vol. i., p. 118.

[3] J. Pitt Taylor, The Law of Evidence, 3d edit., 1858, p. 542.

[4] Per Chief Justice Tindal, Bingham, New Cases, vol. i., pp. 200-202.

[5] Taylor, *op. cit.*, 7th edit., p. 105. The "proper custody" means that in which the document may be reasonably expected to be found, although in strictness it ought to be in some other place. Thus a collector's book may be produced from the possession either of his executor or his successor, and a document relating to a Bishop's See from the custody either of his descendants or of his successors in the See (*Ibid.*, edit. 1858, pp. 545, 546).

[6] Phillipps, Law of Evidence, vol. ii., p. 157.

abbey; and an old grant to a priory, brought from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum —have in each case been held to be inadmissible.[1]

On one important point the writers of the text-books from which I have last quoted are at variance. It is urged by Mr Phillipps, that in order to render ancient documents admissible, proof, if possible, must be given of some *act done* with reference to them, and that where the nature of the case does not admit of such proof, *acts of modern enjoyment* must at least be shown.[2] This doctrine, however, in the opinion of Mr Pitt Taylor, is unsupported by the current of modern decisions; "for although it is perfectly true that the mere production of an ancient document, unless supported by some corroborative evidence of *acting under it* or of *modern possession*, would be entitled to little, if any, weight, still there appears to be no strict rule of law, which would authorise the judge in withdrawing the deed altogether from the consideration of the jury;—in other words, the absence of proof of possession affects merely the *weight*, and not the *admissibility*, of the instrument."[3]

As already observed,[4] the historian has no rules as to exclusion of evidence or incompetency of witnesses. In his court every document may be read, every statement may be heard. But in proportion as he admits all evidence indiscriminately, he must exercise discrimination in judging of its effect. Especially is this necessary in a critical survey of the "Old Charges." The evidence of some of these documents is quite irreconcilable with that of others. The truth which certainly lies between them cannot be seized by conjecture, and is only to be got at by a review of facts, and not by an attempt to reconcile conflicting statements.[5]

It being convenient at this point to introduce the promised explanation of the plates of Arms and Seals, which will carry the chapter to its allotted limits, I shall resume and conclude in Chapter XV. my examination of Seventeenth Century Freemasonry, as disclosed to us by the evidence of Ashmole, Plot, Randle Holme, and our old manuscript Constitutions, not forgetting, however, the concurrent existence in North Britain of a Masonic system akin to, if not absolutely identical with, our own, but which, for convenience sake, I have up to this period, as far as possible, treated separately and disjunctively.

Description of Plates of Arms and Seals.

Mention has already been made of the arms of the Masons' Company of London, but for convenience it may be well to repeat here a description of the arms given by Stow in the edition of the "Survey of London" 1633. In his woodcut the field is printed the proper colour, also the chevron and towers, but the compasses have been left white. The correct blazon of the arms would be: sable, on a chevron between three castles argent, a pair of

[1] Taylor, Law of Evidence, 1858, p. 544.

[2] Phillipps, Law of Evidence, vol. i., pp. 276, 278.

[3] Taylor, Law of Evidence, p. 547.

[4] Chap. I., p. 4.

[5] Commenting on the histories of the Council of Trent, by Sarpi and Pallavicini, Ranke observes: "It has been said that the truth is to be obtained from the collective results of these two works. Perhaps, as regards a very general view, this may be the case; it is certainly not so as to particulars" (History of the Popes, trans. by Mrs Austen, 1842, vol. iii., App., p. 79). This reminds me of a custom which prevailed on the Home Circuit in regard to cases referred to arbitration at the Assize time. The briefs of plaintiff and defendant were both read by the arbitrator, and an award delivered accordingly!

compasses somewhat extended of the first. This description perfectly agrees with the arms as painted on the roll of "Old Charges," in the possession of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2, and also that in the museum at 33 Golden Square, both which MSS. are dated 1686. In all three instances, it must be again noticed, the chevron is no longer engrailed, as in the original grant of arms to the Masons' Company.

The Masons' Companies in several cities of England appear to have varied the colours of the field or the charges, possibly to distinguish them from the London Company. For example: Guillim, as already mentioned, gives the field in one instance azure,[1] and Sir Bernard Burke,[2] copying Edmondson, "Body of Heraldry," 1780, in describing the Company of Edinburgh, blazons the chevron azure, the compasses or, and the castles proper masoned sable (see plate).

Again, copying Edmondson, we are told that "the Freemasons' Society use the following Arms, Crest, and Supporters, viz.: Sa., on a chev. betw. three towers ar., a pair of compasses open chevron-wise of the first; *Crest*—a dove ppr.; *Supporters*—two beavers ppr.;" and the "Freemasons (Gateshead-on-Tyne), same arms: *Crest*—a tower or; *Motto*—The Lord is our Trust."[3]

"The Masons' Company of London: Sa., on a chev. between three towers ar., a pair of compasses of the first; *Crest*—a castle as in the arms; *Motto*—In the Lord is all our Trust."

Burke omits a note by Edmondson (1780) on the arms of the "Freemasons' Society," referring in all probability to a seal, which will be given in a future plate: "N.B.—These are engraved on their public seal."

The marblers, statuaries, or sculptors, as they were called, do not appear to have been separately incorporated as a company, but, as Stow says, seem "to hold some friendship with the Masons, and are thought to be esteemed among their fellowship." Their arms may be thus described:[4] gules, a chevron argent between two chipping axes in chief of the last, and a mallet in base or; *Crest*—on a wreath an arm embowed, vested azure, cuffed argent, holding in the hand proper an engraving chisel of the last; *Motto*—Grind Well.

The arms of the joiners of London are thus described by Guillim: gules, a chevron argent between two pairs of compasses above, and a sphere in base or, on a chief of the third two roses of the first, and between them a pale sable charged with an escallop shell of the second. The pale not being figured by Stow in his woodcut, as already mentioned, it has been added in the arms given in the plate; and the proper colours have been for uniformity engraved in this as well as in the coats of the marblers and carpenters.

The Company of Carpenters, unlike that of the Masons, have retained the engrailed chevron as originally granted to "the felowship of the Crafte of Carpenters of the Worshipfull and noble Citee of London," by William Hawkeslowe, Clarenceux, November 24, 6th of Edward IV. [1466], or six years before the grant of arms was made to the Masons' Company of London.

It will be seen that in the arms of the masons, carpenters, and joiners, the compasses, so necessary an instrument for the correct working of their "crafte," always appear. We learn[5]

[1] As now borne by the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, Scotland.

[2] General Armory, 1878.

[3] The arms of the Freemasons have been discussed at some length by Mr W. T. R. Marvin in a privately printed tract, 1880.

[4] Berry, Encyclopædia Heraldica.

[5] Hindley, Tavern Anecdotes and Sayings, 1875, p. 369.

that the "Three Compasses" is a particularly favourite sign in all parts of the kingdom, "which may be accounted for from the circumstance that *three* compasses are a charge in the arms of the Carpenters' Company, while two are used in the arms of the Joiners' Company, and *one* in the Masons' or Freemasons' Company. Frequently the sign of the compasses contains between the legs the following good advice:—

"'Keep within compass,
And then you'll be sure
To avoid many troubles
That others endure.'"[1]

In the list of London tavern signs for the year 1864 there will be found 14 Carpenters' Arms,[2] 9 Masons' Arms, and 21 Three Compasses.[3] There are 19 Castles in the same list. This sign may have originally referred to the Masons' Arms, although, doubtless, in many instances such signs took their origin from the fact that of old the castles of the nobility were open to the weary traveller, and he was sure to obtain there food and shelter.[4]

Another sign, "The Three Old Castles," occurs at Mandeville, near Somerton.

The Axe is found combined with various other carpenters' tools, as the Axe and Saw, the Axe and Compasses, and the Axe and Cleaver.[5] Although the Axe finds no place in the arms of the English Companies, it does in those of France, and, with the other charges, naturally connects itself with the workers of wood.

One other sign must not be overlooked. The well-known engraving in Picart's "Religious Ceremonies,"[6] figures No. 129 on the screen of lodges as the "Masons Arms, Plymouth." It appears not to have been observed that the arms figured there, have dragons or griffins for the supporters, and are not the arms of the Masons. If not those of some peer, which seems most probable, the sign may be an attempt to represent the coat of the marblers.

The arms granted to the Carpenters' Company may be blazoned as follows: Argent, a chevron engrailed between three pairs of compasses extended points downwards sable. A copy of the arms and grant will be found in Jupp's "History of the Carpenters' Company," p. 10, and a facsimile of the patent, dated 1466, in the "Catalogue" of the Exhibition at Ironmongers' Hall, 1869, vol. i., p. 264. A facsimile of the arms will be given in a future plate, with the arms of the Masons' Company and others.

The coat occupying the centre of the plate is taken from Heideloff,[7] and is thus described by him: "He [Maximilian I., 1498] is said to have granted to them [the 'fraternity of Freemasons'—? the Masons] a new coat of arms, namely, on a field azure, four compasses or, arranged in square; on the helmet the Eagle of St John the Evangelist (the patron saint of the old Masons), the head surrounded by a glory (see cut adjoining, which is copied from an old drawing). The lodges had beyond this each one its special badge."

This description is not quite complete. The eagle holds in its beak the quill, referring, it

[1] See also History of Signboards, by Larwood and Hotten, 8th edit., 1875, p. 146.

[2] In the early lists of Lodges are found the "Masons Arms," the "Three Compasses," and the "Square and Compass" (see Four Old Lodges, Multa Pancis, etc.).

[3] Larwood and Hotten, History of Signboards, 8th edit., 1875, pp. 43, 44.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 487. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 346. [6] Vol. vi., 1737, p. 202.

[7] Bauhütte des Mittelalters in Deutschland, Nürnberg, 1844, pp. 23, 24.

may be supposed, to the pen with which the Gospels of St John were written: it should be described as a demi-eagle, wings displayed, issuing from a ducal coronet, which surmounts the helm of a knight, and the annular nimbus placed behind the head of the eagle bears the words S IOANNES EVANGELISTA.

In the description of the arms no mention is made of the globe placed in the centre of the shield. The compasses are arranged in cross, not in square, which is an impossible term in heraldry. A reference to the plate will show the exact and unusual position of these charges.

The remaining arms figured on the plate are from the banners of various companies as given by Lacroix and Seré in their magnificent work, "Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance." They are here given as falling naturally into the series, and as they exhibit the tendency there was of granting to the various crafts, for a bearing, the tools with which their labour was executed. The French Companies being, however, not intimately connected with those of England, it will only be necessary to describe the arms—

Masons of Saumur: azure, a trowel in fesse or.

Masons of Tours: sable, a trowel erect or.

Masons of Beaulieu: azure, a rule and a square in saltire, accompanied by a pair of compasses extended chevronwise, and a level in pale or;[1] interlaced and bound together by a serpent erect-twisted among them, gold.

Tilers of Tours: azure, a tower roofed argent, masoned and pierced sable, vaned or, the port gules, between on the dexter side a ladder of the second, and on the sinister a trowel, gold.

Tilers of Rochelle: sable, a fesse between two trowels erect in chief, and a mill-pick also erect in base argent.

Tilers of Paris: azure, a ladder in pale or, between two trowels in fesse argent, handled gold.

Carpenters of Villefranche: azure, a pair of compasses extended, points downwards, and in base a square, or.

Carpenters of Angers: azure, a hatchet in fesse argent, and in chief a mallet erect or.

Carpenters of Bayonne: sable, a hatchet in bend argent.

Joiners of Metz: gules on a chevron argent, a torteaux.

Joiners of Peronne: argent, a saltire paly of six, sable and or.

Joiners of Amiens: argent, two pallets indented sable.

The plate of seals and tokens of French and German Guilds includes specimens of various dates. To the work of Lacroix and Seré, already mentioned, I am indebted for the earliest in date—the seal of the Corporation of the Joiners of Bruges, and that of the Corporation of the Carpenters of the same city, both of the date 1356, taken from impressions in green wax preserved among the archives of Bruges.[2] The centre of the seal of the Joiners is occupied by a chest, such as were probably used for the preservation of the records of the Guild. Round the edge is the following inscription:—s'. der s[chrei]newerkerasbab.[dan?] . . . That of the Carpenters, which is much more ornamental in character, bears perhaps the arms of the Corporation, an axe and a square, with the words, s. anbochte: bambem [zimm]ermans.

[1] No level is shown in the woodcut given by Lacroix, which is here copied in the plate.

[2] Lacroix, "Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance," vol. iii., Corporations de Métiers, fol. xii.

Reference has already been made to the original act[1] in the British Museum, constituting a municipal council for the city of Cologne, dated September 14, 1396. This interesting document, which is in an admirable state of preservation, has supplied the seals next in date. After rehearsing the terms of the incorporation, the document is sealed with the large seal of the town, followed by twenty-two seals of various trades. The whole of the seals are pendent by cords of silk, neatly laced through the vellum, and the name of each trade is written above on the folded edge. The eleventh place is occupied by the "Steynmetzen" or Stonemasons, and the twenty-second by the "Vasbender"[2] or Coopers. The former bears what is evidently the arms of the Guild of Stonemasons of Cologne in fesse, two hammers crossed in saltire to dexter, and two axes crossed in saltire to sinister, and in chief three crowns: no doubt referring to the three kings of Cologne,[3] who, as already stated, were confused with the "Quatuor Coronati." The inscription round the edge is so fragmentary that it is difficult to obtain a correct reading, . . . ıbɛ(?) . . . ſteɣmmetzȝɛr | bndſɛr | .ɛȝ(?) . . .

The seal of the Coopers is even more broken at the edge, and only a few letters of the inscription remain: * s | ber baſb[ender]. . . . The centre is not occupied, like that of the Stonemasons, with a coat of arms, but has over a ground covered with vines bearing grapes, a brewer's pulley used for sliding barrels down on an incline, a goat, over which is what may be a pair of pincers, but more probably a pair of compasses. A friend, on seeing the seal, suggested to me that it was probably the origin of the sign, "Goat and compasses." This appears to be a far more probable explanation than that usually accepted, "God encompasseth us," which it would be difficult to represent upon a sign. On turning to "The History of Signboards,"[4] I find the following reference to the opinion of the late Mr P. Cuningham:

"At Cologne, in the Church of S. Maria di Capitolio, is a flat stone on the floor, professing to be the 'Grabstein der Bruder und Schwester eines Ehrbahren Wein und Fass Ampts, anno 1693.' That is, I suppose, a vault belonging to the Wine Coopers' Company. The arms exhibit a shield with a pair of compasses, an axe, and a dray or truck, with goats for supporters. In a country like England, dealing so much at one time in Rhenish wine, a more likely origin for such a sign [as the Goat and Compasses] could hardly be imagined."

The next in date, also taken from Lacroix and Seré,[5] is the seal of the Carpenters of Saint Troud, from an impression preserved among the archives of that town. The date of the seal is 1481, and it is much less ornamental than those of earlier date given above. The centre is occupied by a shield of arms bearing an axe and a pair of compasses, the latter reversed. The inscription running round the edge reads: siegel · der · timerlíede · dan · líntruden.

Heideloff,[6] from whom the large seal in the centre of the plate is taken, of which he gives the date 1524, thus describes the seals engraved in his work: "The Strassburg coat of arms or seal is the Mother of God, with the Child within a glory of rays, supporting a shield; this shield is gules, with the silver bend of the episcopal arms of Strassburg, of Bishop Werner of Strassburg; in the upper part of the red field is a level, in the lower a compass or; on the white bend are two masons' hammers gold."

[1] In the King's library, *ante*, Chap. III., p. 169.

[2] Now Fassbinder. [3] The arms of the city of Cologne are: Argent on a chief gules, three crowns or.

[4] By Jacob Larwood and J. Camden Hotten, 8th edit., 1875, p. 147.

[5] Le Moyen Age, etc., vol. iii., Corporations de Métiers, fol. xii.

[6] Bauhütte des Mittelalters in Deutschland, Nürnberg, 4to, 1844, pp. 22, 23.

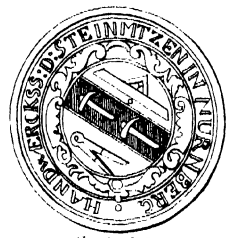
SEALS AND TOKENS OF FRENCH & GERMAN GUILDS.



Seal of the Corporation of
CARPENTERS OF SAINT TROUD. *Belgium.*



Seal of the
MASONS OF STRASBURG.
Circa 1725



Seal of the
MASONS OF NURENBURG
? Circa 1725



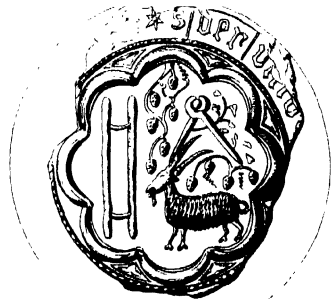
Token or 'Jeton de presence' of the Corporation of
CARPENTERS OF ANTWERP.
A.D. 1604.



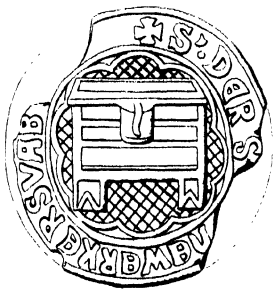
Seal of the Guild of
MASONS OF COLOGNE.
Charter A.D. 1396 Brit. Mus.



Seal *of the*
MASONS OF STRASBURG.
AD 1524.



Seal of the Guild of
COOPERS OF COLOGNE.
Charter A.D. 1396. Brit. Mus.



Seal of the Corporation of
JOINERS OF BRUGES.
A.D. 1356.



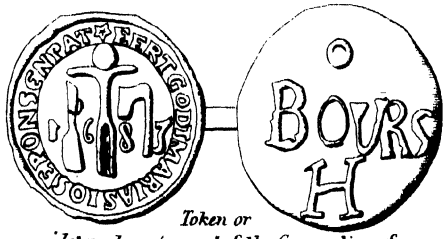
Mark of
SMITHS OF MAGDEBURG.
Berlepsch



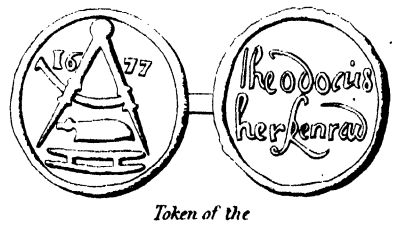
Mereau funeraire of
CARPENTERS OF MAESTRICHT.



Seal of the Corporation of
CARPENTERS OF BRUGES.
A.D. 1356



Token or
'Jeton de présence' of the Corporation of
CARPENTERS OF MAESTRICHT.



Token of the
CARPENTERS OF MAESTRICHT.
A.D. 1677.



Seal of the
MASONS OF DRESDEN.
Circa 1725

W. H. Rylands Del

Wm M. Sint

Thomas C. Jack London & Edinburgh

"The Nurenberg Lodge, whose seal I have before me, possessed the same coat of arms, with this difference, that the central bend, on which are the two hammers, was red[1] instead of white, with the enclosing motto, The Craft Seal of the Stone Masons of Nüremberg."

This seal bears the inscription, STAINMETZT · HANDWERCK · ZVE · STRASBURG, and the smaller one of Nurenberg, HANDWERCKSS : D[ER] : STEINMTZEN IN NURNBERG. The smaller seal of the Steinmetzen of Strasburg, and that of the Dresden Guild, are from the work of Stieglitz.[2] The former exactly agrees in the armorial bearings with that given by Heideloff, and the inscription differs but little; it is, STEINES HANDWERCK ZV STRASBURG. The seal of the Guild of Dresden bears in the arms the usual tools of the craft, the compasses, square, and level, and is an interesting instance of the two former being placed in a position in which they are now so often represented; it is, as the inscription informs us, the seal of DAS HANDWERK DER STEINMETZEN ZV DRESDEN. Stieglitz states[3] that the Rochlitz Lodge in 1725 petitioned the Strasburg Lodge (by whose permission they had already received from that of Dresden extracts of the Strasburg Ordinances) to send them a copy of the Imperial Confirmation of 1621, and a printed brother-book.

This request was granted by the Strasburg Lodge, by a letter dated July 5, 1725, signed Johann Michael Ehrlacher, Workmaster of the High Foundation. This copy of the confirmation of Ferdinand II. is still preserved at Rochlitz, and is attested by the Notary Johann Adam Oesinger, and sealed with the Strasburg seal of red wax, in a tin box.

The copy of a confirmation by Matthias, Emperor of Germany, who died in 1619, is also still preserved, and is attested by the Notary Basilius Petri. It was sent by the Strasburg Lodge to that of Dresden, who forwarded it to the Lodge of Rochlitz, having previously attached their own seal in brown wax, also in a tin case. From this, it would appear that the small seals of the Steinmetzen of Strasburg and Dresden were in use in 1725. And the date of that of Nürnberg is in all probability of the same period.

Before describing the tokens of Maestricht and Antwerp, it will be well to give some account of the mark of the Smiths of Magdeburg, which, connected as it is with seal-marks, is of some little interest, and shows a curious custom in use in this Guild.

Berlepsch,[4] to whose work I am indebted for the drawing and account, states, on the authority of the keeper of the Magdeburg Archives, that the mark is made by the Elder of the Magdeburg Smiths in opening their meetings. Having knocked three times on the table with a hammer, he commands—"By your favour, fellow crafts, be still," etc. The proper official then brings in the chest, which is opened with proper dialogue. The Elder next places his finger and thumb on the open ends of the outside circle, in saying—"By your favour I thus draw the fellow circle—it be as round or large as it may I span it [note that it is a symbol of his presidency], I write herein all the fellows that are at work here," etc. Knocks with the hammer, "with your favour I have might and right, and close the fellow circle." He then completes the circle with chalk; the meeting being formed, they

[1] This is contrary to the laws of heraldry, colour upon colour, but other instances will be found in the arms of various *confréries*, quoted by Lacroix, *Ibid.*, vol. iii., Corporations de Métiers, fol. xxviii.

[2] Ueber die Kirche der Heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[4] Chronik der Gewerbe, vol. vii., pp. 68, 69; citing Stock, Grundzuge der Verfassung. See this reference in Chap. III., p. 167, note 1.

proceed to business. At the end of the ceremony he closed the meeting, and rubbed the chalk ring out with his hand.

The work of Lacroix and Seré[1] is the source whence have been obtained the various tokens figured on the plate. The earliest, in the possession of Professor Serrure of Ghent, is that of the Corporation of the Carpenters of Antwerp, dated 1604. In the centre in a form of cartouche are represented a number of implements belonging to the trade. There is no evidence on the token itself as to the place from whence it was issued, but we may conclude that M. Paul Lacroix or its possessor had good authority for attributing it to Antwerp.

The same remark will apply to the remaining tokens of the Corporation of Carpenters of the town of Maestricht. The earliest, dated 1677, in the collection of M. A. Perreau, bears on one side the compasses, cleaver, and another object difficult to describe, and on the reverse "Theodocus herkenrad." The next in date, 1682, bears the same form of compasses and cleaver, but in the centre is placed a skull. This was also in the collection of M. Perreau, and is called, in the work of M. Lacroix, a "Méreau funeraire," or funeral token, which is explained to be intended to prove that the members of the corporation were present at the obsequies of their confrère.

The last of the series, also in the collection of M. Perreau, who supposed that it had belonged to a Protestant Carpenter, is dated 1683. It bears on one side an axe, cleaver, and another uncertain object in the centre, while round the edge runs the following:—EERT GODT MARIA SIOS EPONSENPAT, and on the reverse the letters BOVRS H. In this instance the words have no marks of division. I have above given the inscriptions on the various seals and tokens as they are represented in the works quoted from, but am inclined to believe that the engravers who copied the original seals, have not always reproduced them with perfect exactitude. The "Méreau, or Jeton de Presence," as these tokens are called, had probably a similar use to the "Méreau funeraire," only in this instance it was to prove the attendance of the members at meetings of the corporation.

[1] Le Moyen Age, etc., vol. iii., Corporations de Métiers, fol. xii.

CHAPTER XV.

EARLY BRITISH FREEMASONRY.

ENGLAND.—IV.

THE "OLD CHARGES"—THE LEGEND OF THE CRAFT—LIGHT AND DARKNESS—GOTHIC TRADITIONS.

WITHOUT a classification of authorities, any ancient text preserved in a plurality of documents, will present the appearance of a single labyrinth, through which there is no definite guiding clue. The groups, however, into which the "Old Charges" have been arranged, will sufficiently enable us to grasp their true meaning in a collective character, and this point attained, I shall pass on to another branch of our inquiry.

Before proceeding with the evidence, it may be convenient to explain, that whilst the singularities of individual manuscripts will, in some cases, be closely examined, this, in each instance, will be subsidiary to the main design, which is, to ascertain the character of the Freemasonry into which Ashmole was received, and to trace, as far as the evidence will permit, its antiquity as a speculative science.

These "Old Charges," the title-deeds and evidences of an inherited Freemasonry, would indeed amply reward the closest and most minute examination, but their leading characteristics have been sufficiently disclosed, and in my further observations on their mutual relations, I shall leave the ground clear for a future collation of these valuable documents by some competent hand.

Whether "theories raised on *facsimiles* or printed copies are utterly valueless for any correct archæological or historical treatment of such evidences,"[1] it is not my province to determine, but it may at least be affirmed, that "the extemporaneous surmises of an ordinary untrained reader will differ widely from the range of possibilities present to the mind of a scholar, prepared both by general training in the analysis of texts, and by special study of the facts bearing on the particular case."[2]

A method of textual criticism, begun by Dr John Mill in 1707, and completed by Drs Westcott and Hort in 1881, seems to me, however, to promise such excellent results, if applied to the old records of the Craft, that I shall present its leading features, in the hope that their

[1] Woodford, The Age of Ancient Masonic Manuscripts, Masonic Magazine, Oct. 1874, p. 98.

[2] Dr Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek, Introduction, 1881, p. 21.

appearance in this work, whilst throwing some additional light upon a portion of our subject which has hitherto lain much in the dark, may indicate what a promising field of inquiry still awaits the zealous student of our antiquities.

The system or method referred to, has been evolved in successive editions of the Greek Testament, commencing with that of Mill in 1707, and ending with the elaborate work of Doctors Westcott and Hort.

Mill was followed by Bentley, but the system received a great development at the hands of Bengel in 1734, whose maxim,[1] "*Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua*," has been generally adopted. By him, in the first instance, existing documents were classified into families.

The same principles were further developed by Griesbach "on a double foundation of enriched resources and deeper study," and with important help from suggestions of Semler and Hug.

Lachmann inaugurated a new period in 1831, when, for the first time, a systematic attempt was made to substitute scientific method for arbitrary choice in the discrimination of various readings.

Passing over Professor Tischendorf (1841), and, for the time being, also Dr Tregelles (1854), we next come to Doctors Westcott and Hort (1881).[2]

The main points of interest and originality in the closely reasoned "introduction" of Dr Hort are the weight given to the genealogy of documents, and his searching analysis of the effects of mixture, upon the different ancient texts.

Two leading maxims are laid down, of which the first is, "THAT KNOWLEDGE OF DOCUMENTS SHOULD PRECEDE FINAL JUDGMENTS UPON READINGS."[3]

This is to be attained, in the first place, from "The Internal Evidence of Readings," of which there are two kinds, "Intrinsic Probability," having reference to the author, and "Transcriptional Probability," having reference to the copyists. In appealing to the first, we ask what an author is likely to have written;[4] in appealing to the second, we ask what copyists are likely to have made him seem to write.[5]

[1] This great principle of distinction between various readings was then little understood, and has been practically opposed by many who have discussed such subjects in later times. On the other hand, Dr Tregelles observes, "surely in cases of equal evidence, the more difficult reading—the reading which a copyist would not be likely to introduce—stands on a higher ground, as to evidence, than one which presents something altogether easy" (The printed text of the Greek New Testament, 1854, p. 70). Also, according to Dr Hort, "it is chiefly to the earnest, if somewhat crude advocacy of Bengel, that Transcriptional Probabilities, under the name of the *harder reading*, owe their subsequent full recognition" (The New Testament in the Original Greek, Introduction by Dr Hort, p. 181).

[2] The New Testament in the Original Greek, 1881.

[3] This differs slightly, if at all, from the legal axiom—"Contemporanea expositio est optima et fortissima in lege—The best and surest mode of expounding an instrument is by referring to the time when, and circumstances under which, it was made" (2 Inst. 11; Broom, Legal Maxims, edit. 1864, p. 654).

[4] "There is much literature, ancient no less than modern, in which it is needful to remember that authors are not always grammatical, or clear, or consistent, or felicitous; so that not seldom an ordinary reader finds it easy to replace a feeble or half-appropriate word or phrase by an effective substitute; and thus the best words to express an author's meaning need not in all cases be those which he actually employed" (Hort, Introduction to New Test., p. 21).

[5] "It can hardly be too habitually remembered, in criticism, that copyists were always more accustomed to *add* than to *omit*. Of course careless transcribers may omit; but, in general, texts, like snowballs, grow in course of transmission" (Tregelles, The Greek New Testament, 1854, p. 88). Porson says: "Perhaps you think it an affected and absurd idea that a marginal note can ever creep into the text; yet I hope you are not so ignorant as not to know that this has actually happened, not merely in hundreds or thousands, but in millions of cases. From this known pro-

The limitation to Internal Evidence of Readings follows naturally from the impulse to deal conclusively at once with every variation as it comes in turn before a reader, a commentator, or an editor; but a consideration of the process of transmission shows how precarious it is to attempt to judge which of two or more readings is the most likely to be right, without examining which of the attesting documents, or combination of documents, is the most likely to convey an unadulterated transcript of the original text; or in other words, in dealing with matter purely traditional, to ignore the relative antecedent credibility of witnesses, and trust exclusively to our own inward power of singling out the true readings from among their counterfeits, wherever we see them.

Secondly, then, there here comes in the "Internal Evidence of Documents," that is, the general characteristics of the texts contained in them as learned directly from themselves by continuous study of the whole or of considerable parts.

This paves the way for the maxim to which I have already referred—that "Knowledge of Documents should precede *final* Judgment upon Readings." Wherever the better documents are ranged on different sides, the decision becomes virtually dependent on the uncertainties of isolated personal judgments; there is evidently no way through the chaos of complex attestation which thus confronts us, except by going back to its causes, that is, by inquiring what antecedent circumstances of transmission will account for such combinations of agreements and differences between the several documents as we find actually existing. In other words, we are led to the necessity of investigating not only individual documents and their characteristics, but yet more the mutual relations of several documents.

The next great step consists in ceasing to treat documents independently of each other, and examining them connectedly, as parts of a single whole, in virtue of their historical relationships. In their *primâ facie* character, documents present themselves as so many independent and rival texts of greater or less purity. But as a matter of fact, they are not independent; by the nature of the case, they are all fragments—usually casual and scattered fragments—of a genealogical tree of transmission, sometimes of vast extent and intricacy. The more exactly we are able to trace the chief ramifications of the tree, and to determine the places of the several records among the branches, the more secure will be the foundations laid for a criticism capable of distinguishing the original text from its successive corruptions.

At this point comes in the second maxim or principle, that ALL TRUSTWORTHY RESTORATION OF CORRUPTED TEXTS IS FOUNDED ON THE STUDY OF THEIR HISTORY—that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents.

The introduction of the factor of genealogy at once lessens the power of mere numbers. If there is sufficient evidence, external or internal, for believing that of ten MSS. the first nine were all copied, directly or indirectly, from the tenth, it will be known that all the variations from the tenth can be only corruptions, and that for documentary evidence we have only to follow the tenth.[1]

pensity of transcribers to turn everything into text which they found written on the margin of their MSS., or between the lines, so many interpolations have proceeded, that at present the surest canon of criticism is, *Præferatur lectio brevior*" (Letters to Archdeacon Travis, 1790, pp. 149, 150).

[1] "Any number of documents ascertained to be all exclusively descended from another extant document, may be put safely out of sight, and with them, of course, all readings which have no other authority" (Hort, Introduction to New Test., p. 53).

If, however, the result of the inquiry is to find that all the nine MSS. were derived, not from the tenth, but from another lost MS., the ten documents resolve themselves virtually into two witnesses: the tenth MS., which can be known directly and completely, and the lost MS., which must be restored through the readings of its nine descendants, exactly and by simple transcription where they agree, approximately and by critical processes where they disagree.

The evidence on which the genealogy of documents turns is sometimes, though rarely, external, and is chiefly gained by a study of their texts in comparison with each other. The process depends on the principle that *identity of reading implies identity of origin.* Full allowance being made for accidental coincidences, the great bulk of texts common to two or more MSS. may be taken as certain evidence of a common origin. This community of origin may be either complete, that is, due entirely to a common ancestry, or partial, that is, due to *mixture*, which is virtually the engrafting of occasional or partial community of ancestry upon predominantly independent descent.

The clearest evidence for tracing the antecedent factors of "mixture" in texts, is afforded by readings which are themselves "mixed," or, as they are sometimes called, *conflate*, that is, not simple substitutions of the reading of one document for that of another, but combinations of the readings of both documents into a composite whole, sometimes by mere addition with or without a conjunction, sometimes with more or less of fusion.

Another critical resource, which is in some sense intermediate between internal evidence of documents and genealogical evidence, in order of utility follows the latter, and may be termed its sustaining complement. This supplementary resource is internal evidence of groups, and by its very nature it enables us to deal separately with the different elements of a document of mixed ancestry. Where there has been no mixture, the transmission of a text is divergent, that is, in the course of centuries the copies have a tendency to get further and further away from the original and from each other. The result of "mixture" is to invert this process. Hence a wide distribution of readings among existing groups of documents need not point back to very ancient divergencies. They are just as likely to be the result of a late wide extension given by favourable circumstances to readings formerly very restricted in area.

In the preceding summary an outline has been given of those principles of textual criticism, which are found by experience to be of value in inquiries such as we are now pursuing.

My own method, of classifying the "Old Charges" according to their historical value, may not meet all cases, nor satisfy all readers. It possesses, however, the merit of simplicity, which is no slight one. The characteristics of each MS. are revealed at a glance, whilst in "the descriptive list," which follows a few pages later, will be found the skeleton history of every document, together with a reference to the page in Chapter II., where it is described at length.

In classifying the MSS. with a due regard to their separate *weight* as evidence, I hope in some degree to remove the confusion which has arisen from the application of the convenient term "authorities" to these documents.

The "Old Charges" may, indeed, be regarded as competent witnesses, but every care must be taken to understand their testimony, and to *weigh* it in all its particulars.

The various readings in our manuscript "Constitutions," it is not my purpose to

scrutinise very closely. In all cases[1] we rely upon transcripts very far removed from the originals. Yet, if three are put on one side—the Harleian 1942 (11), the Roberts (44), and the Krause (51)—we find substantial identity between the legend of the craft, as presented in the oldest and the youngest of these documents respectively. It is true that the number of transcriptions, and consequent opportunities of corruption, cannot be accurately measured by difference of date, for at any date a transcript might be made either from a contemporary manuscript, or from one written any number of centuries before. And, as certain MSS. are found, by a process of inductive proof, to contain an ancient text, their character as witnesses must be considered to be so established, that in other places their testimony deserves peculiar weight.[2] Still, taking the actual age of each MS. from that of No. 4 (Grand Lodge)—1583—and earlier, down to those of documents which overlap the year 1717, *e.g.*, the Gateshead (30), which will give us the relative antiquity of the *writings*, though not, of course, of the *readings*—the traditions of the craft—of which we possess any documentary evidence—are found not to have undergone any material variation[3] during the century and more which immediately preceded the era of Grand Lodges.

The "Old Charges" were tendered as evidence of the Masonic pedigree in Chapter II. Indeed, a friendly critic complains of the insertion of their general description "in the first volume as being out of sequence in the history,"[4] though, as he bases this judgment upon my having—after leaving the Culdees—"made a skip of some centuries, and landed my readers in the fifteenth century," I may be permitted to reply, that the Colidei or Célé-dé continued to exist as a distinct class at Devenish, an island on Loch Erne, until the year 1630; also that the *history* of the Culdees, and the *written traditions* of the Freemasons, possess a common feature in the grant of a charter from King Athelstan, the interest of which is enhanced by the privileges, in each case, derived under the instrument, being exercised at York.[5]

Assuming, then, that in Chapter II. the "Old Charges" *were taken as read*, I shall proceed a step further, and prove their legal admissibility as evidence.

For this purpose, and following the line of argument used at an earlier page,[6] I shall bring forward the group of documents to which I have assigned the highest place[7] under my own system of classification. Several of these, at least—and even *one* would suffice to establish my point—come from the *proper custody;* and of *acts done* with reference to them, there is ample proof, direct in some instances, and indirect in others.

Next, and *longo intervallo*, come the remaining documents, all of which fail in attaining the highest weight of authority.

[1] *I.e.*, excluding from consideration the Halliwell (1) and Cooke (2) MSS., which may be termed *evidences* of pre-existing, or, in other words, *fourteenth* century Constitutions. The *mixed* or *conflate* readings in both documents, to be presently noticed, point to the use in each case of different exemplars, one of which, at least, indicated in the Halliwell poem by the ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM, is to be found in no other line of transmission.

[2] Thus, in the opinion of experts, the Dowland MS. (39) of the seventeenth century was transcribed from a much older document. The *reading* it contains has been assigned by Woodford the approximate date of 1500. *Cf.* Hughan, Old Charges, preface, p. xi.; and Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., pp. 81, 99.

[3] Respecting the general authenticity of manuscript copies of a single text, Sir G. Lewis observes: "Their authority is increased by their substantial agreement, *combined with disagreement in subordinate points*, inasmuch as it shows that they are not all derived from some common original of recent date" (On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 209).

[4] Mr Wyatt Papworth, in the *Builder*, March 3, 1888.

[5] Chap. II., pp. 50, 52.

[6] *Ante*, pp. 195, 196.

[7] Class I., *ante*, p. 192.

Thus the relative inferiority of the manuscripts forming the second class to these comprising the first, is not continued in the same ratio. Descending a step, the deterioration of proof, though distinguishable, is not so marked. Manuscripts in roll or book form suggest wider inferences than are justified by others merely written on vellum or parchment. A clear line separates the components of the last from those of the last class but one; but in the larger number of cases the importance and value of all the documents *below* the *Lodge Records* will be found to depend upon extraneous considerations, which will be differently regarded by different persons, and cannot therefore be of service in the classification.

To use the words of Dr Maitland,[1] "*every* copy of an old writing was unique—every one stood upon its own individual character; and the correctness of a particular manuscript was no pledge for even those which were copied immediately from it." It is evident, therefore, that if undue weight is attached to the existence of mere verbal discrepancies, *each* version of the "Old Charges" might in turn become the subject of separate treatment. Subject to the qualification, that I do not concede the "correctness" of Harleian MS. 1942 (11), that is, in the sense of the "New Articles" which form its distinctive feature, being an authorised and accredited reading which has come down to us through a legitimate channel—the manuscript in question, when examined in connection with No. 44 (Roberts), fully sustains the argument of Dr Maitland.[2]

The documents last cited, if we dismiss the Krause MS. (51)[3] as being unworthy of further examination, constitute the two exceptions to the general rule, that the "legend of the craft," or, in other words, the written traditions of the Freemasons, as given in the several versions of the "Old Charges," from the sixteenth down to the eighteenth century, are in substance identical.

The characteristic features of the Harleian (11) and Roberts (44) MSS. have been given with sufficient particularity in Chapter II.,[4] where I also express my belief that the latter is a reproduction or counterpart of the former. I am of opinion that the Roberts text is the product of a revision, which was in fact a recension, and may, with fair probability, be assigned to the period when Dr Anderson, by order of the Grand Lodge, was "digesting the old Gothic Constitutions,"[5] which would exactly accord with the date of publication of the MS. Of the Roberts text, as may be said in the analogous case of the Locke manuscript,—it stands upon the faith of the compiler—and is only worthy of notice in an historical inquiry, from the fact that it was adopted, and still further *revised* by Dr Anderson,[6] whose "New Book of Constitutions" (1738), "collected and digested, by order of the Grand Lodge, from their old records, faithful traditions, and lodge-books,"[7] informs us, on the authority *of* "*a copy of the old Constitutions*," that after the restoration of Charles II., the Earl of St Albans, having become Grand Master, and appointed Sir John Denham his deputy, and Sir Christopher

[1] The Dark Ages, p. 69. [2] Chap. II., pp. 64, 75, 88. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 77; and Chap. XI., p. 494.

[4] Pp. 64, 75, 103, 104, 105. The date of publication of No. 44, given at p. 75, line 3, to read MDCCXXII.

[5] Chaps. II., p. 103; VII., p. 352, 353.

[6] Chap. II., pp. 104, 105. Sir G. Lewis observes: "The value of written historical evidence is further subject to be diminished by *intentional falsification*. Sometimes this is effected by altering the texts of extant authors, or by interpolating passages into them" (On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 209).

[7] The New Book of Constitutions, 1738, title page, "We, the Grand Master, Deputy, and Wardens, do hereby recommend this our *new printed Book* as the *only Book* of CONSTITUTIONS, and we warn all the Brethren against using *any other Book* in any *Lodge* as a *Lodge-Book*" (*Ibid.*, The Sanction, preceding the title page).

Wren and Mr John Web his wardens, "held a General Assembly and Feast on St John's day 27 Dec. 1663,"[1] when the *six* regulations were made, of which the first *five* are only given in the MS. of origin (11), though all are duly shown in No. 44.[2]

These regulations, which Dr Anderson gives at length, are so plainly derived from the Roberts MS., that it would be a waste of time to proceed with their examination, the more especially as the corruptions of the Harleian text (11) which are found in the recensions of 1722 and 1738, have been already pointed out in the course of these observations.[3]

The two readings, we have last considered, may safely therefore, in accordance with the genealogical evidence,[4] be allowed to "drop out," and we are brought face to face with the original text—Harleian MS. 1942.

Having now attained a secure footing from an application of the principle laid down by Dr Hort in his second maxim, the canon of criticism previously insisted upon by the same authority may be usefully followed. Our "knowledge," however, of this document is of a very limited character; and even its date, which is the most prominent fact known about a manuscript, can neither be determined with any precision by palæographical or other indirect indications, nor from external facts or records. This is the more to be regretted, since, if we obey the paradoxical precept, "to choose the harder reading," which is the essence of textual criticism,[5] the "New Articles" given in MS. 11, open up a vista of Transcriptional and other Probabilities which we shall not find equalled by the variations of all the remaining texts or readings put together.

These constitute the *crux* of the historian. It has been well said, that "if the knot cannot be opened, let us not cut it, nor fret our tempers, nor wound our fingers by trying to undo it, but be quite content to leave it untied, and say so."[6] The "New Articles" I cannot explain, nor in my judgment is an explanation material. We are concerned with the admissibility of evidence and the validity of proofs, and to go further would be to embark upon the wide ocean of antiquarian research. The manuscript under examination, in common with the rest, is admissible, and its *weight*, as an historical record, has to be determined, but if by a careful review of facts, we find that a material portion of the text differs from that of any other independent version of the "Old Charges," whilst, as an authoritative document, it ranks far below a great number of them—unless we deliberately violate every canon of criticism—the stronger will prevail over the weaker evidence, and so much of the latter as may actually *conflict* with the former, must be totally disregarded.[7]

This will not extend, of course, to the rejection of the inferior text, where its sole defect is the absence of corroboration, as the necessity for *excluding* evidence will only arise, when the circumstances are such, as to compel us to *choose* between two discrepant and wholly inconsistent readings.[8]

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 11; and Chap. II., p. 105.

[2] Chap. II., pp. 75, 88.

[3] If the so-called Roberts *MS.* had any better attestation, it might be worth while inquiring, why the blank between the words, "a General Assembly held at - - - - - - - - - - - - - [in all, thirteen ticks or marks], on the Eighth Day of December 1663"—was not filled up? The question of dates would also become material, since, if Mr Bond's estimate is followed, we find MS. 11—dating from the *beginning* of the century—containing *six* out of *seven* regulations which were only made in 1663! *Cf.* Chap. II., pp. 75, 88.

[4] *I.e.*, that identity of reading implies identity of origin.

[5] *Ante*, p. 204, note 1.

[6] Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, p. 121.

[7] See *ante*, p. 196.

[8] "Authorities cannot be followed mechanically, and thus, where there is a difference of reading, . . . all that we

Although, in the opinion of Mr Halliwell, "the age of a middle-age manuscript can in most cases be ascertained much more accurately than the best conjecture could determine that of a human being,"[1] the experience in courts of justice hardly justifies so complete a reliance upon experts in writing; and the date which he has himself assigned to the earliest record of the Craft (MS. 1) differs from the estimate of Mr Bond, by more years than we can conceive possible, in the parallel case of the age of a man or woman being guessed by two impartial and competent observers.

It is to be supposed that the remark of the antiquary, to whom we are indebted for bringing to light the Masonic poem, would extend beyond the manuscript literature of the Middle Ages, and though the maxim, "*cuilibet in sua arte perito est credendum*,"[2] must not be construed so liberally as to wholly exclude the right of private judgment, there is no other standard than the judgment of experts, by which we can estimate the age of an ancient writing, with the impartiality, so indispensably requisite, if it is desired that our conclusions should be adopted in good faith by readers who cannot see the proofs.

The document under examination (11), as regards form, material, and custody, comes before us under circumstances from which its use for antiquarian purposes, rather than for the requirements of a lodge, may be inferred. Externally therefore, it is destitute of Masonic value by comparison with the four sets of documents which precede it in my classification. Its internal character we must now deal with, and the first thing to do is to ascertain the date of transcription. Mr Bond's estimate is "the beginning of the seventeenth century," and by Woodford and Hughan the date has been fixed at about 1670. In my own judgment, and with great deference to Mr Bond, the evidence afforded by the manuscript itself is not conclusive as to the impossibility of its having been transcribed nearer the end of the century. This I take the opportunity of expressing, not with a view of setting up my personal opinion in a matter of ancient handwriting against that of the principal librarian of the British Museum, but because the farther the transcription of the MS. can be carried *down*, the less will be the probability of my mode of dealing with its value as an historical document being generally accepted.

I do not think, however, that by the greatest latitude of construction, the age of the MS. can be fixed any *later* than 1670, or say, sixteen years before the date of the Antiquity MS. (23), with which I shall chiefly compare it.

Leaving for the time, No. 11 (Harleian), let me ask my readers to consider the remaining MSS., except Nos. 44 (Roberts) and 51 (Krause), as formally tendered in evidence.

These will form the subject of our next inquiry, and I may observe, that although the copies which I place in the highest class, differ in slight and unimportant details, this consideration does not detract from their value as critical authorities, since they are certainly monuments of what was *read* and *used* in the time when they were written.

To the Antiquity MS. (23) I attach the highest value of all. It comes down to us with

know of the nature and origin of various readings . . . must be employed. But discrimination of this kind is only required when the witnesses differ; for otherwise, we should fall into the error of determining by conjecture what the text *ought* to be, instead of accepting it as it is" (Tregelles, The Greek New Testament, p. 186).

[1] A few Hints to Novices in Manuscript Literature, 1839, p. 11.

[2] Co. Litt. 125 *a*; Broom, Legal Maxims, 1864, p. 896.—"Credence should be given to one skilled in his peculiar profession."

every concomitant of authority that can add weight to the evidence of an ancient writing. Other versions of the "Old Charges," of greater age, still remain in the actual custody of Scottish lodges. These assist in carrying back the ancestry of the Society, but the Antiquity MS. is by far the most important connecting link between the present and the past, between Freemasonry as we now have it, and its counterpart in the seventeenth century. The lodge *from whose custody it is produced*—the oldest on the English roll—was one of the four who formed and established the Grand Lodge of England, the mother of grand lodges, under whose fostering care, Freemasonry, shaking off its operative trammels, became wholly speculative, and ceasing to be insular, became universal, diffusing over the entire globe the moral brotherhood of the Craft.

This remarkable muniment is attested "by Robert Padgett,[1] Clearke to the Worshipfull *Society* of the Free Masons of the City of London. Anno 1686."

It has been sufficiently shown that in 1682 the Masons and the Freemasons were distinct and separate sodalities, and that some of the former were *received* into the fellowship of the latter at the lodge held at Masons' Hall, in that year;[2] also, that the clerk of the Company was not "Padgett" but "Stampe."[3]

Thus in London the *Society* must have been something very different from the *Company*, though in other parts of Britain, there was virtually no distinction between the two titles. Randle Holme, it is true, *appears* to draw a distinction between the "Felloship" of the Masons and the "Society called Free-Masons," though, as he "Honor's" the former "because of its Antiquity, and the more being a Member" of the latter, it is probable that the expressions he uses—which derive their chief importance from the evidence they afford of the *operative ancestry* of a "Society" or "Lodge" of Freemasons, A.D. 1688—merely denote that there were Lodges and Lodges, or in other words, that there were then subsisting unions of practical Masons in which there was no admixture of the speculative element.

The significance of this allusion is indeed somewhat qualified by the author of the "Academie of Armory,"[4] grouping together at an earlier page, as words of indifferent application, "Fraternity, Society, Brotherhood, *or* Company"—all of which, with the exception of "Brotherhood," we meet with in the fifth of the "New Articles,"[5] where they are also given as synonymous terms.

In the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the word "*Society*" is occasionally substituted for Lodge, and fifty years earlier the Musselburgh Lodge called itself the "*Company* of Atcheson's Haven Lodge."[6] In neither case, however, according to Lyon, was the new appellation intended to convey any idea of a change of constitution.

The Company, Fellowship, and Lodge of the Alnwick "Free Masons" has been already referred to.[7] But whatever may have been the usage in the provinces, it must be taken, I think, that in the metropolis, *Society* was used to denote the brethren of the *Lodge*, and *Company*, the brethren of the *Guild*. Indeed, on this ground only, and waiving the question of its authority, I should reject the Harleian MS. (11) as a document containing laws or con-

[1] Chaps. II., p. 68; XIV., p. 149. [2] *Ante*, p. 143, note 2. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[4] Book III., Chaps. iii., p. 61; ix., p. 393. *Cf. ante*, p. 180.
[5] Harleian MS. 1942 (11), § 30; *ante*, Chap. II., pp. 75, 88.
[6] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 147. [7] *Ante*, p. 156; and Chap. II., p. 69.

stitutions "made and agreed upon at a General Assembly," or elsewhere, by the *London* Freemasons.[1] In the view, however, that the "New Articles" or "Additional Constitutions" *may* have been made in London, let us see how this supposition will accord with the facts which are in evidence.

We find in this code that the conditions on which a "person" can "be accepted a Free Mason" are defined with the utmost stringency. The production of a certificate is required of a joining member or visitor, and we learn, that for the future, "the sayd Society, Company, & fraternity of Free Masons, shall bee governed by one 'Master, & Assembly, & Wardens.'"[2]

Now, if there was only one "Society" or "Company" of Freemasons—the confusion hitherto existing with regard to the "Company of Masons" having been dispelled[3]—we might expect to find in the "received text" of the History and Regulations of the Craft, A.D. 1686, these very important laws, given with some fulness of detail. The absence, therefore, of any allusion to them is very remarkable, and a collation of the Harleian (11) and Antiquity (23) MSS., reveals further discrepancies which are not restricted to the mere regulations or orders. The former, strangely enough, does not mention Prince Edwin,[4] whilst the latter, as before observed, presents a reading, which differs from that of all the other texts, except the Lansdowne (3), in giving *Windsor* as the place in which "he was made a Mason."

The two documents clearly did not come from the same manufactory, and the weight of authority they respectively possess, may be determined with precision by the application of those principles of textual criticism, of which a summary has been given. To repeat somewhat, we find that the "History[5] and Charges of Masonry" are related in very much the same manner by all the prose forms of our old manuscript Constitutions, with the single exception of the Harleian (11), of which the Roberts (44) was a recension. The Krause MS. (51), it may be observed, we must consider relieved from any further criticism.

The readings that have come down to us, omitting, perhaps, those given in the Dowland (39) and York No. 4 (25) MSS.—which are in the same line of transmission with the majority, though their lost originals may be of higher antiquity—may, for the purposes of these remarks, be traced to two leading exemplars, the Lansdowne (3) and the Grand Lodge (4) versions of the "Old Charges." Thus, on the one hand, we have the Lansdowne and the Antiquity (23) readings, or rather *reading*, and on the other the versions, or version, contained in the remaining MSS., of which the earliest in point of date, if we base our conclusions on documentary evidence, is No. 4 (Grand Lodge). These two families or groups differ only in slight and unimportant particulars, as I shall proceed to show.

The Lansdowne, and I may here explain, that although the text of this MS. derives its *weight*, in the first instance, from the attestation of a Lodge Record (23), its *age*, and in a corresponding degree its *authority*,—is carried back to the earliest *use* of the same traditional history, of which there is documentary evidence. The historical relationship between Nos. 3 and 23 is happily free from doubt, and except that the older document has the words "trew

[1] *Ante*, p. 209, note 3. [2] Chap. II., p. 88. [3] *Ante*, pp. 149, 150.

[4] The Harleian MS., after mentioning the buildings constructed by King "Athelstane," proceeds—"hee loved Masons more than his Father," etc. This clearly refers to *Edwin*, and the words omitted by the scribe will be found in the parallel passages from Nos. 3 and 4, given at a later page. See also the "Buchanan" text, §§ XXII.-XXVI. (Chap. II., p. 97).

[5] *I.e.*, the *written traditions* of the Craft, within which I assume the "New Articles" to fall.

Mason,"[1] and "the charges of a Mason or Masons," whilst its descendant has "Free Mason," and the "Charges of a Free Mason or Free Masons"—variations not without their significance, but possessing no importance in the genealogical inquiry—the readings are identical.

In dealing with what has been described as "the Internal Evidence of Groups," it will only be necessary in the present case to compare the leading features of their oldest representatives, the Lansdowne (3) and the Grand Lodge (4) MSS.

These documents, and the family each represents, really differ very slightly, indeed so little, that in my judgment they might all be comprised in a single group, whilst I fail to discern any points of divergence between the several readings or versions, which cannot be explained by the doctrine of Transcriptional Probability.

The division of our old Masonic records into "families," has been advocated by the leading authorities, whose names are associated with this department of study,[2] and I have before me an analysis of the "Old Charges,"[3] wherein the differences between the families or types, of which the Lansdowne and the Grand Lodge MSS. are the exemplars, are relied upon as supporting the Masonic tradition, that, prior to 1567, the whole of England was ruled by a single Grand Master. This conclusion is based upon a statement, that with two exceptions—Nos. 3 and 23—the Grand Lodge MS. (4) "or a previous draft originated all constitutions, whether in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Scotland, or South Britain." In the sense that the readings or versions thus referred to have a common origin, the position claimed may be conceded, though without our going to the extent of admitting that the theory, which is the most comprehensive, has the greatest appearance of probability.

Let us now consider the points on which the readings of the Lansdowne and the Grand Lodge MSS. conflict.

The invocation is practically identical in both documents, and the narrative, also, down to the end of the legendary matter, which, in the Buchanan (15) copy, concludes the sixth paragraph.[4] In the next of the sections or paragraphs (VII.), into which for facility of reference I have divided No. 15, the Lansdowne and Grand Lodge readings vary. In the former, Euclid comes on the scene in direct succession to Nemroth (Nimrod), King of Babylon, whilst in the latter Abraham and Sarah separate these personages. According to the former, certain charges were delivered to the Masons by Nemroth, which, amplified, are in the latter ascribed to Euclid, as stated in paragraphs VIII.-XVI. of No. 15.

The omission of what are termed the "Euclid Charges" in the Lansdowne document, has been laid stress on, but not to say that these are virtually included, though in an abridged form, in the charges of "Nemroth"—the discrepancy between the two texts, were we discussing an actual instead of a fabulous history, might be cited as illustrating the *dictum* of Paley, that human testimony is characterised by substantial truth under circumstantial variety.[5]

The allusions in both manuscripts to David, Solomon, Naymus Grecus, St Alban, King Athelstane, and Prince Edwin, are so nearly alike, as to be almost indistinguishable, though,

[1] This term occurs in the Atcheson Haven (17) and Melrose No. 2 (19) MSS. Also in the two *English* forms to which Woodford assigns the highest antiquity, viz., the York No. 4 (25) and the Dowland (39). The Grand Lodge (4) and Kilwinning (16) versions have "free masson."

[2] Hughan, Old Charges, pp. 16, 18; and preface (Woodford), p. xi.

[3] In a letter from Mr John Yarker.

[4] See Chap. II., pp. 94, 95.

[5] Evidences of Christianity, Part III., chap. i.

in one particular, by the omission or the interpolation of *two words*, accordingly as we award the higher authority to the one document or the other, some confusion has resulted, which, by placing the passages in juxtaposition,[1] I hope to dispel.

"LANSDOWNE" MS. (3).

"Soone after the Decease of St Albones there came Diverse Warrs into England out of Diverse Nations, so that the good rule of Masons was dishired and put downe vntill the tyme of KING ADILSTON, in his tyme there was a worthy King in England that brought this Land into good rest, and he builded many great workes and buildings, therefore he loved well Masons, for he had a Sonne called EDWIN, the which Loved Masons much more then his ffather did, and he was soe practized in Geometry that he delighted much to come and talke with Masons, and to Learne of them the Craft, And after, for the love he had to Masons and to the Craft, he was made MASON [at Windsor], and he gott of the KING his ffather a Charter and Comission once every yeare to have Assembley within the Realme where they would within ENGLAND, and to correct within themselves ffaults & Trespasses that weere done as Touching the Craft, and he held them an Assembley at YORKE, and there he made MASONS and gave them Charges," etc.

"GRAND LODGE" MS. (4).

"righte sone After the decease of Saynte[2] there came diu^{rs} war^{r}es into England of dyu^{rs} nacoñs so that the good rule of massory was destroyed vntill the tyme of Knigte Athelston that was a woorthy King of England & brought all this land into rest and peace and buylded many greate workes of Abyes and Toweres and many other buyldinges And loved well massons and had a soonne that height Edwin and he loved massons muche more then his ffather did and he was a greate practyzer of Geometrey and he drewe him muche to taulke & com̄en wth massons to learne of them the Craft and afterwards for love that he had to Massons and to the Crafte he was made a masson [] and he gat of the Kyng his ffather a Charter and a Comission to houlde euy yere a sembly once a yeere where they woulde w^{t}hin thee realme of England and to Correct w^{t}hin themself faults and Trespasses that weare done w^{t}hin the Crafte And he held himselfe an assembly at Yorke & there he made massons and gaue them chargs" etc.

The crotchets or square brackets shown above do not represent *lacunæ* in the readings, but have been inserted by me to mark in the one case certain words contained in the text, which may be omitted, and in the other case, words *not* contained in the text, which may be added, without in either instance the context suffering by the alteration. The passages are so evidently taken from a common original, and the conjectural emendation under each hypothesis is of so simple a character, that in my judgment we shall do well to definitively accept or reject the words "at Windsor," *in both cases*, as forming an integral part of the text, and thus remove, as I venture to think will be the result, the only source of difficulty which we meet with in a collation of these representative MSS.

It may be observed that I am here only considering the *written traditions* of the craft, by which I mean the items of Masonic *history*, legendary or otherwise, given in the "Old Charges." Among these, the "New Articles," peculiar to No. 11 must be included, and we

[1] Transcribed from the originals. *Cf.* the Buchanan MS. (15), §§ XXII.-XXVI. (Chap. II., p. 97).

[2] The evident omission of a word here [*Albon*] weakens *pro tanto* the authority of this reading.

have next to determine whether this document possesses a weight of authority superior to that of all the others put together, as, unless we are prepared to go to this length, its further examination need not be proceeded with. I shall, therefore, content myself with saying that there are no circumstances in the case which tend to lift the Harleian MS. above the level of its surroundings in the *fifth* class of historical documents;[1] on the contrary, indeed, whatever judgment we are enabled to form of its authority as a record of the craft, bears in quite another direction, and induces the conviction that both parent and progeny stand on the same footing of unreality. The "New Articles" are entitled to no more weight than the "Additional Orders" of No. 44, or the recension of Dr Anderson. All three are unattested and unauthentic, and the value of their united testimony, which we have now traced to the fountain head, must be pronounced absolutely *nil.*

From the point of view I am regarding the "Old Charges," it is immaterial which of the Nos., 3 or 4, is the older document, nor must the superiority of the latter be assumed from the power of mere numbers. It is improbable that any care was taken to select for transcription, the exemplars having the highest claims to be regarded as authentic, whilst it is consonant with reason to suppose, that in the ordinary course of things, the most recent manuscripts would at all times be the most numerous, and therefore the most generally accessible.[2]

I have sought to show, however, that in substance the written traditions of the Freemasons from the sixteenth down to the eighteenth century were the same; and our next inquiry will be, to what extent is evidence forthcoming of the existence of these or similar traditions at an earlier period than the date of transcription of the oldest version of our manuscript Constitutions?

This brings in evidence the Halliwell and Cooke MSS., which are not "Constitutions" in the strict sense of the term, although they are generally described by that title. The testimony of the other Masonic records, which more correctly fall within the definition of "Old Charges," carries back the written traditions of the craft to a period somewhere intermediate between 1600 and 1550, or, in other words, to the last half of the sixteenth century. The two manuscripts we are about to examine now take up the chain, but the extent to which they lengthen the Masonic pedigree cannot be determined with precision. Halliwell and Cooke dated their discoveries, late fourteenth and late fifteenth century respectively,[3] but a recent estimate of Mr Bond, by pushing the former *down* and the latter *up*, has placed them virtually on an equality in the matter of antiquity.[4] This conclusion must, however, be demurred to, not, indeed, in the case of the Cooke MS. (2), respecting which the

[1] The "Legend of the craft," which forms the introduction to the Masonic poem (1), was taken by Mr Halliwell from Harl. MS. 1942 (11), which he quotes at second hand from the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, vol. iii., pp. 288 *et seq.* This, if further proof was necessary, would amply attest the necessity of classifying the "Masonic Constitutions," with a due regard to their relative authority.

[2] "Even if multiplication of transcripts were not always advancing, there would be a slow but continual substitution of new copies for old, partly to fill up gaps made by waste and casualties, partly by a natural impulse which could be reversed only by veneration or an archaic taste, or a critical purpose" (Hort, Introduction to the New Test., p. 10).

[3] The Early History of Freemasonry in England, 1844, p. 41; The History and Articles of Masonry, 1861, preface, p. v. It should be recollected, however, that by David Casley, the Masonic poem was dated *fourteenth century* without any limitation to the latter part of it (*ante*, Chap. II., p. 60).

[4] "As you seem to desire that I should look at the MSS. again, I have done so, and my judgment upon them is that they are both of the first half of the fifteenth century" (Mr E. A. Bond to the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, July 29, 1874; Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., pp. 77, 78).

opinion of Mr Bond is not at variance with that of any other expert in handwriting, but as regards the Masonic poem (1), the date of which, as approximately given by Mr Halliwell, himself no mean authority, has been endorsed by the late Mr Wallbran[1] and Mr Richard Sims.[2] The MSS. may safely therefore, in my judgment, be assigned—No. 1 to the close of fourteenth,[3] and No. 2 to the early part of the fifteenth, century.

The next step will be, to consider what these documents prove, though it should be premised, that even prior to their disinterment from the last resting-place of so much manuscript literature—the library of the British Museum—the texts or readings *then known* were pronounced by a competent judge to be "at least as old as the early part of the fifteenth century."[4]

The period named synchronises with that in which the Cooke MS., according to the best authorities, was compiled, and our next task will be, to examine how far the *readings* of the "Constitutions," strictly so called, are confirmed by *writings* dating from the same era as that assigned to the lost exemplars of the former.

The Halliwell and Cooke MSS. possess many common features, though one is in metrical, and the other in prose, form. In both, the history of Masonry or Geometry is interspersed with a number of quotations and allusions to other subjects, whilst each affords a few illustrations of the phenomenon of "conflation" in its simple form, as exhibited by single documents.

The Cooke MS. (2), which I shall first deal with, recounts the Legend of the Craft, very much in the same fashion as it is presented in the documents of later date.[5] Coming down to Nimrod—Abraham, Sarah, and Euclid are next severally introduced, the Children of Israel duly proceed to the "land of Bihest,"[6] and Solomon succeeds David as protector of the Masons. Naymus Grecus, indeed, is not mentioned, but we meet with Charles the Second—meaning, it is to be supposed, Charles Martel—Saints Adhabell and Alban, King Athelstan and his son, who, by the way, is not named, though it is stated that he became a Mason, "purchased a free patent of the King," and gave charges after the manner of the later Edwin. At line 642, however, there is a sudden break in the narrative, and in an abridged form we are given the story of Euclid over again, whose identity the scribe veils under the name of *Englet*, though, as he is described as the "most subtle and wise founder," who "ordained an art, and called it Masonry," besides being referred to as "having taught the children of great lords" to get an "honest living," there is no room for doubt as to the world-famous geometer[7] being the hero of the incident, the more so, since it is expressly stated that the "aforesaid art" was "begun in the land of Egypt;" whence "it went from land to land, and from kingdom to kingdom," and ultimately passed into England "in the time of King Athelstan." Englet [Euclid] and Athelstan are the only personages named in the shorter legend, in which, however, room

[1] Masonic Magazine, Sept. 1874, p. 77; Hughan, Old Charges, preface (Woodford), p. vii.

[2] "The text is in a hand of about the latter portion of the fourteenth century, or quite early fifteenth century" (Masonic Magazine, March 1875, p. 258).

[3] Not being an expert in manuscript literature, my personal contribution to the determination of this date consists of the remarks in Chapter VII. (The Statutes relating to the Freemasons, pp. 357-361), where I deal with the grounds on which Dr Kloss assigns a fifteenth century origin to the Halliwell poem.

[4] Sir Francis Palgrave in the *Edinburgh Review*, April 1839; *ante*, Chap. II., p. 87.

[5] The leading features of this MS. and its descendants are given with some fulness in Chap. II., pp. 83-85.

[6] *Cf.* Chap. II., p. 96, § XVIII.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 95, § VII.

is found for the tradition of Masonry having derived its name from Euclid, a fragment of Masonic history missing from the fuller narrative. These two versions of the Craft Legend were evidently transcribed from different exemplars.

The Halliwell poem has been described as "a metrical version of the rules of an ordinary mediæval Guild, or perhaps a very superior and exemplary sort of trades union, together with a number of pieces of advice for behaviour at church and at table, or in the presence of superiors, tacked on to the end."[1]

The latter I shall consider in the first instance. The Halliwell MS. (1), from line 621 to line 658, except—

"Amen! Amen! so mot hyt be,
Now, swete lady, pray for me,"[2]

is almost word for word the same as a portion of John Myrc's "Instructions for Parish Priests,"[3] commencing at line 268. With slight variation the two then correspond up to line 680 of the Masonic poem. Myrc was a canon regular of the Augustinian Order; and it has been conjectured that his poem, avowedly translated from a Latin work, called in the colophon "Pars Oculi," was an adaptation from a similar book by John Miræus, prior of the same monastery, entitled, "Manuale Sacerdotis."[4] The corresponding passages in the Halliwell and Myrc MSS. were printed by Woodford in 1874.[5]

The last hundred lines of the Masonic poem[6] are taken from "Urbanitatis,"[7] a poem which consists of minute directions for behaviour—in the presence of a lord, at table, and among ladies. Of these Mr Sims justly observes, "Some are curious, but some also there are which may not well be written down here;[8] and strange indeed it is to think that it should have been found necessary to give them at all, for they show a state of manners more notable, perhaps, than praiseworthy." "Perhaps, however," he continues, "the intention of the author is to leave no point unprovided for."

The Masonic portion of the Halliwell poem, which consists of the first 576 lines, appears, like the parts we have already examined, to have been derived from varied sources. This did not escape the observation of Woodford, who, in his scholarly preface to Hughan's "Old Charges," says: "The poem has been put mainly in its present shape by one who had seen *other histories* and *legends* of the Craft,

'By olde tyme wryten.'

And it seems to be, in truth, two legends, and not only one—the first legend appears to end

[1] Richard Sims, Comparison of MSS., Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., March 1875, p. 258. *Cf. ante*, Chap. II., pp. 79-82.

[2] Lines 655, 656. This would seem to be the extension of a quotation in Myrc, which stops short just before these lines. They also resemble the two concluding lines of the Masonic poem, which are based on the following, from "Urbanitatis:"

"Amen, Amen, so moot hit be,
So saye we alle for Charyte!"

[3] Cotton MS., Claudius, A. II.; Early English Text Society, vol. xxxi., 1868, edited by Mr E. Peacock, who considers that the MS. was not written out later than 1450, and perhaps rather earlier.

[4] Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., p. 260. *Cf.* Myrc, Duties of a Parish Priest (Early English Text Society, vol. xxxi.).

[5] Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., p. 130. [6] Line 693 to line 794.

[7] Cotton MS., Caligula, A. II., *circa* A.D. 1460. The text of "Urbanitatis" has been printed by the Early English Text Society, 1868, as part of a volume on Manners and Meals in Olden Times, pp. 13-15, edited by Mr F. J. Furnivall.

[8] *I.e.*, in the descriptive account of this poem, given in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 259.

at line 470, and then apparently with line 471 begins a new rythm of abbreviated use of the Masonic history. '*Alia ordinacio artis gemetriæ.*' There is not, indeed, in the MS. any change in the handwriting, but the rythm seems somewhat lengthened, and you have a sort of repletion of the history, though very much condensed."

The "ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM" occurs in what is thus termed by Woodford "the second legend,"[1] and, apart altogether from its surroundings, which stand on an entirely different footing, and must be separately regarded, points to the existence, at the time the poem was written, of traditions which have not come down to us in any other line of transmission.[2]

The Halliwell and Cooke MSS. have been collated with some minuteness by Fort, who accepts, in each case, the date with which it was labelled by the person who made known its existence. Thus the transcription of the former is separated from that of the latter by a period of about a century, an estimate I cannot concur in, and which, as we have seen, is diametrically opposed to that of Mr Bond. This gap in the early manuscript literature of the craft, would obviously justify wider inferences being drawn from the discrepancies between the Halliwell and Cooke documents, than if their ages are brought more closely together. Thus it is observed by the talented writer to whom I have just referred: "The operative Mason of the Middle Ages in France and Germany knew nothing of a Jewish origin of his craft. In case the traditions current in the thirteenth century, or later, had pointed back to the time of Solomon, in preparing the regulations for corporate government, and in order to obtain valuable exemptions, the prestige of the Israelitish king would have by far transcended that of the holy martyrs, or Charles the Hammer-Bearer."[3] Fort then goes on to say: "It stands forth as highly significant, that Halliwell's *Codex* makes no mention of Masons during the time of Solomon, nor does that ancient document pretend to trace Masonic history prior to the time of Athelstan and Prince Edwin."[4] At a later page he adds: "Halliwell's manuscript narrates that Masonic Craft came into Europe in the time of King Athelstan, whose reign began about the year 924, and continued several years. *No other ancient document agrees with this assertion.*[5] The majority of Masonic chronicles refer the period of the appearance of Masonry into Britain to the age of Saint Alban, one of the early evangelist martyrs, many centuries prior to the time of Athelstan; *but they all agree that the craft came from abroad*, and specify Athelstan's reign as an interesting period of Masonic history. From the preceding statement it will be observed that the older craft chronicles are lacking in harmony upon vital points of tradition, and in some respects, tested by their own records, are totally antagonistic."[6]

In the opinion of the same writer, "at the close of the fourteenth century, the guild of builders in England, depending on oral transmission, suggested the origin of their Craft in Athelstan's day. Later records, or perhaps chronicles copied in remote parts of the realm, expanded the traditions of the Fraternity, and added a more distant commencement in the age of Saint Alban, introducing, moreover, the name of Prince Edwin, together with the

[1] Hughan, Old Charges, preface, p. vii.

[2] See *ante*, p. 207, note 1; and Chap. X., *passim*.

[3] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 181.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] The italics are mine. It is evident that the statement in the Halliwell poem will lose its importance if the dates of the two oldest MSS. are brought into proximity.

[6] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, pp. 443, 444.

fabulous Assembly at York." "It is, perhaps, impossible," he continues, "to fix a date for the legends of Edwin and Athelstan," but strong belief is expressed that the story of Athelstane "is no earlier than the fourteenth century," also that "the tradition of Edwin is clearly an enlargement of craft chronicles of the fifteenth." [1]

The precise measure of antiquity our Masonic traditions are entitled to, over and above that which is attested by documentary evidence, is so obviously a matter of conjecture, that it would be a mere waste of time to attempt its definition. From the point reached, however, that is to say, from the elevated plane afforded by the Masonic writings (MSS. 1 and 2), which, speaking roundly, carry the Craft Legend a century and a half higher than the Lansdowne (3) and later documents, it will be possible, if we confine our speculations within reasonable limits, to establish some well-grounded conclusions. These, if they do not lead us far, will at least warrant the conviction, that though when the Halliwell poem has been produced in evidence, the genealogical proofs are exhausted, the Masonic traditions may, with fair probability, be held to antedate the period represented by the age of the MS. (1) in which we first find them, by as many years as separate the latter from the Lansdowne (3) and Grand Lodge (4) documents.

The Legend of the Craft will, in this case, be carried back to "the time of Henry III.," beyond which, in our present state of knowledge, it is impossible to penetrate, though it must not be understood that I believe the ancestry of the Society to be coeval with that reign. The tradition of the "Bulls," in my judgment, favours the supposition of its going back at least as far as the period of English history referred to, but the silence of the "Old Charges" with regard to "Papal Writings" of any kind having been received by the Masons, not to speak of this theory of Masonic origin directly conflicting with the introduction of Masonry into England in St Alban's time, appears to me to deprive the *oral* fable or tradition of any further historical weight.

In the first place, the legendary histories or traditions, given in the two oldest MSS. of the Craft, must have existed in some form prior to their finding places in these writings.

Fort is of opinion, that the Halliwell MS. has been copied from an older and more ancient parchment, or transcribed from fragmentary traditions, and he bases this judgment upon the internal evidence which certain portions of the manuscript present, having an evident reference to a remote antiquity. In illustration of this view he quotes from the "ancient charges," "that no master or fellow shall set any layer, within or without the lodge, to hew or mould stone," [2] and cites the eleventh point (*Punctus undecimus*) in the Masonic poem,[3] as showing one of the reciprocal duties prescribed to a Mason is—

> "If he this craft well know
> That sees his fellow hew on a stone,
> And is in point to spoil that stone,

[1] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, pp. 445, 446.

[2] The Halliwell MS. is cited as the authority for this regulation, which is incorrect. See Chap. II., p. 100, Special Charges, No. 16. *Layer* in Nos. 12 (Harl. 2054), 20 (Hope), and others, gives place to *rough layer*, whilst No. 3 (Lansdowne), followed by No. 23 (Antiquity), has, "Also that a Master or ffellow make not a Moulde Stone Square nor rule to no *Lowen* nor Sett no *Lowen* worke within the Lodge nor without to no Mould Stone."

[3] The extract which follows in the text I take from Woodford's modernised version of the poem.

Amend it soon, if that thou can,
And teach him then it to amend,
That the whole work be not y-schende."[1]

He next observes, on the authority of the *Archæologia*,[2] that until the close of the twelfth century stones were hewn out with an adze. About this time the chisel was introduced, and superseded the hewing of stone. "Thus," continues Fort, "we see that the words 'hew a stone,' had descended from the twelfth century at least, to the period when the manuscript first quoted (1) was copied, and, being found in the roll before the copyist, were also transcribed."[3]

In the judgment of the same historian, the compiler of the Cooke MS. (2) had also before him an older parchment, from which was derived the following remarkable phraseology:

"And it is said, *in old books of masonry*,[4] that Solomon confirmed the charges that David, his father, had given to masons."

In the conclusion, that the anonymous writers to whom we are indebted for the manuscripts under examination, largely copied from originals which are now lost to us, I am in full agreement with Fort, though in both cases, instead of in one only, I should be inclined to rest this deduction on the simple fact, that in either document the references to *older Masonic writings* are so plain and distinct, as to be incapable of any other interpretation. Thus, under the heading of "*Hic incipiunt constituciones artis gemetricæ secundum Euclydem*," we read in the opening lines of the Halliwell poem:

"Whose wol bothe wel rede and loke,
He may fynde wryte yn olde *boke*
Of grete lordys, and eke ladyysse,
That hade mony chyldryn y-fere, y-wisse;[5]
And hade no rentys to fynde[6] hem[7] wyth,
Nowther yn towne, ny felde, ny fryth:"[8]

The "book" referred to was doubtless a prose copy of the "Old Charges," whence the anonymous author of the Masonic poem obtained the information, which greatly elaborated and embellished, it may well have been, by his own poetic taste and imagination,[9] he has passed on to later ages.

The same inconvenience from the existence of a superabundant population is related in the poem, as in the manuscripts of later date,[10] whilst in each case Euclid is applied to, and with the happiest result. The children of the "Great Lords" are taught the "craft of geometry," which receives the name of Masonry:

[1] Y-schende—*ruined, destroyed.*

[2] Vol. ix., pp. 112, 113.

[3] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, pp. 117, 118.

[4] "Olde bokys of Masonry," in original. The quotation above is from the modernised version by the late Matthew Cooke (The History and Articles of Masonry, 1861, p. 83).

[5] Y-fere, *together*; y-wisse, *certainly.*

[6] "Fynde, *to provide with food, clothing*, etc. We still use the word—a man is to have so much a week, and *find* himself" (Halliwell, The Early History of Freemasonry, 1844, p. 50).

[7] *Them.*

[8] "Fryth, *an enclosed wood*" (Halliwell, The Early History of Freemasonry).

[9] See Woodford's Introduction to Hughan's "Old Charges," p. vi.

[10] Chap. II., p. 95, § VII.

"On thys maner, thro good wytte of gemetry,
Bygan furst the craft of masonry:
The clerk Euclyde on thys wyse hyt fonde,
Thys craft of gemetry yn Egypte londe.[1]
Yn Egypte he tawghte hyt ful wyde,
Yn dyvers londe [1] on every syde:
Mony erys [2] afterwarde, y understonde
[Ere [3]] that the craft com ynto thys londe.
Thys craft com ynto Englond, as y [yow [3]] say,
Yn tyme of good kynge Adelstonus day."[4]

Leaving this early portion of the poem, I shall next invite attention to a passage commencing at line 471, where, with "a new rythm of abbreviated use," and under the title, *Alia ordinacio artis gemetriæ*, begins, what has been styled by Woodford, "the second legend," contained in this MS.:

"They ordent ther a semblé to be y-holde
Every [year], whersever they wolde,
To amende the defautes, [if] any where fonde
Amonge the craft withynne the londe;
Uche [year] or thrydde [year] hyt schuld be holde,
Yn every place whersever they wolde;
Tyme and place most be ordeynt also,
Yn what place they schul semble to.
Alle the men of craft ther they most ben,
And other grete lordes, as [ye] mowe sen,
Ther they schullen ben alle y-swore,
That longuth to thys craftes lore,
To kepe these statutes everychon,
That ben y-ordeynt by kynge Aldelston."[5]

Let us now compare the foregoing passages with the following extract from the second or shorter legend in the Cooke MS. (2), to which I have previously alluded:[6]

"In this manner was the aforesaid art begun in the land of Egypt, by the aforesaid master Englat, and so it went from land to land, and from kingdom to kingdom. After that, many years, in the time of King Athelstan [*Adhelstone*], which was some time King of England, by his councillors, and other greater lords of the land, by common assent, for great default found among masons, they ordained a certain rule amongst them: one time of the year, or in 3 years as need were to the King and great lords of the land, and all the comonalty, from province to province, and from country to country, congregations should be made, by masters, of all masters, masons, and fellows, in the aforesaid art."[7]

[1] Land. [2] Years.

[3] In the original, obsolete words, having for their initial letter the Saxon *g*—written somewhat like the *z* of modern English manuscription—formerly used in many words which now begin with *y*.

[4] Halliwell MS., lines 53-62.

[5] *Ibid.*, lines 471-480, 483-486: ordent, ordeynt, y-ordeynt, *ordained;* y-holde, *holden;* defautes, *defects;* uche, *each;* thrydde, *third;* mowe, *may;* y-swore, *sworn;* longuth, *belongeth;* everychon, *everyone;* Aldelston, *Athelstan.* The words within crotchets are placed there for the same reason as those in the preceding extract, to which attention has already been directed.

[6] *Ante*, p. 216.

[7] Cooke, The History and Articles of Masonry, pp. 101, 103. *Cf.* Addl. MS., 23,198, British Museum, lines 687-711, where a closer resemblance to the metrical reading will appear than can be shown by our modern printing types.

Having regard to the fact, that the authors or compilers of what are known as the Halliwell and Cooke MSS. availed themselves, in a somewhat indiscriminate manner, of the manuscript literature of their respective eras, without fettering their imaginations by adhering to the strict wording of the authorities they consulted, the similarity between the *excerpta* from the two writings which I have held up for comparison must be pronounced a remarkable one. The points on which they agree are very numerous, and scarcely require to be stated, though the omission of any mention whatever, in the selected passages from either work, of the long array of celebrities who, according to the later MSS., intervene between Euclid and Athelstan, as well as their concurrent testimony in dating the introduction of Masonry into England during the reign of the latter, must be briefly noticed, as tending to prove an "identity of reading," which, as we have seen, "implies identity of origin." [1]

It will be seen that Fort has expressed too comprehensive an opinion, in withholding from the Halliwell MS. the corroboration of any other ancient document, with respect to the statement concerning Athelstan. Upon the passage in the Masonic poem where this occurs,[2] the learned editor has elsewhere observed: "This notice of the introduction of Euclid's 'Elements' into England, if correct, invalidates the claim of Adelard of Bath,[3] who has always been considered the first that brought them from abroad into this country, and who flourished full two centuries after the 'good Kyng Adlestone.' Adelard translated the 'Elements' from the Arabic into Latin; and early MSS. of the translation occur in so many libraries, that we may fairly conclude that it was in general circulation among mathematicians for a considerable time after it was written." [4]

It does not seem possible that the "Boke of Chargys," cited at lines 534 and 641 of the Cooke MS., and which I assume to have been identical with the "olde boke" named in the poem,[5] can have been the "Elements of Geometry." The junior document (2) has: "Elders that were before us, of Masons, had these Charges written to them, as we have now in our Charges of the story of Euclid, [and] as we have seen them written in Latin and in French both." [6] This points with clearness, as it seems to me, to an uninterrupted line of tradition, carrying back at least the familiar Legend of the Craft to a more remote period than is now attested by extant documents. It has been forcibly observed that, "in all the legends of Freemasonry, the line of ascent leads with unerring accuracy through Grecian corporations back to the Orient," which, though correct, if we confine our view to the legendary history given in the manuscript *Constitutions*, is not so if we enlarge our horizon, and look beyond the "records of the Craft" to the further documentary evidence, which adds to their authority by extending the antiquity of their text.

The Halliwell and Cooke MSS. contain no mention of "Naymus Grecus," though they both take us back to an earlier stage of the Craft Legend, and concur in placing the inception of

[1] *Ante*, p. 206.

[2] Halliwell MS., lines 61, 62; *ante*, p. 221.

[3] "Euclid of Alexandria lived, according to Proclus, in the time of the first Ptolemy, B.C. 323-283, and seems to have been the founder of the Alexandrian school of mathematics. His best known work is his *Elements*, which was translated from the Arabic by Adelard of Bath about 1130" (Globe Encyclopædia, *s.v.* Euclid).

[4] J. O. Halliwell, Rara Mathematica, 2d edition, 1841, pp. 56, 57.

[5] Line 2. It should be borne in mind that the expressions, *boke of chargys* and *olde boke*, occur in the *first* legend only of either MS.

[6] Cooke, History and Articles of Masonry, pp. 61, 63.

Masonry, as an art, in Egypt. On this point the testimony of all the early Masonic documents may be said to be in accord.

Now, without professing an extravagant love of traditions, "these unwritten voices of old time, which hang like mists in the air," I do not feel at liberty to summarily dismiss this idea as a mere visionary supposition, a thing of air and fancy.

Later, we shall approach the subject of "degrees in Masonry," when the possible influence of the ancient civilisation of Egypt, upon the ceremonial observances of all secret societies commemorated in history, cannot but suggest itself as a factor not wholly to be excluded, when considering so important a question.

It may therefore be convenient, if I here temporarily abandon my main *thesis*, and taking the land of Masonic origin, according to the Halliwell and other MSS., as the text upon which to construct a brief dissertation, pursue the inquiry it invites, to such a point, as may render unnecessary any further reference to the "great clerk Euclid," and at the same time be of service in our subsequent investigation, with regard to the origin and descent of the degrees known in Masonry.

"The irradiations of the mysteries of Egypt shine through and animate the secret doctrines of Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy." [1]

In the opinion of Mr Heckethorn, "the mysteries as they have come down to us, and are still perpetuated, in a corrupted and aimless manner, in Freemasonry, have chiefly an astronomical bearing." [2] The same writer, whose freedom from any bias in favour of our Society is attested by the last sentence, goes on to say—and his remarks are of value, as well from being those of a careful and learned writer, as by showing to us the historical relationship between Freemasonry and the Secret Societies of antiquity, which is deemed to exist by a dispassionate and acute critic, who is not of ourselves.

"In all the mysteries," he observes, "we encounter a God, a superior being, or an extraordinary man suffering death, to recommence a more glorious existence; everywhere the remembrance of a grand and mournful event plunges the nations into grief and mourning, immediately followed by the most lively joy. Osiris is slain by Typhon, Uranus by Saturn, Adonis by a wild boar, Ormuzd is conquered by Ahrimanes; Atys and Mithras and Hercules kill themselves; Abel is slain by Cain, Balder by Loke,[3] Bacchus by the giants; the Assyrians mourn the death of Thammuz, the Scythians and Phœnicians that of Acmon, all nature that of the great Pan, the Freemasons that of Hiram, and so on." [4]

As it is, however, with the mysteries of Egypt that we are chiefly concerned, I shall limit my observations on the mythological systems, to that of the country which according to the traditions of the Craft was the birth-place of Masonry.

The legendary life of Isis and Osiris, as detailed by Plutarch, tells us that Osiris had two natures, being partly god and partly man. Having been entrapped by the wicked Typhon[5] into a chest, he was thrown into the Nile. His body being with difficulty recovered by Isis,

[1] Heckethorn, Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, 1875, vol. i., p. 78. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[3] *Cf.* Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, pp. 408, 410.

[4] Heckethorn, Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol. i., pp. 23, 24.

[5] Heckethorn observes—"Osiris symbolises the sun. He is killed by Typhon, a serpent engendered by the mud of the Nile. But Typhon is a transposition of Python, derived from the Greek word πύθω, 'to putrefy,' and means nothing else but the noxious vapours arising from steaming mud, and thus concealing the sun" (Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol, i., pp. 67, 68).

and hidden, it was again found by Typhon, and the limbs scattered to the four winds. These his wife and sister Isis collected and put together, and Osiris returned to life, but not on earth. He became judge of the dead.[1]

Osiris, who is said to have been a king of Egypt, "applied himself towards civilising his countrymen, by turning them from their former indigent and barbarous course of life; he moreover taught them how to cultivate and improve the fruits of the earth; he gave them a body of laws to regulate their conduct by, and instructed them in that reverence and worship, which they were to pay to the Gods; with the same good disposition he afterwards travelled over the rest of the world, inducing the people everywhere to submit to his discipline, not indeed compelling them by force of arms, but persuading them to yield to the strength of his reasons, which were conveyed to them, in the most agreeable manner, in hymns and songs accompanied with instruments of music."[2]

Such a god was certain to play an important part in the funereal customs of the Egyptians; and we learn from Herodotus,[3] when writing of embalming, that "certain persons are appointed by law to exercise this art as their peculiar business; and when a dead body is brought them they produce patterns of mummies in wood, imitated in painting, the most elaborate of which are said to be of him, whose name I do not think it right to mention on this occasion."

Sir Gardner Wilkinson[4] has an interesting remark on the above passage "with regard to what Herodotus says of the wooden figures kept as patterns for mummies, the most elaborate of which represented Osiris. All the Egyptians who from their virtues were admitted to the mansions of the blessed were permitted to assume the form and name of this deity.[5] It was not confined to the rich alone, who paid for the superior kind of embalming, or to those mummies which were sufficiently well made to assume the form of Osiris; and Herodotus should therefore have confined his remark to those which were of so inferior a kind as not to imitate the figure of a man. For we know that the second class of mummies were put up in the same form of Osiris."

The discloser of truth and goodness on earth was Osiris, and what better form could be taken after death than such a benefactor? It is not very clear at what period the deceased took upon himself this particular form, though it seems possible that it was immediately after death; but it may be noticed that the term Osiris or Osirian[6] is not applied in papyri or inscriptions to the deceased before the time of the XIXth dynasty, or about 1460 years B.C. With the dead was buried a papyrus or manuscript—a copy of the Ritual, or Book of the Dead, as it is called. This work, although varying in completeness at different periods and instances, was, "according to Egyptian notions, essentially an inspired work; and the term Hermetic, so often applied by profane writers to these books, in reality means inspired. It is Thoth himself who speaks and reveals the will of the gods, and the mysterious nature of divine things in man. This Hermetic character is claimed for the books in several places, where 'the hieroglyphs' or theological writings, and 'the sacred books of Thoth,' the divine

[1] Plutarchi de Iside et Osiride Liber, Samuel Squire, Cambridge, 1744, p. 15 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17. [3] Herod., ii. 86.

[4] Sir J. G. Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, edit. 1878 (Dr Birch), vol. iii., p. 473.

[5] "The Mysteries of Osiris," says Heckethorn, "formed the third degree, or summit of Egyptian initiation. In these the legend of the murder of Osiris by his brother Typhon was represented, and the god was personated by the candidate" (Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol. i., p. 75).

[6] Birch, Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. viii., p. 141.

scribe, are personified. Portions of them are expressly stated to have been written by the very finger of Thoth himself, and to have been the composition of a great God."[1]

Dr Birch[2] continues in the valuable introduction to his translation of this sacred book: "They were, in fact, in the highest degree mystical, and profound secrets to the uninitiated in the sacred theology, as stated in the rubrics attached to certain chapters, while their real purport was widely different." "Some of the rubrical directions apply equally to the human condition before as after death; the great facts connected with it are its trials and justification. The deceased, like Osiris, is the victim of diabolical influences, but the good soul ultimately triumphs over all its enemies by its *gnosis* or knowledge of celestial and infernal mysteries."[3] In fact, it may be said that all these dangers and trials, culminating in the Hall of the two Truths, where the deceased is brought face to face with his judge Osiris—whose representative he has been, so to speak, in his passage through the hidden world,—only "represented the idea common to the Egyptians and other philosophers, that to die was only to assume a new form; that nothing was annihilated; and that dissolution was merely the forerunner of reproduction."[4]

Space would not allow, nor is it necessary here, to enter into a discussion of the various beliefs as to night and darkness being intimately connected with the creation and re-creation of existences. The Egyptians, we learn from Damascius, asserted nothing of the first principle of things, but celebrated it as a thrice unknown *darkness* transcending all intellectual perception. Drawing a distinction between night and the primeval darkness or night, from which all created nature had its commencement, they gave to each its special deity.

Death was also represented in the Pantheon, but was distinct from Nephthys, called the sister goddess in reference to her relationship to Osiris and Isis. As Isis was the beginning, so Nephthys was the end, and thus forms one of the triad of the lower regions. All persons who died, therefore, were thought to pass through her influence into a future state, and being born again, and assuming the title of Osiris, each individual had become the son of Nut, even as the great ruler of the lower world, Osiris, to whose name he was entitled when admitted to the mansions of the blessed. The worship of Death and Darkness, as intermediate to another form, seems to have been universal. Erebos, although personified, which in itself signifies darkness, was therefore applied to the dark and gloomy space under the earth, through which the shades were supposed to pass into Hades; indeed, all such ideas must have played an important part in the symbolical representations of the ancient mysteries.[5] Among the Jews darkness was applied to night, the grave, and oblivion alike, and we find the use of the well-known expression,—darkness and the shadow of death.[6]

The idea of death as a means of reproduction is beautifully expressed in the text:[7] "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die it beareth

[1] Bunsen, Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. v., 1867 (Birch), p. 134.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[4] Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 468.
[5] "In the mysteries all was astronomical, but a deeper meaning lay hid under the astronomical symbols. While bewailing the loss of the sun, the epopts were in reality mourning the loss of that light whose influence is life. . . . The passing of the sun through the signs of the Zodiac gave rise to the myths of the incantations of Vishnu, the labours of Hercules, etc., his apparent loss of power during the winter season, and the restoration thereof at the winter solstice, to the story of the death, descent into hell, and resurrection of Osiris and of Mithras" (Heckethorn, Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol. i., pp. 19, 20).
[6] Job x. 21; xxviii. 3, etc.
[7] St John xii. 24.

much fruit." Baptism and reception into the Church by washing away, and entire change of condition, is, in fact, a form of death and new birth.

As bearing on this point, a carefully written article[1] by the late Rev. Wharton B. Marriott will well repay perusal. When explaining one of the terms used to designate baptism, he observes: *Terms of Initiation or Illumination.* "The idea of baptism being an initiation (*μύησις μυσταγωγία τελετὴ*) into Christian mysteries, an enlightenment (*φωτισμὸς, illuminatio, illustratio*) of the darkened understanding, belonged naturally to the primitive ages of the Church, when Christian doctrine was still taught under great reserve to all but the baptized, and when adult baptism, requiring previous instruction, was still of prevailing usage. Most of the Fathers interpreted the *φωτισθέντες*, 'once enlightened,' of Heb. vi. 4, as referring to baptism. In the middle of the second century (Justin M., *Apol.* II.) we find proof that 'illumination' was already a received designation of baptism. And at a later time (S. Cyril Hieros, *Catech. passim*) *οἱ φωτιζόμενοι* (illuminandi) occurs as a technical term for those under preparation for baptism, *οἱ φωτισθέντες* of those already baptized. So *οἱ ἀμύητοι* and *οἱ μεμυημένοι*, the uninitiated and the initiated, are contrasted by Sozomen, *H. E.*, lib. i., c. 3."

Much curious information will be found in the quotations from the *Catecheses* of St Cyril of Jerusalem,[2] with reference to the ritual of that city, A.D. 347. Those to be baptized assembled on Easter eve[3] in the outer chamber of the baptistry, and, facing towards the west, as being the place of darkness, and of the powers thereof, with outstretched hand, made open renunciation of Satan; then turning themselves about, and with face towards the east, "the place of Light," they declared their belief in the Trinity, baptism, and repentance. This said they went forward into the inner chamber of the baptistry.

The figurative language of St Cyril, we are told, makes evident allusions to the accompanying ceremonial of the Easter rite. This was celebrated, as is well known, on the eve and during the night preceding Easter Day. "The use of artificial light, thus rendered necessary, was singularly in harmony with the occasion, and with some of the thoughts most prominently associated with it."

This being a most important Catholic ceremony, it will not be uninteresting to give a short account of it from another source.

Dr England, in his description of the ceremonies of the Holy Week, in the chapels of the Vatican, observes: "On these days [Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of the holy week] the church rejects from her office all that has been introduced to express joy. The first invocations are omitted, no invitatory is made, no hymn is sung, the nocturn commences by the antiphon of the first psalm; the versicle and responsory end the choral chaunt, for no absolution is said; the lessons are also said without blessing asked or received; no chapter at Lauds, but the *Miserere* follows the canticle, and precedes the prayer, which is said without any salutation of the people by the *Dominus vobiscum*, even without the usual notice of *Oremus*. The celebrant also lowers his voice towards the termination of the petition itself; thus the *Amen* is not said by the people, as on other occasions, nor is the doxology found in any part of the service.

"This office is called the *tenebrae* or darkness. Authors are not agreed as to the reason. Some inform us that the appellation was given, because formerly it was celebrated in the

[1] Smith, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, *art.* Baptism, p. 155.

[2] Easter Eve was the chief time for the baptism of catechumens.

[3] *Ibid.*, p 157.

darkness of midnight; others say that the name is derived from the obscurity in which the church is left at the conclusion of the office, when the lights are extinguished. The only doubt which suggests itself regarding the correctness of this latter derivation, arises from the fact, that Theodore, the Archdeacon of the holy Roman church informed Amalarius, who wrote about the year 840, that the lights were not extinguished in his time in the church of St John of Lateran on holy Thursday; but the context does not make it so clear that the answer regarded this office of mattins and lauds, or if it did, the church of St John then followed a different practice from that used by most others, and by Rome itself for many ages since."

"The office of Wednesday evening, then, is the mattins and lauds of thursday morning in their most simple and ancient style, stripped of every circumstance which could excite to joy, or draw the mind from contemplating the grief of the man of sorrows. At the epistle side of the sanctuary, however, an unusual object presents itself to our view: it is a large candlestick, upon whose summit a triangle is placed; on the sides ascending to the apex of this figure, are fourteen yellow candles, and one on the point itself. Before giving the explanation generally received respecting the object of it's present introduction, we shall mention what has been said by some others. These lights, and those upon the altar, are extinguished during the office. All are agreed that one great object of this extinction is to testify grief and mourning. Some writers, who seem desirous of making all our ceremonial find its origin in mere natural causes, tell us that it is but the preservation of the old-fashioned light which was used in former times when this office was celebrated at night, and that the present gradual extinction of its candles, one after the other, is also derived from the original habit of putting out the lights successively, as the morning began to grow more clear, until the brightness of full day enabled the readers to dispense altogether with any artificial aid. These gentlemen, however, have been rather unfortunate in generally causing all this to occur in the catacombs, into which the rays of the eastern sun could not easily find their way, at least with such power as to supersede the use of lights. They give us no explanation of the difference of colour in the candles which existed, and still exists in many places, the upper one being white and the others yellow, nor of the form of this triangle. Besides, in some churches all the candles were extinguished at once, in several by a hand made of wax, to represent that of Judas; in others, they were all quenched by a moist sponge passed over them, to shew the death of Christ, and on the next day fire was struck from a flint, by which they were again kindled to shew his resurrection. . . .

"The number of lights was by no means, everywhere the same; . . . and in some churches they were extinguished at once, in others at two, three, or more intervals. . . . In the Sixtine chapel there are also six upon the balustrade, which, however, are extinguished by a beadle, at the same time that those upon the altar are put out by the master of ceremonies; nor is the candle upon the point of the triangle, in this chapel, of a different colour from the others."

The explanation adopted by Dr England is that which informs us that the candles arranged along the sides of the triangle represent the patriarchs and prophets. John the Baptist being the last of the prophetic band, but his light was more resplendent than that of the others. The ceremony is based on the Redemption, and, preparatory to the closing scene, the last "remaining candle is concealed under the altar, the prayer is in silence, and a sudden

noise[1] reminds us of the convulsions of nature at the Saviour's death. But the light has not been extinguished, it has been only covered for a time; it will be produced still burning, and shedding its light around." [2]

As mentioned above, the ceremony of baptism was preceded by a formula of renunciation, pronounced by the catechumen. He was at that time divested of his upper garment, standing barefoot and in his *chiton* (shirt) only, being required to make three separate renunciations in answer to questions put to him whilst facing the west, and before he was turned towards the east.[3] The renunciation of something gone before was followed by a formal ceremony of admission; and this appears to have been the universal rule, as such admission necessarily indicated a change. Persons applying for admission to the Order were to stay at the gate many days, be taught prayers and psalms, and were then put to the trial of fitness in renunciation of the world, and other ascetical pre-requisites.[4]

Although monasticism, or the renunciation of the world, was widely established in Southern and Western Europe, it was the Rule founded by Saint Benedict, born A.D. 480, who died probably about 542, that gave *stability* to what had hitherto been fluctuating and incoherent. According to his system, the vow of self-addiction to the monastery became more stringent, and its obligation more lasting. The vow was to be made with all possible solemnity, in the chapel, before the relics in the shrine, with the abbot and all the brethren standing by; and once made, it was to be irrevocable—"Vestigia nulla retrorsum." [5]

"But the great distinction of Benedict's Rule was the substitution of study for the comparative uselessness of mere manual labour. Not that his monks were to be less laborious; rather they were to spend more time in work; but their work was to be less servile, of the head as well as of the hand, beneficial to future ages, not merely furnishing sustenance for the bodily wants of the community or for almsgiving." [6]

The Rule of St Benedict for some time reigned alone in Europe, and very many were the magnificent buildings raised by the care and energy of the members of the Order; it would be endless to enumerate the celebrated men the Order has produced.

As the first, and perhaps the greatest of all the religious Orders, and the one which, as before mentioned, fixed in a definite manner the *regulæ* or rules of such brotherhoods, it will not be out of place to give a short account of the formal ceremony of reception into the Order; the more particularly as it bears on the subject upon which I have lightly touched in the last few pages, viz., Darkness, as connected with death and initiation. I am indebted to Mr William Simpson, who himself witnessed the ceremony, for the following account:—

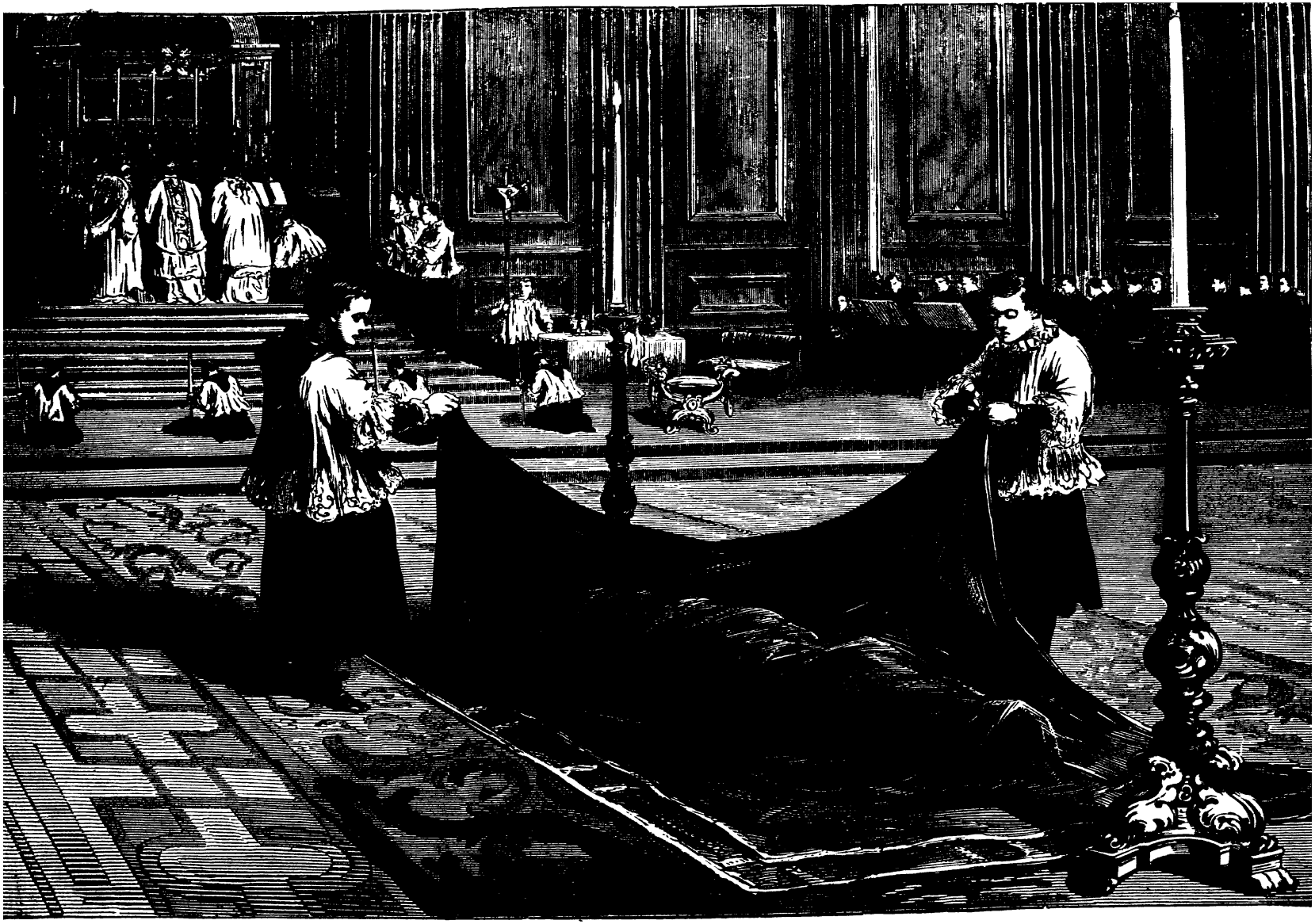
"St Paul's without the walls [of Rome] is a basilica church, and in the apse behind the high altar an altar had been fitted up. The head of the Benedictines is a mitred abbot. On this morning, the 1st Jan. 1870, the abbot was sitting as I entered the church, with mitre on head and crosier in hand. Soon after our entrance a young man was led up to the abbot, who placed a black cowl on his head. The young man then descended the steps, went on his knees, put his hands as in the act of prayer, when each of the monks present came up, and,

[1] Made by striking books together.

[2] Dr J. England, Bishop of Charleston, Explanation of the Ceremonies of the Holy Week in the Chapels of the Vatican, etc., Rome, 1833, p. 48 *et seq.*

[3] Smith, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, p. 160. [4] Fosbroke, British Monachism, 1843, p. 14.

[5] Smith, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, *art.* Benedictine Rule, p. 187. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 189.



also on their knees, kissed him in turn. When they had finished, a velvet cloth, black, with gold or silver embroidery on it, was spread in front of the altar; on this the young man lay down, and a black silk pall was laid over him. Thus, under semblance of a state of death, he lay while mass was celebrated by the abbot. When this was finished, one of the deacons of the mass approached where the young man lay, and muttered a few words from a book he held in his hand. I understood that the words used were from the Psalms, and were to this effect—'Oh thou that sleepest, arise to everlasting life.' The man then rose, was led to the altar, where, I think, he received the sacrament, and then took his place among the *Brotherhood.* That was the end of the ceremony. The young man was an American; I could not learn his name, but after he became a monk it was to be Jacobus."[1]

Before passing away from the mysterious learning of the East, a few remarks concerning two of the most powerful of the secret societies of the Middle Ages will not be out of place. The symbols, metaphors, and emblems of the Freemasons, have been divided by Dr Armstrong into three different species. First, such as are derived from the various forms of heathenism—the sun, the serpent, light, and darkness; Secondly, such as are derived from the Mason's craft, as the square and compasses; and Thirdly, those which are derived from the Holy Land, the Temple of Solomon, the East, the Ladder of Jacob, etc.

The first two species of symbols—those derived from heathen worship and from the Mason's craft—he finds in the Vehmic Institution, and the third, being "of a *crusading* character," he considers favours the assumption of a connection between the Freemasons and the Templars. It is further observed by the same writer, that the secret societies borrowed their rites of initiation, their whole apparatus of mystery, from heathen systems; and we are asked to remember that the Holy Vehme was in the height of its power during the fourteenth century, and that it was in that century that the sun of the Templars set so stormily.[2]

The history of the Knights Templars has been sufficiently alluded to in earlier chapters,[3] but the procedure of the Holy Vehme, though lightly touched upon at a previous page,[4] may again be briefly referred to. This is, indeed, in a measure essential, if all the evidence which may assist in guiding us to a rational conclusion, with respect to many obscure points connected with our Masonic ceremonial, is to be spread out before my readers.

It has been well observed, that "in all lodge constituent elements and appointments, the track is broad and direct to a Gothic origin."[5] Now, leaving undecided the question whether this is the result of assimilation or descent,[6] if we follow Sir F. Palgrave, the Vehmic Tribunals can only be considered as the original jurisdictions of the "Old Saxons" which survived the subjugation of their country. "The singular and mystic forms of initiation, the system of

[1] In a letter dated Jan. 3, 1884, Mr Simpson informs me: "This is the account from my diary [1870] written on the day of the ceremony." The annexed Plate is from a drawing by Mr Simpson, which appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 26, 1870.

[2] The Christian Remembrancer, vol. xiv., 1847, pp. 13-15.

[3] Chaps. I., pp. 8, 10; V., p. 245; and XI., pp. 498-504. [4] Chap. V., p. 250.

[5] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 183. "Points of identity between lodge operations and mediæval courts are of too frequent occurrence to be merely accidental" (*Ibid.*, p. 272).

[6] It may be usefully borne in mind, that the regulations by which the Craft was governed prior to 1723, were termed by the Masons of that era, the "Old *Gothic* Constitutions." *Cf.* Chaps. II., p. 103; VII., p. 351; and XV., p. 208.

enigmatical phrases, the use of signs and symbols of recognition, may probably be ascribed to the period when the whole system was united to the worship of the Deities of Vengeance, and when the sentence was pronounced by the Doomsmen, assembled, like the Asi of old, before the altars of Thor or Woden. Of this connection with ancient pagan policy, so clearly to be traced in the Icelandic courts, the English territorial jurisdictions offer some very faint vestiges;[1] but the mystery had long been dispersed, and the whole system passed into the ordinary machinery of the law."[2]

Charlemagne, according to the traditions of Westphalia, was the founder of the Vehmic Tribunal; and it was supposed that he instituted the court for the purpose of coercing the Saxons, ever ready to relapse into the idolatry from which they had been reclaimed, not by persuasion, but by the sword.[3] This opinion, however, in the judgment of Sir F. Palgrave, is not confirmed either by documentary evidence or by contemporary historians, and he adds, "if we examine the proceedings of the Vehmic Tribunal, we shall see that, in principle, it differs in no essential character from the summary jurisdiction exercised in the townships and hundreds of Anglo-Saxon England."[4]

The supreme government of the Vehmic Tribunals was vested in the great or general Chapter, before which all the members were liable to account for their acts.[5] No rank of life excluded a person from the right of being initiated, and in a Vehmic code discovered at Dortmund, the perusal of which was forbidden to the profane under pain of death, three degrees are mentioned.[6] The procedure at the secret meetings is somewhat obscure. A Friegraff presided, while the court itself was composed of Freischöffen, also termed Scabini or Echevins. The members were of two classes, the uninitiated and initiated (*Wissenden* or *wise men*), the latter only, who were admitted under a strict and singular bond of secrecy, being privileged to attend the "Heimliche Acht," or secret tribunal.[7]

At initiation the candidate took a solemn oath to support with his whole powers the Holy Vehme, to conceal its proceedings "from wife and child, father and mother, sister and brother, fire and wind, from all that the sun shines on and the rain wets, and from every being between heaven and earth," and to bring before the tribunal everything within his knowledge that fell under its jurisdiction. He was then initiated into the signs by which the members recognised each other, and was presented with a rope and a knife, upon which were engraved the mystic letters S. S. G. G.,[8] whose signification is still involved in doubt, but which are supposed to mean *strick, stein, gras, grein.*[9]

The ceremonies of the court were of a symbolic character; before the Friegraff stood a

[1] *E.g.*, the strange ceremony of the "Gathering of the Ward Staff" in Ongar Hundred, possesses a similarity to the style of the Free Field Court of Corbey. See Palgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. cxliv., clviii.

[2] Palgrave, The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, 1832, Part II., p. clvi.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. clv. [4] Palgrave, *loc cit.* *Ibid.*, p. cli.

[6] Heckethorn, Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol. i., p. 200.

[7] Palgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. cxlix., cli.

[8] Heckethorn states that the initials S. S. S. G. G. have been found in Vehmic writings preserved in the archives of Hertfort, in Westphalia, and by some are explained as meaning *stock, stein, strick, gras, grein*, stick, stone, cord, grass, woe (Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol. i., p. 201).

[9] Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edit. For the preliminary procedure at the reception of a candidate, see Chap. V., p. 250.

table, on which were placed a naked sword and a cord of withe [or *willow twigs*].[1] There was no mystery in the assembly of the Heimliche Acht. Under the oak or under the lime-tree the judges assembled, in broad daylight and before the eye of heaven.[2]

"In England," observes Sir F. Palgrave, "the ancient mode of assembling the suitors of the Hundred 'beneath the sky,' continued to be retained with very remarkable steadiness. Within memory, at least within the memory of those who flourished when English topography began to be studied, the primeval custom still flourished throughout the realm." "It is remarkable," he continues, "that on the Continent there appears to be very few subsisting traces of popular courts held in the open air, except in Scandinavia and its dependencies, where the authority of Charlemagne did not extend; in Westphalia, where the Vehmic Tribunals retained, as I have supposed, their pristine Saxon law; and in 'Free Freisland,' the last stronghold of Teutonic liberty."[3]

During the proceedings of the Heimliche Acht all had their heads and hands uncovered, and wore neither arms nor weapons, that no one might feel fear, and to indicate that they were under the peace of the empire.[4] At meals the members are said to have recognised each other by turning the points of their knives towards the edge, and the points of their forks towards the centre of the table.[5]

Although the Vehmgerichte or secret criminal courts of Westphalia existed, at least in name, until as late as the middle of the eighteenth century,[6] the history of the Association or Society is still enveloped in the utmost obscurity. Like many other subjects, however, upon which the light of modern research has but faintly beamed, its consideration was essential in this history, though for any success which may attend the method of treatment which has been adopted, I am chiefly indebted to a long-forgotten article on "Ancient and Modern Freemasonry," from the pen of the late Dr Armstrong, Bishop of Grahamstown—an extract from which will conclude this dissertation.

According to the Bishop all the views formed of the Masonic body, stand, like Chinese women, on small feet, on the slender foundation of a few facts. The views, however, of the principal writers on the subject, he considers may be ranged into two classes,—the one maintaining that the fraternity was originally a corporation of Architects and Masons, employed solely on ecclesiastical works, composed of persons of all ranks and countries, and moving from place to place during the great church-building periods; the other asserting that it was a

[1] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, p. 878.

[2] Palgrave, *op. cit.*, p. cliv. The form of opening the court was probably by a dialogue between the Freigraff and an Echevin, as in the analogous procedure of the Free Field Court of Corbey (*Ibid.*, p. cxlv.). *Cf.* Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, chap. xxv., *passim*.

[3] Palgrave, The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Part II., p. clviii. *Cf. ante*, p. 229.

[4] Mackey, *loc. cit.*

[5] Heckethorn, Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol. i., p. 201. Sir Walter Scott, in his novel "Anne of Geierstein," in which he unfolds to us somewhat of the mysterious history of the Holy Vehme, makes use of a judicial dialogue, the rhymes of which, by a perhaps excusable poetic licence, he has transferred from the Free Field Court of Corbey to the Free Vehmic Tribunal.

[6] Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Part II., p. clvii. According to Heckethorn it was not till French legislation, in 1811, abolished the last free court in the county of Münster, that they may be said to have ceased to exist; and not very many years ago, certain citizens in that locality assembled secretly every year, boasting of their descent from the ancient free judges (Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries, vol. i., p. 205).

first presumed to commit it to *Writing:* But (what seems most to the present Purpose) the perfection of their Skill consisted in what the *Dissector*[1] calls *Lettering of it,*[2] or by ordering the Letters of a Word in a particular Manner."[3]

In order to estimate the comparative trustworthiness of literate, symbolical, and oral traditions, when in either case their aid is sought in lifting the veil of darkness which obscures the remote past of our Society, it will be necessary to pass in review the opinions of some writers, by whom the inferences deducible from symbols are held to outnumber and outweigh those handed down by letters or by memory. Thus, in the judgment of the historian, from whose interesting and instructive work on the "Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries" I have already quoted: "From the first appearance of man on the earth, there was a highly favoured and civilised race, possessing a full knowledge of the laws and properties of nature, and which knowledge was embodied in mystical figures and schemes, such as were deemed appropriate emblems for its preservation and propagation. These figures and schemes are preserved in Masonry, though their meaning is no longer understood by the fraternity. The aim of all secret societies, except of those which were purely political, was to preserve such knowledge as still survived, or to recover what had been lost. Freemasonry, being the *resumé* of the teachings of all these societies, possesses dogmas in accordance with some which were taught in the Ancient Mysteries and other associations, though it is impossible to attribute its origin to any specific society preceding it." Finally, according to this writer, Freemasonry is—or rather ought to be—the compendium of all primitive and accumulated human knowledge.[4]

From this flattering description I turn to one from the competent hand of the author of "The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry,"[5] but shall first of all seize the opportunity of saying a few prefatory words explanatory of the estimation in which I regard both the work referred to, and also its talented author. To slightly paraphrase the words of Sir F. Palgrave:[6] Whoever now composes the early history of Freemasonry has to contend against great disadvantages. All the freshness of the subject is lost, whilst many of the perplexities remain to be solved. Upon first consideration, it seems almost superfluous to multiply details of things popularly or vulgarly known, and equally objectionable to pass them over. Yet the historian will often find himself compelled to abridge what

[1] *I.e.*, Samuel Prichard. *Cf. ante*, pp. 9, 47.

[2] The Cabbala is divided into two kinds, the *Practical* and the *Theoretical.* The latter is again divided into the Dogmatic and the Literal. The Literal Cabbala teaches a mystical mode of explaining sacred things by a peculiar use of the letters of words, and a reference to their value. This is further subdivided into three species, Gematria—evidently a rabbinical corruption of the Greek γεω-μετρία—Notaricon, and Temura (Ginsburg, The Kabbalah).

[3] Constitutions, 1738, appendix, p. 221. Although the subject is headed "A Defence of Masonry, publish'd A.D. 1730. Occasion'd by a Pamphlet call'd Masonry Dissected" (*Ibid.*, p. 216). I am aware of no copy of earlier date than 1738. Dr Anderson is said to have been the author, but, besides being unlike any piece of composition *known* to be his, the thanks which are offered him at p. 226 of the Constitutions "for *printing* the Clever Defence," by a member of his own lodge—the "Horn," now Royal Somerset House and Inverness No. 4—who signs himself "Euclid," militate strongly against such a conclusion.

[4] Heckethorn, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 248, 249.

[5] By G. F. Fort, 4th edit., Philadelphia (Bradley & Co.), 1881.

[6] History of Normandy and of England, vol. i., p. 94.

others have considered leading passages of history, and at the same time to invest with apparently disproportionate importance the topics which his predecessors have disregarded. If an edifice has one principal façade, the views taken by different artists will be pretty nearly the same; but this is not the case where there are diversified and irregular portions, presenting many fronts, each claiming attention for their use, ornament, singularity, or grandeur. The aspect selected in one picture will be seen only in rapid perspective in another, and in a third quite cast into the shade.

The artist cannot change his position whilst he is working, or represent the same thing under two aspects at a time. No persons can see the same object in the same way.

Therefore, instead of quarrelling with a writer because his mode of treating history differs from that which we should have preferred, we should rather thank him for affording us the opportunity of contemplating the Masonic Edifice from a position which we cannot reach, or in which we should not like to place ourselves. *Historians can never supersede each other.* No one historian can give all we wish, or teach all we ought to learn; neither can comparisons fairly be instituted between them, for no two are identical in their views, no two possess the same idiosyncrasies, the same opportunities, the same opinions, the same intentions, the same mind. History cannot be read off-hand; it must be studied—studied by investigation and comparison—otherwise it profits no more, perhaps less, than Palmerin of England or Amadis of Gaul.

Fort has succeeded, where all his predecessors have failed—that is in rendering the study of our antiquities an attractive task. This, of itself, is no slight merit, but the value of his work is by no means confined to its literary execution. The old-world libraries appear to have been ransacked to some purpose by the author, during his occasional visits to Europe, and we are the more disposed to admire the lucidity of the text, from the copious extracts and references to authorities, which, in the notes, attest, so to speak, the prodigality of his research. In chapter xxv. of his history, the symbolical traditions, which have come down to us, are closely examined, and compared with the cognate symbolism, and the metaphorical analogies of Gothic origin.

Thus he demonstrates beyond the shadow of a doubt, that many usages *now* in vogue among Masons had their counterparts, if not their originals, in the Middle Ages, but in two respects, as it appears to me, the analogy requires fortifying, if it is to sustain the natural inference which will be drawn from it by the generality of readers. Fort's "History" is one of those captivating works which are read by many who, though well informed on other subjects, are wholly unacquainted with the "Antiquities of Freemasonry," and are not really studying, or particularly curious, with respect to them. They do, however, almost unconsciously, or at least unintentionally, form an opinion respecting that subject "from broad general statements and little detached facts," one being very commonly given as if it were a sufficient voucher for the other, and both coming in quite incidentally as matters perfectly notorious—as matters so far from wanting proof themselves, that they are only brought in to prove other things.[1]

Now I am far from suggesting that at any portion of his history, Fort has withheld

[1] *Cf.* Dr Maitland's Observations on Dr Warton's History of English Poetry (The Dark Ages, 2d edit., note B.).

information from his readers, that in his judgment might have modified the conclusions at which they are asked to arrive on the authority of his personal statement. On the contrary, the positions advanced by this writer are frequently so fortified by references as to be conclusive beyond what the mind altogether wishes, but in the present instance, and in the exercise of an undoubted discretion—to which I have previously alluded, as the special province of the historian—having clearly established in his own mind certain *facts*, these appeared so incontrovertible as to justify the exclusion of the details by which they were supported. But no one, I am sure, would more heartily concur in the golden rule of criticism, that TRUTH is the great object to be sought, and not the maintenance of an opinion, because it was once expressed. *Evidence* must always modify critical opinions, when that evidence affects the data on which such opinions were formed; it must be so at least on the part of those who really desire to be guided on any definite principles.[1]

The parallelism which has been drawn between the symbolism of Freemasonry and that of institutions which flourished in the Middle Ages, is wanting in completeness. In the first place, and if we begin with the proceedings or usages of the latter upon which the analogy has been built up, I see no reason why any pause should be made in our inquiry when we reach the Middle Ages. That era, no doubt, as well as the societies or associations coeval with it, is interesting to the archæologist, if it fixes either a date or a channel, calculated to elucidate the transmission of Masonic science from the more remote past. Yet as the greater number, not to go further, of the analogies or similarities, which are so much dwelt upon, have their exemplars in the Mysteries—to the extent that they are identical—we might with as much justice claim Egypt as the land of Masonic origin,[2] as limit our pretensions to a derivation from the Vehmic Tribunals of Westphalia. In the Mysteries we meet with dialogue, ritual, darkness, light, death, and reproduction,[3] all of which reappear in the Benedictine ceremony of which a description has been given. It admits of no doubt that the rites and theological expressions of the Egyptians were of universal acceptation. Indeed, we are expressly told by Warburton—after remarking that the Fathers of the Church bore a secret grudge to the Mysteries for their injudicious treatment of Christianity on its first appearance in the world:—"But here comes in the surprising part of the story—that, after this, they should so studiously and affectedly transfer the *Terms*, *Phrases*, *Rites*, *Ceremonies*, and *Discipline* of these *odious Mysteries* into our holy Religion; and thereby, very early viciate and deprave, what a Pagan Writer (Marcellinus) could see and acknowledge, was ABSOLUTA & SIMPLEX, [perfect and pure] as it came out of the Hands of its divine Author."[4]

The objection I have hitherto raised to the theory which has been based upon the symbolical traditions of the Freemasons, is one rather of form than of substance, but the ground on which I shall next venture to impeach its value, goes to the root of the whole matter, and, unless my judgment is wholly at fault, clearly proves that the parallel sought

[1] *Cf.* Tregelles, The Greek New Testament, p. 43.

[2] This was, in effect, maintained by Mr Clinch, whose comparison of the ceremonies of the Pythagoreans and the Freemasons, where he instances no less than fifteen points of similarity, is prefaced by the words—"*The Pythagoreans introduced their mystic rites from Egypt*" (Anthologia Hibernica, vol. iii., 1794, pp. 183, 184; *ante*, Chap. I., p. 8).

[3] Chap. I., pp. 12, 15, 19.

[4] Divine Legation, vol. i., 1738, p. 172. *Cf. ante*, Chap. I., p. 16.

to be established, is unsupported by the only evidence which could invest it with authority.

If, indeed, many of the rites, symbols, and beliefs, *now* prevalent among Masons, correspond with, or are analogous to, those supposed to have been common to the members of earlier and distinct societies,[1] to what extent is this material in our consideration of the Freemasonry of Ashmole's time, and the Masonic "customs" referred to by Dr Plot?

De Quincey, in the volume of his general works, to which I have so frequently referred, very justly observes—"We must not forget that the Rosicrucian and Masonic orders were not originally at all points what they now are: they have passed through many changes, and no inconsiderable part of their symbols, etc., has been the product of successive generations."[2]

Without further referring to the Rosicrucian fraternity, than to direct attention[3] to where the Brethren of the Rosy Cross are stated to have been one of the intermediaries in passing on the mysterious learning of Egypt to our present-day Freemasons, it may be remarked, that the position taken by De Quincey is a sound one, and commends itself to our common sense.

On this principle, therefore, we might expect to find the speculative Masonry of our own time characterised by many features which were wholly absent from the earlier system. Yet if we accept the conclusions of writers who have carefully studied the comparative symbolism of past ages, it is clear, either that Masonry in its later growth, instead of changing in some degree its original character, has, on the contrary, gone back pretty nearly to the same point from which it is said to have first started, or that our speculative science was transformed into what it now is by the antiquaries and philosophers who were affiliated to the craft in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[4]

A passage from the "Defence of Masonry," first printed in 1730, and so highly esteemed by the compiler of the official "Book of Constitutions," as to have been incorporated by him in the second edition of that work, will be of service at this portion of our inquiry. The author of the *brochure* referred to, after stating that Freemasonry had been represented as being "an unintelligible Heap of Stuff and Jargon, without common Sense or Connection," thus proceeds: "I confess I am of another Opinion; tho' the *Scheme* of *Masonry*, as reveal'd by the *Dissector*,[5] seems liable to Exceptions: Nor is it so clear to me as to be fully understood at first View, by attending only to the *literal* Construction of the Words: And for aught I know, the *System*, as taught in the regular *Lodges*, may have some Redundancies or Defects, occasion'd by the Ignorance or Indolence of the old Members. And indeed, considering through what Obscurity and Darkness the *Mystery* has been deliver'd down; the many Centuries it has survived; the many Countries and Languages, and *Sects* and *Parties* it has run through; we are rather to wonder it ever arriv'd to the present Age, without more Imperfection. In short, I am apt to think that MASONRY (as it is now explain'd) has in some

[1] *Ante*, pp. 61, 62.

[2] Vol. xvi. (Suspiria de Profundis), p. 366.

[3] Chaps. I., p. 25; XIII., *passim*.

[4] Chaps. I., p. 13; XII., p. 19; XIII., pp. 60, 111, 114-116, 136-138; XVI., *sub anno* 1717.

[5] *I.e.*, Samuel Prichard.

Circumstances declined from its *original Purity!* It has run long in muddy Streams, and as it were, under Ground: But notwithstanding the great Rust it may have contracted, and the forbidding Light it is placed in by the *Dissector*, there is (if I judge right) much of the *old Fabrick* still remaining; the essential Pillars of the Building may be discover'd through the Rubbish, tho' the Superstructure be over-run with Moss and Ivy, and the Stones, by Length of Time, be disjointed. And therefore, as the BUST of an *old* HERO is of great Value among the Curious, tho' it has lost an Eye, the Nose, or the Right Hand; so MASONRY with all its Blemishes and Misfortunes, instead of appearing ridiculous, ought (in my humble Opinion) to be receiv'd with some Candour and Esteem, from a Veneration to its *Antiquity.*"[1]

The preceding extract lends no colour to the supposition, that the Masonry known to the founders of the Grand Lodge of England retained what they believed to have been its pristine excellences. On the contrary, indeed, it is evident that in their opinion the ancient "Fabrick" had sustained such ravages at the hands of time and neglect, as to raise doubts as to *how much of it* was "still remaining."

The character of the Freemasonry, which existed after the era of Grand Lodges, will be examined in the next chapter, but the reference which I have just made to it will be sufficient for my present purpose, which is, to show the futility of all speculations with regard to a direct Masonic ancestry or descent, which attempt to link together two sets of circumstances peculiar to distinct bodies and eras, without some definite guiding clue which leads directly *upwards* or *backwards*, the one from the other.

It is perfectly clear, that how much soever we may rely upon what is termed "a chain of evidence," everything will depend upon the connection and quality of its links, and if, so to speak, several of the latter are missing, our chain will be, after all, only an imaginary one, whilst the parts can only be separately used, and to the extent that the links are united.

Whatever conformity of usage, therefore, may be found in the proceedings of Lodges and of the old Gothic tribunals, it will be expedient to test the weight of the analogy by considering how far the former may be held to represent the Masonic customs of times remote from our own.

Among the ancient customs so graphically depicted by Fort, and which he compares with those of the Freemasons, there are three to which I shall briefly allude. These are—the formal opening of a court of justice with a colloquy;[2] the Frisian oath—"I swear the secrets to conceal (*helen*), hold, and not reveal;"[3] and the "gait" or procession about their realms made by the Northern Kings at their accession, imitated in the Scandinavian laws, under which, at the sale of land, the transfer of possession was incomplete until a circuit had been made around the property.[4]

[1] Dr Anderson, The New Book of Constitutions, 1738, p. 219.

[2] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 268.

[3] "Schwur das heilige geheimniss zu helen, hüten u. verwahren, vor mann, vor weib, vor dorf, vor trael, vor stok, vor stein, vor grasz, vor klein, auch vor queck" (*Ibid.*, p. 318, citing Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, pp. 52, 53). "Whoever will collate the foregoing triplets with the oath administered in the Entered Apprentice's Degree, cannot fail to avow that both have emanated from a high antiquity, if not from an identical source" (Fort, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Fort, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

To take the last custom first, Fort, after citing it, institutes the following parallel:

"During the installation ceremonies of the Master of a Masonic lodge, a procession of all the craftsmen march around the room before the Master, to whom an appropriate salute is tendered. This circuit is designed to signify that the new incumbent reduces the lodge to his possession in this symbolic manner."[1]

In all these ceremonies vestiges appear of the rite of circumambulation, or worship of the sun, to which I briefly alluded in my concluding observations on the Companionage.[2] It prevailed extensively in Britain. The old Welsh names for the cardinal points of the sky—the north being the left hand and the south the right—are signs of an ancient practice of turning to the rising sun.[3] When Martin visited the Hebrides, he saw the islanders marching in procession three times from east to west round their crops and their cattle. If a boat put out to sea, it began the voyage by making these three turns. If a welcome stranger visited one of the islands, the inhabitants passed three times round their guest. A flaming brand was carried three times round the child daily until it was christened.[4] It will be seen that, for the existence of a custom upon which a portion of the installation ceremony may have been *modelled*, we need not look beyond the British Isles, where the usage may be traced back to very ancient times. Indeed, an accurate writer observes: "The survival in remote districts of the habit of moving 'sun-wise' from east to west, may indicate the nature of the processions in which the British women walked, 'with their bodies stained by woad to an Ethiopian colour.'"[5]

But after all, this adoration of the sun which is unconsciously imitated by the Freemasons in their lodges, establishes an historical conclusion which is more curious than important. There is no evidence to show that the *degree* of Installed Master was invented before the second half of the eighteenth century, and at this day the Masters of Scottish Lodges are under no obligation to receive it.[6]

The remaining points of resemblance which await examination, between the proceedings of lodges and those of the old Gothic Tribunals, are the formal opening of both with a colloquy, and the oath or obligation administered by their authority.

To what extent, these, or any other portions of the existing lodge ceremonial, are *survivals* of more ancient customs, cannot be very accurately determined, but the evidence, such as it is, will

[1] Fort, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[2] Chap. V., p. 250.

[3] J. Rhys, Lectures on Welsh Philology, 1877, p. 10; Revue Celtique, vol. ii., p. 103.

[4] M. Martin, Account of the Western Islands of Scotland, 1716, pp. 113, 116, 140, 241, 277; Elton, Origins of English History, 1882, p. 293.

[5] Elton, *loc. cit.*, quoting Pliny, Hist. Nat., xxii. 2.

[6] Laws and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1879, pp. 2, 3. In the edition of these Constitutions in vogue in 1852, it is laid down—"The Installation of the whole of the office-bearers of a Lodge, including the Master, shall be held in a just and perfect lodge, *opened in the Apprentice Degree*, whereat, at least, three Masters, two Fellow-crafts, and two Apprentices must be present; or failing Craftsmen and Apprentices, the same number of Masters, who, for the time being, shall be held of the inferior degree" (Chap. xxi., Rule XXI.).

The postscript to the general Regulations in Dr Anderson's "Book of Constitutions," 1723, alludes to the Master of a new lodge being taken from among the *Fellow-crafts*, and installed by "certain significant Ceremonies and ancient Usages;" after which he installs his wardens. This is very vague, but as it bears in the direction of the *third* or Master Mason's degree, having been conferred on the actual Master of Lodges, I give it a place in this note. The point will again come before us.

by no means justify the belief, that the derivation of any part is to be found in the sources which are thus pointed out to us.

The mode of opening the proceedings of a court, or society, by a dialogue between the officials, may be traced back to a very remote era; but it will be sufficient for my purpose to remark, that as the Vehmic ceremonies, of which this was one, were of "Old Saxon" derivation,[1] they must have been known in Anglo-Saxon England long before the time of Charlemagne. Vestiges of their former existence were recorded, as we have seen, by Sir F. Palgrave, as existing so late as 1832.[2]

The Frisian Oath, with which Fort has compared the obligation of the Apprentice in Freemasonry, may be further contrasted with the last clause or article of Sloane MS. 3848 (13), of which the concluding words are:

"These Charges that we have rehearsed & all other y^t belongeth to Masonrie you shall keepe; to y^e vttermost of yo^r knowledge; Soe helpe you god & by the Contents of this booke."[3]

That the extract just given, places before us the precise words to which Ashmole signified his assent, on being made a Free Mason at Warrington on October 16, 1646, cannot of course be positively affirmed, but it is fairly inferential that it does. The copy of the "Old Charges," from which it is taken, was transcribed *on the same day*—presumably for use—by Edward Sankey, the son, it is to be supposed, of Richard Sankey, one of the Freemasons present in the lodge.[4] But without going this length, we may assume with confidence, that the final clause of the Sloane MS. (13) gives the *form of oath*, which, at the date of its transcription, was ordinarily administered to the candidates for Freemasonry. This, indeed, derives confirmation from the collective testimony of the other versions of our manuscript "Constitutions," to which, and in connection with the same subject—the admission of Ashmole—I shall again refer.

Fort has carefully reviewed the circumstances which led, in his judgment, to "the perpetuation of Pagan formularies used in the Gothic courts, and the continuation of mythological rites and ceremonies in mediæval guilds;" and these, he considers, have "conjointly furnished to Freemasonry the skeleton of Norse customs, upon which Judaistic ritualism was strung."[5]

The passages in which his arguments are given are too long for quotation, and would lose much of their force by being summarised. I shall therefore content myself with presenting the following short extract from his work, in which will be found the general conclusions at which he has arrived:

[1] *Ante*, p. 229 *et seq.* [2] Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Part II., p. clvi.; *ante*, p. 230.

[3] See, however, the forms of oath given in Chaps. II., p. 100; VIII., p. 423; XIV., p. 188; and Hughan's "Old Charges" (11), p. 57. "Bode, a learned German, maintains that it [Freemasonry] is of English origin. He proves this from the form of oath in which the perjured are threatened with the punishment determined by the English laws for those guilty of High Treason—that of having their entrails torn out and burnt; and in which it is said besides, that he shall be thrown into the sea, a cable's length, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours" (J. J. Mounier, On the Influence attributed to the Philosophers, the Freemasons, and the Illuminati upon the French Revolution, translated by J. Walker, 1801, p. 133).

[4] Chap. XIV., p. 142. [5] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 388.

"Old Teutonic courts were a counterpart of such heathen symbols and ceremonies as the priesthood manipulated in the celebration of religious services.[1] When, therefore, the junction occurred which united the Gothic and Jewish elements of Freemasonry, by the merging of the Byzantine art corporations into the Germanic guilds in Italy, the Norsemen contributed the name and orientation, oaths, dedication of the lodge, opening and closing colloquies, Master's mallet and columns, and the lights and installation ceremonies. On the other hand, Judaistic admixture is equally well defined. From this source Masonry received the omnific word, or the faculty of Abrac[2] and ritualism, including the Hiramic legend."[3]

The legend of Hiram, which has crept into our oral traditions, will demand very careful consideration, but it is first necessary that we should resume our examination of the "Old Charges." I shall therefore bring this dissertation to a close by presenting a final quotation from the essay of Dr Armstrong, which, while somewhat humorously enlarging upon a portion of the traditionary history of the Craft, open to deserved censure from the uncritical treatment it had met with up to the date of the Bishop's observations, will, so to speak, take us back to the "Legend of Masonry," at the exact point where our study of it must recommence.

The Doctor observes: "There are minds which seem to rejoice in the misty regions of doubt, which see best in the dark, which have a sensation of being handcuffed when they are tied to proofs and documents; they despise those stubborn facts, the mules of history, on which safe historians are content to ride down the crags and precipices of olden times, 'Inveniam viam, aut faciam;' I will find my facts, or make them; so say the masonic writers. They have the same contempt for plain plodding historians which we can conceive a stoker of the Great Western dashing out of Paddington would feel for an ancient couple, could such be seen jogging leisurely out of town in pillion-fashion on their old sober mare, with the prospect of a week's journey to Bath. They drive the 'Express trains' of history. While we are groping and floundering amid the fens and bogs of the seventh, and eighth, and ninth centuries, they look upon such times as the mere suburbs of the present age—'the easy distance from town.' They dash past centuries, as railroad trains whisk by milestones. For ourselves we see nothing of Freemasons before the seventh century; we cannot even scent the breath of a reasonable rumour. But if we put ourselves under the charge of the most sober and matter-of-fact of Masonic historians, away we are skurried from the seventh century to the sixth, from the sixth to the fifth, from the fifth to the fourth, to the third, to the second, till with dizzy heads, and our breath gone, we find ourselves put down by the Temple of Solomon."[4]

The preceding remarks having taken us back to one of the leading features of the legendary as well as of the traditional history of the Craft, the thread of our main inquiry may be here resumed.

According to the evidence of the "Old Charges," King Solomon was a great protector of

[1] See pp. 226-229, 236. A colloquy ensued, at the "Profession" of a Benedictine, between the abbot and the candidate (Fosbroke, British Monachism, 1843, p. 179).

[2] According to the same authority, "the Wey of Wynnynge the Facultye of Abrac," when properly understood, "signifies the means by which the lost word may be recovered, or, at least, substituted." See chapter xxxvi. of the work quoted from above, *passim*; Gould, The Four Old Lodges, p. 42, note 3; and *ante*, Chap. XI., p. 488.

[3] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 406.

[4] Ancient and Modern Freemasonry, Christian Remembrancer, vol. xiv., 1847, pp. 18, 19.

the Masons, and from this monarch it was that Naymus Grecus—whose protracted and adventurous career might have suggested the fable of the Wandering Jew—acquired the knowledge of Masonry, which, some eighteen centuries later, he successfully passed on to Charles Martel.

In a work of great pretension, and which I am informed still retains its hold of the popular judgment, it is laid down—"After the union of speculative and operative Masonry and when the Temple of Solomon was completed, a legend of sublime and symbolical meaning was introduced into the system, which is still retained, and consequently known to all Master Masons."[1]

At a later portion of his life, however, Oliver seems to have shaken off a good deal of the learned credulity which deforms his earlier writings, as will appear from the following extracts, which I take from his "Freemason's Treasury"[2]:—"Freemasonry is confessedly an allegory, and as an allegory it must be supported, for its tradition at history admits of no palliation."

"One unexplained tradition is the origin of Masonic degrees, which is placed at a thousand years before the Christian era, viz., at the building of King Solomon's Temple, and that they were brought into existence by three distinguished individuals."[3]

The Doctor then states at some length his reasons for considering that the Third is a modern degree. If found to be puerile or erroneous, he asks that they may be rejected; but if sound, as he believes them to be, they may tend, he thinks, "to restore the primitive dignity of Masonry, at the risk of dissipating many a pleasing illusion—as the child who is in the seventh heaven of delight at reading an interesting fairy tale, becomes vexed and annoyed when he discovers that it is only a senseless fable."[4]

The *title* of Master Mason, which may or may not, at its original establishment, have been dignified with the rank of a separate degree, in the opinion of the Doctor—and his conclusions are corroborated by the "Ancient Charges"—"was strictly confined to a Master in the chair."[5] "It was known only as the *Master's Part*, and comprised within such narrow limits," that he is disposed to think "the ceremony and legend together would not be of five minutes' duration."[6] His final judgment is, that "our present Third Degree is not architectural, but traditionary, historical, and legendary; its traditions being unfortunately hyperbolical, its history apocryphal, and its legends fabulous."[7]

Dr Oliver next informs us that "the name of the individual who attached the aphanism of H. A. B. to Freemasonry has never been clearly ascertained; although it may be fairly presumed that Brothers Desaguliers and Anderson were prominent parties to it, as the legend was evidently borrowed from certain idle tales taken out of the Jewish Targums, which were published in London A.D. 1715, from a manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge; and these two Brothers were publicly accused by their seceding contemporaries of manufacturing the degree, *which they never denied.*"[8]

The italics are those of Dr Oliver, but it may be observed, that as both Anderson and Desaguliers had been many years in their graves, when the earliest publication of the seceding

[1] Dr G. Oliver, The Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. ii., p. 169.

[2] 1863, p. 290. [3] Oliver, Freemason's Treasury, 1863, p. 217. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[5] "In ancient times no Brother, however skilled in the Craft, was called a Master Mason until he had been elected into the chair of a Lodge" (Ancient Charges, Book of Constitutions, London, 1873, pp. 7, 8).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 288. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 223. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

or "Atholl" Masons saw the light, their silence, even under the severe strictures passed by Laurence Dermott in the successive editions of his work, upon all who took part in the early proceedings of the first Grand Lodge of England, is not to be wondered at. This statement of Oliver's has been, however, so frequently copied in later Masonic works, that it requires to be noticed, though I shall only add to the remarks already made, that the entire story is unattested, and therefore unworthy of any further consideration.

The point, indeed, as to *when* the Hiramic Legend was introduced into Freemasonry is a material one, and its determination must rest largely upon conjecture, though I shall do my best to narrow the debatable period within which it became an integral part of our oral traditions.

In the first place, the story or legend derives little, if any confirmation from the language of the "Old Charges," and here the comparative trustworthiness of the traditions preserved by letters and by memory becomes a consideration of great importance. Our written traditions remain what they were[1] rather more than three centuries ago, but the same cannot be positively affirmed with regard to our oral traditions. Putting aside, however, the operation of natural causes, upon which alone the relative infidelity of the latter might be allowed to rest, let us see if there is distinct evidence that will strengthen this conclusion.

As a preliminary, it will be desirable to ascertain what the manuscript Constitutions actually say with regard to Hiram and the legend of the Temple.

The judgment I have myself formed of the community of tradition which we find in the legendary histories of Freemasonry and the Companionage, I shall at once express, though, for obvious reasons, the grounds upon which it is based will be more conveniently stated, when in the next chapter I deal with the system of Masonry dating from 1717.

Shortly stated, then, I am of opinion that, whatever difficulties may appear to exist in tracing the Hiramic Legend in the Companionage to an earlier date than 1717, the inference that it can be so carried back, problematical as it may be, affords perhaps the only—and certainly the best—justification for the belief, that in Freemasonry, the legend of Hiram the builder, ante-dates the era of Grand Lodges.

Hiram is not mentioned in either the Halliwell (1) or the Cooke (2) MSS., though he is doubtless alluded to in the latter, where the "King's son, of Tyre," is said to have been Solomon's "Master masen." The Lansdowne MS. (3) has the following, in which the remaining *Constitutions* for the most part substantially agree: "And he [Iram] had a Sonne that was called *Aman*, that was Master of Geometry, and was chiefe Master of all his Masonrie, & of all his Graving, Carving, and all other Masonry that belonged to the Temple."

The name, however, appears in varied forms and spellings, *e.g.:* Amon, Aymon, Anon, Aynone, Ajuon, Dyan, and Benaim. Generally, the Book of Kings is cited as the source of authority whence the information is derived; but in none of the documents is there any special prominence given to the personage thus described. The fullest account is contained in the Inigo Jones MS. (8), which runs:

[1] It has, however, been maintained by Laplace, that the diminution in the value of testimony, which is produced by oral repetition through a series of persons, extends to the tradition of written testimony, through a series of generations (Essai Philosophique sur les Probabilités, 5^{me} édit., p. 15). See, however, the counter remarks of Daunou, Cours d'Etudes Historiques, tom. i., pp. 20-26; and of Sir P. Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 199.

"And HIRAM, King of Tyre, sent his servants unto SOLOMON, for he was ever a Lover of King *David;* and he sent *Solomon* Timber and workmen to help forward the Building of the *Temple;* And he sent one that was Named HIRAM * ABIF, a widow's Son, of the Line of *Nephtali;* He was a Master of *Geometry,* and was [the head] of all his Masons, Carvers, Ingravers, and workmen, and Casters of Brass and all other Metalls that were used about the Temple."

* First of Kings, vii., xiv.

With this single exception, the "Old Charges" do not make any approach towards a full quotation from the Scriptural account of Hiram, nor, if their orthography can be relied upon as a criterion, could the various scribes, in the generality of instances, have been aware of the identity of the "Master of Geometry" whose personality they veiled under such uncouth titles, with the widow's son of Tyre.

The silence of the old records of the Craft, with respect to Hiram having figured as a prominent actor in proceedings which were thought worthy of commemoration in the Masonic ceremonial, will suffice to show that at the time they were originally compiled, the legend or fable with which his name has now become associated, was unknown.

There are circumstances, however, apart from the testimony of the "Old Charges," which will enable us to form, in some measure, an independent judgment with regard to the antiquity of this tradition.

First of all, there is the opinion of Sir William Dugdale, and the statement in the "Antiquities of Berkshire"[1] that the Society took its origin in the reign of Henry III., which must at least record a popular Masonic belief. Next, it will be convenient, if we consider the character of the Freemasonry into which Ashmole and Randle Holme were admitted, as, should the result of the inquiry show us what it really *was,* we at the same time may learn what it could *not* have been.

In so doing, however, I shall limit our investigation to an examination of the facts which are already in evidence. A faint outline of the Freemasonry of the seventeenth century is all that I shall attempt to draw.

It is quite possible that between the era of the Chester Lodge (1665), of which Randle Holme was a member, and that of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, many evolutionary changes may have occurred. The proceedings, however, of the few lodges that can be traced between the date of Dr Plot's remarks on the Freemasons of Staffordshire[2] (1686) and the establishment of a governing body of the Craft in 1717, do not come within the purview of the current chapter, and will be hereafter examined with some detail. A comparison of the Masonry of Scotland with that of England will in like manner be postponed until a later stage of this history.

The method of treating the general subject which I am about to adopt, will, I trust, meet with approval. The characteristic features of the systems of Freemasonry which are found to have prevailed in the two kingdoms are slightly dissimilar; and though I entertain no doubt whatever as to their both having a common origin, this fact, if it be one, will find readier acceptation by my presenting the Scottish and the English evidence in separate divisions, prior to combining the entire body of facts as a whole, and judging of their mutual relations.

[1] *Ante,* pp. 6, 17.

[2] *Ante,* p. 163.

In England none of the speculative or non-operative members of the Craft, of whose admission in the seventeenth century there is any evidence, were received as apprentices. All appear, at least so far as an opinion can be formed, to have been simply *made* Masons or Freemasons. The question, therefore, of grades or degrees in rank does not crop up; though it may be incidentally mentioned that, in the Halliwell MS. (1), it is required of the apprentice that—

> "The prevystye of the chamber telle he no mon,
> Ny yn the logge whatsever they done:
> Whatsever thou heryst, or syste hem do,
> Telle hyt no mon, whersever thou go."[1]

And in the same poem it is distinctly laid down that at the Assembly—

> "And *alle schul swere the same ogth*
> Of the masonus, ben they luf, ben they loght,
> To alle these poyntes hyr byfore
> That hath ben ordeynt by ful good lore."[2]

In Scotland the practice, though not of a uniform character, was slightly different, as I have in part shown, and shall more fully explain in the next chapter.

Ashmole, it may be confidently assumed, was *made a Mason* in the form prescribed by the "Old Charges," a roll or scroll, containing the Legend of the Craft, or, as I have suggested, the copy made by Edward Sankey (13) must have been read over to him,[3] and his assent to the "Charges of a Freemason" were doubtless signified in the customary manner.

Up to this point there is no difficulty, but the question next arises, what *secrets* were communicated to him? On this point I shall again quote from Dr Oliver, but rather from the singularity of his having cited the Sloane MS. (13) in connection with some remarks on Ashmole's initiation, than for any actual value which the allusion possesses. To a certain extent, however, it corroborates the view I have expressed with regard to the comparative silence of the "Old Charges" respecting Hiram. After misquoting the diary of the antiquary, and making the members of the Warrington Lodge "FELLOW-CRAFTS," he argues that "there could not have been a Master's degree in existence," and adds, "this truth is fully corroborated in a MS. dated 1646, in the British Museum,[4] which, though expressing to explain *the entire Masonic ritual*,[5] does not contain a single word about the legend of Hiram or the Master's degree."[6]

The evidence from which we can alone form an estimate, of the secrets communicated to Masonic initiates in the seventeenth century, is of a very meagre character. For the time being,

[1] Halliwell MS., lines 279-282. Prevystye, *privities;* logge, *lodge;* heryst, *hearest;* syste, *seest.*

[2] *Ibid.*, lines 437-440. Schul, *shall;* oght, *oath;* luf, *willing;* loght, *loath.*

[3] "*These* be all the Charges and Covenants that ought to be had read at the makeing of a Mason or Masons." "The Almighty God who have you and me in his keeping, Amen" (Lansdowne MS., No. 3, *conclusion*). *Cf. ante*, pp. 239, 240, and Chap. II., Nos. 18, 30, and pp. 92, 98.

[4] Identified by the Doctor as Sloane MS. 3848 (13).

[5] It is almost unnecessary to say, that it does no such thing, but the Doctor is rarely so imprudent as to name the "old manuscripts" he quotes from.

[6] The Freemason's Treasury, p. 284.

and for the reasons already stated, I exclude from consideration the history of the Scottish Craft. As regards the Freemasonry of South Britain, the only founts from which we can draw, are Plot's "Natural History of Staffordshire,"[1] Aubrey's "Natural History of Wiltshire,"[2] and Harleian MS. 2054 (12).[3] These concur in the statement that the Freemasons made use of "*signs*," and from the two last named we learn that the signs were accompanied by words.

Here I pass for the present from the question of degrees, a subject I cannot further discuss without transgressing the limits I have prescribed to myself, and which will be treated with some fulness hereafter. For the same reasons, and until the same occasion, my observations on the inferences to be drawn from the similarities between our Masonic customs and those peculiar to the Steinmetzen and the Companionage, will also be postponed.

Some other features, however, of our own Masonic records still await examination.

In his notes on MS. 2, the late Mr Cooke observes, with regard to lines 621-624, "This is to the free and accepted, or speculative, Mason, the most important testimony. It asserts that the youngest son of King Athelstan learned practical Masonry in *addition* to speculative Masonry, for of that he was a master. No book or writing so early as the present has yet been discovered in which speculative Masonry is mentioned, and certainly none has gone so far as to acknowledge a master of such Craft. If it is only for these lines, the value of this little book to Freemasons is incalculable."[4]

Upon this, it has been forcibly remarked, "The context explains the word 'speculative.'—And after that was a worthy king in England that was called Athlestan, and his youngest son loved well *the science of geometry*, and he wist well that hand-craft had the science of geometry so well as masons, wherefore he drew him to council and learned [the] practice of that science to his speculative, for of speculative he was a master." "The practice of that science," says the commentator, whose words I reproduce, "what science? clearly, geometry? This 'speculative' was a knowledge of geometry, and the word '*no*' should be inserted to make sense before hand-craft. 'He wist well that [*no*] hand-craft had the practice of the science of geometry so well as masons. It also appears that the writer of the book [*i.e.*, Addl. MS. 23,198] did not consider *speculative* knowledge as making the possessor a Mason, for he writes, 'and became a Mason himself,' *i.e.*, when he had added the *practice* of that science to his speculative. He was, clearly, not a Mason when only in possession of the speculative science."[5] The conclusion arrived at by this writer is, that "Masonry was an *art* and *science*, and, like all other working bodies, had its apprentices and free members, and also its peculiar regulations; that speculative Masonry implied merely an acquaintance with the science; that circumstances rendered it a convenient excuse for secret meetings; and that its professors have availed themselves of every source to throw a mystery around their ritual, and to make it of as much importance as they can."[6]

As bearing upon the use of the word "Speculative," an expression, the import of which has been but imperfectly grasped by members of the Craft, the following quotations may not be uninteresting. Lord Bacon observes:

[1] *Ante*, p. 163. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 6. [3] *Ante*, p. 183; Chap. II., p. 64.
[4] History and Articles of Masonry, p. 151, note *k*. [5] Freemasons' Magazine, Jan. 31, 1863, p. 84.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

"These be the two parts of natural philosophy—the Inquisition of Causes, and the production of Effects; Speculative, and Operative; Natural Science, and Natural Prudence. ∴ ∴ Both these knowledges, Speculative and Operative, have a great connexion between themselves."[1]

Worsop, speaking of M[aster] Thomas Digges, says—"All Surveiors are greatly beholding unto him, because he is a lanthorne unto them, aswel in the speculation, as the practise."

And of another—"He understandeth Arithmetike, Geometrie, and perspectiue, both speculatiuely and practically singularly wel."[2]

John Dee in his "Mathematical Preface to Billingsley's Elements of Geometry," writes: "A Mechanicien, or a Mechanicall workman is he, whose skill is, without knowledge of Mathematicall demonstration, perfectly to work and finishe any sensible worke, by the Mathematicien principall or deriuatiue, demonstrated or demonstrable. Full well I know, that he which inuenteth, or maketh these demonstrations, is generally called *A Speculatiue Mechanicien:* which differreth nothyng from a *Mechanicall Mathematicien.*"[3]

In the "Lexicon Technicorum" of John Harris, we find—"Geometry is usually divided into *Speculative* and *Practical;* the former of which contemplates and treats of the Properties of continued Quantity abstractedly; and the latter applies these Speculations and Theorems to Use and Practice, and to the Benefit and Advantage of Mankind."[4]

The early Masons possessed the *science,* and practised the *art* of building. The traditionary or mythical Edwin "lernyd" *practical* Masonry, in addition to *speculative* Masonry, of which he was already a Master. By this we must understand that he had studied geometry, and comprehended the *theory,* so far as his mathematical knowledge could lead him—but wished to add the practice of the art to the knowledge of its principles.

The "Edwin" tradition has been rationalised by Woodford, who believes that "it points to Edwin, or Edivin, King of Northumbria, whose rendezvous once was at Auldby, near York, and who in 627 aided in the building of a stone church at York after his baptism there, with the Roman workmen."[5] The clue to this solution, is indeed to be found, as Woodford states, in the famous "speech" delivered by the historian of York on December 27, 1726, wherein he says, "yet you know we can boast that the first Grand Lodge ever held in *England* was held in this city, where *Edwin,* the first Christian King of the *Northumbers,* about the Six Hundredth year after *Christ,* and who laid the Foundation of our Cathedral, sat as Grand Master."[6] The preceding statements have been closely examined by Fort, who is of opinion that from the evidence, but one conclusion can be drawn, namely, "that in the year 627 King Edwin could not have been Grand Master of a body of skilled Craftsmen, because there

[1] The Works of Francis Bacon, edited by James Spedding, 1857, vol. iii., p. 351.

[2] A Discoverie of sundrie errours and faults daily committed by Lande Meaters. Lond., 1582, fol. K.

[3] London, 1570, a. iii. *verso.*

[4] Second edit., MDCCIV., *s.v.* Geometry. See further Jacques Aleaume, La perspective speculative et Pratique, Paris, 1643; T. Bradwardinus, Geometria Speculativa, Parisiis, 1530; J. de Muris, Arithmeticæ Speculativæ, Moguntiæ, 1538; E. Phillips, The New World of English Words, 1658; Batty Langley, The Builders' Compleat Assistant, 1738; John Nisbet, System of Heraldry, Speculative and Practical; and *ante,* Chap. II., No. 50.

[5] Preface to the "Old Charges," p. xiv. "Tradition sometimes gets confused after the lapse of time, but I believe the tradition is in itself true, which links Masonry to the Church building at York by the Operative Brotherhood under Edwin in 627, and to a guild charter under Athelstan in 927" (*Ibid.*).

[6] Speech delivered at a Grand Lodge in the City of York, Dec. 27, 1726, by the Junior Grand Warden [Francis Drake]. This oration has been reprinted by Hughan in his "History of Freemasonry at York," Appendix C.

was at that time no such assembly around the walls of his rude edifice of stone and mortar at York, and for the additional reason that an uncivilised ruler had no recognition as the head of artificers whose science represented centuries of exalted periods of civilisation."[1]

Not, however, to pursue to any greater length the purely architectural portion of this tradition, which, so carefully scrutinised by Fort, has been further dealt with by Rylands[2] in a series of articles to which it will be sufficient to refer, I may shortly state, that I cannot agree with the former as regards the period of origin which he assigns to the legend.[3]

Before terminating this chapter, it may not be out of place if I mention that heraldry has its myths as well as Masonry, and in the opinion of its earlier votaries, has been presumed to exist, not merely in the first ages of the world, but at a period—

> "Ere Nature was, or Adam's dust
> Was fashioned to a man!"

We are gravely assured by a writer of the fifteenth century, that "heraldic ensigns were primarily borne by the hierarchy of the skies."[4]

The gentility of the great ancestor of our race is stoutly maintained, and by an enthusiastic armorist of the seventeenth century, two *coats of arms* were assigned to him. One as borne in Eden, and another suitable to his condition after the fall.[5]

This antediluvian heraldry is expatiated upon by Sir John Ferne, in a manner far too prolix for us to follow him through all his grave statements and learned proofs. I shall therefore only observe *en passant*, that arms are assigned to the following personages, all of whom we meet with in the legend of the Craft, viz., Jabal, the inventor of tents, *vert, a tent argent* (a white tent in a green field); Jubal, the primeval musician, *azure, a harp, or, on a chief argent three rests gules;* Tubal-Cain, *sable,* a *hammer argent, crowned or;* and Naamah, his sister, the inventress of weaving, *In a lozenge gules, a carding-comb argent.*[6]

"A knight was made before any cote armour, whereof *Olibion* was the first that ever was. *Asteriall* his Father, came of the line of that woorthie gentleman *Iapheth,* and sawe the people multiplie hauing no gouernor, and that the cursed people of *Sem* warred against them. *Olibion* being a mightie man and strong, the people cryed on him to be their gouernor. A thousand men were then mustered of *Iaphetes* line. *Asteriall* made to his Sonne a garland of nine diuerse precious stones in token of Cheualrie, to bee the Gouernor of a thousand men. *Olibion* kneeled to *Asteriall* his Father, and asked his blessing: *Asteriall* tooke *Iaphetes* Fauchen [Falchion] that *Tubal* made before the fludde, and smote flatling nine times upon the right shoulder of *Olibion,* in token of the nine vertues of the foresaid precious stones, with a charge to keepe the nine Vertues of Cheualrie."[7]

[1] Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 443.

[2] The Legend of the Introduction of Masons into England (Masonic Magazine, April 1882; Masonic Monthly, August, November, and December 1882).

[3] *Ante,* p. 219. *Cf.* Chap. XII., pp. 57, 59; and Woodford, The connection of York with the History of Freemasonry in England (Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, Part ii., Appendix A).

[4] Cited by M. A. Lower, The Curiosities of Heraldry, 1845, p. 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, citing Morgan, Adam's Shield, p. 99.
Ferne, Blazon of Gentrie, 1586.

[6] Gerard Leigh, Accedence of Armorie, 1597, pp. 23, 24.

CHAPTER XVI.

LODGE MINUTES—ALNWICK—SWALWELL—YORK—THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION—MASONRY IN NORTH AND SOUTH BRITAIN.

IT is certain that the same degree of confidence which is due to an historian who narrates events in which he was personally concerned, cannot be claimed by one who compiles the history of remote times from such materials as he is able to collect. In the former case, if the writer's veracity and competency are above suspicion, there remains no room for reasonable doubt, at least in reference to those principal facts of the story, for the truth of which his character is pledged. Whilst in the latter case, though the veracity of the writer, as well as his judgment, may be open to no censure, still the confidence afforded must necessarily be conditional, and will be measured by the opinion which is formed of the validity of his authorities.[1]

Hence, it has been laid down that since a modern author, who writes the history of ancient times, can have no personal knowledge of the events of which he writes; consequently he can have no title to the credit and confidence of the public, merely on his own authority. If he does not write romance instead of history, he must have received his information from tradition—from authentic monuments, original records, or the memoirs of more ancient writers—and therefore it is but just to acquaint his readers from whence he *actually* received it.[2]

In regard, however, to the character and probable value of their authorities, each historian, and, indeed, almost every separate portion of the words of each, must be estimated apart, and a failure to observe this precaution, will expose the reader, who, in his simplicity, peruses a Masonic work throughout with an equal faith, to the imminent risk "of having his indiscriminate confidence suddenly converted into undistinguishing scepticism, by discovering the slight authority upon which some few portions of it are founded."[3] But it unfortunately happens that the evidence on questions of antiquity possesses few attractions for ordinary readers, so that on this subject, as well as upon some others, there often exists at the same time too much faith and too little. "From a want of acquaintance with the details on which a rational conviction of the genuineness and validity of ancient records may be founded, many persons, even though otherwise well informed, feel that they have hardly an alternative between a simple acceptance of the entire mass of ancient history, or an equally indis-

[1] See Isaac Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, 1827, p. 116; and Lewis, Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History, vol. i., p. 272.

[2] Dr R. Henry, History of Great Britain.

[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

criminate suspicion of the whole. And when it happens that a particular fact is questioned, or the genuineness of some ancient book is argued, such persons, conscious that they are little familiar with the particulars of which the evidence on these subjects consists, and perceiving that the controversy involves a multiplicity of recondite and uninteresting researches; or that it turns upon the validity of minute criticisms, either recoil altogether from the argument or accept an opinion without inquiry, from that party on whose judgment they think they may most safely rely."[1]

It thus follows, as a general rule, that such controversies are left entirely in the hands of critics and antiquaries, whose peculiar tastes and acquirements qualify them for investigations which are utterly uninteresting to the mass of readers.[2] Comparing small things with greater ones, this usage, which has penetrated into Masonry, is productive of great inconvenience, and by narrowing the base of Masonic research, tends to render the early history of the craft naught but "the traditions of experts, to be taken by the outside world on faith."

The few students of our antiquities address themselves, not so much to the craft at large, as to each other. They are sure of a select and appreciative audience, and they make no real effort to popularise truths not yet patent to the world, and which are at once foreign to the intellectual habits and tastes of ordinary persons, and very far removed from the mental range of a not inconsiderable section of our fraternity.

In the preceding remarks, I must, however, be more especially understood, as having in my mind the Freemasons of these islands, for whilst, as a rule—to which, however, there are several brilliant exceptions—the research of Masonic writers of Germany and America has not kept pace with that of historians in the mother country of Freemasonry, it must be freely conceded, that both in the United States and among German-speaking people, there exists a familiarity with the history and principles of the craft—that is to say, up to a certain point—for which a parallel will be vainly sought in Britain.

These introductory observations, I am aware, may be deemed of a somewhat desultory character, but a few words have yet to be said, before resuming and concluding the section of this history which brings us to a point where surmise and conjecture, so largely incidental to the mythico-historical period of our annals, will be tempered, if not altogether superseded, by the evidence derivable from accredited documents and the archives of Grand Lodges. The passage which I shall next quote will serve as the text for a short digression.

"However much," says a high authority, "of falsification and of error there may be in the world, there is yet so great a predominance of truth, that he who believes indiscriminately will be in the right a thousand times to one oftener than he who doubts indiscriminately."[3]

Now, without questioning the literal accuracy of this general proposition, the sense in which its *application* is sometimes understood, must be respectfully demurred to.

If, indeed, no choice is allowed to exist between blindly accepting the fables that have descended to us, or commencing a new history of Masonry on a blank page, the progress of honest scepticism may well be arrested, and the fabulists be left in possession of the field.

But is there no middle course? Let us hear Lord Bacon:—

"Although the position be good, *oportet discentem credere* [a man who is learning must be

[1] Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, 1827, pp. 1, 2.

[2] See Chap. I., p. 4, note 1.

[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

content to believe what he is told], yet it must be coupled with this, *oportet edoctum judiciare* [when he has learned it, he must exercise his judgment and see whether it be worthy of belief], for disciples do owe unto masters only a temporary belief and a suspension of their own judgment until they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation or perpetual captivity." [1]

"Those who have read of everything," says Locke, "are thought to understand everything too; but it is not always so. Reading furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge; *it is thinking makes what we read ours.* We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourselves with a great load of collections; *unless we chew them over again*, they will not give us strength and nourishment. The memory may be stored, but the judgment is little better, and the stock of knowledge not increased, by being able to respect what others have said, or produce the arguments we have found in them." [2]

It unfortunately happens, that those who are firmly convinced of the accuracy of their opinions, will never take the pains of examining the basis on which they are built. "They who do not feel the darkness will never look for the light." [3] "If in any point we have attained to certainty," says a profound thinker of our own time, who has gone to his rest, "we make no further inquiry on that point, because inquiry would be useless, or perhaps dangerous. *The doubt must intervene before the investigation can begin.* Here then," he continues, "we have the act of doubting as the originator, or, at all events, the necessary antecedent of all progress. Here we have that scepticism, the very name of which is an abomination to the ignorant, because it disturbs their lazy and complacent minds; *because it troubles their cherished superstitions;* because it imposes on them the fatigue of inquiry; and because it rouses even sluggish understandings to ask if things are as they are commonly supposed, and if all is really true which they, from their childhood, have been taught to believe." [4]

"EVIDENCE," says Locke, "is that by which alone every man is (and should be) taught to regulate his assent, who is then and then only in the right way when he follows it." [5]

But there exists a class of men whose understandings are, so to speak, cast into a mould, and fashioned just to the size of a received hypothesis. They are not affected by proofs, which might convince them that events have not happened quite in the same manner that they have decreed within themselves that they have. To such persons, indeed, may be commended the fine observation of Fontenelle, that the number of those who believe in a system already established in the world does not, in the least, add to its credibility, but that the number of those who doubt it has a tendency to diminish it. [6]

To the want of reverence for antiquity—or, in other words, tradition—with which I have been freely charged, [7] I shall reply in a few words. "Until it is recognised," says one of the

[1] Bacon, Works (Advancement of Learning), edit. Spedding, 1857, vol. iii., p. 290.

[2] Conduct of the Understanding, § 20 (Locke's Works, edit. 1828, vol. iii., p. 241).

[3] Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, edit. 1868, vol. i., p. 335.

[4] *Ibid.* Locke observes, "There is nothing more ordinary than children receiving into their minds propositions from their parents, nurses, or those about them, which, being fastened by degrees, are at last (equally whether true or false) riveted there by long custom and education, beyond all possibility of being pulled out again" (Essay on the Human Understanding, chap. xx., § 9).

[5] Conduct of the Understanding, § 34.

[6] Cited approvingly by Dugald Stewart in his "Philosophy of the Mind," vol. ii., p. 357.

[7] The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford in the *Freemason, passim.*

greatest masters of historical criticism, "that the same strict rules of evidence are applicable to historical composition, which are employed in courts of justice, and in the practical business of life, history must remain open to the well-grounded suspicions under which it often labours, and will, by many, be treated with that despairing scepticism, which is one of the great obstacles to the advancement of knowledge. The historian will do well to remember the old legal adage, '*Mendax in uno, præsumitur mendax in alio*,[1] and if, in putting together his materials, he makes additions from his imagination, he incurs the danger of being met—by persons who adopt Sir R. Walpole's canon of judgment—with general disbelief." [2]

Those of us, indeed, whose mission it is (in the opinion of our critics) only to *destroy*,[3] may derive consolation from some remarks of Buckle, which occur in his encomium upon Descartes. Of the pioneer of Modern Philosophy, he says—"He deserves the gratitude of posterity, not so much on account of what he built up, *as on account of what he pulled down.* His life was one great and successful warfare against the prejudices and traditions of men. ∴ ∴ To prefer, therefore, even the most successful discoverers of physical laws to this great innovator and disturber of tradition, is just as if we should prefer knowledge to freedom, and believe that science is better than liberty. We must, indeed, always be grateful to these eminent thinkers, to whose labours we are indebted for that vast body of physical truths which we now possess. But let us reserve the full measure of our homage for those far greater men, who have not hesitated to attack and destroy the most inveterate prejudices—men who, *by removing the pressure of tradition*, have purified the very source and fountain of our knowledge, and secured its future progress, by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible." [4]

Until quite recently—and it must be frankly confessed that the practice is not yet extinct—the historians of the craft have treated their subject in a free and discretionary style, by interpolations, not derived from extrinsic evidence, but framed according to their own notions of internal probability.[5] They have supplied from conjecture what they think *might have been* the contents of the record, if any record of the fact were extant, in the

[1] "Testimonium testis, quando in unâ parte falsum, præsumitur esse et in ceteris partibus falsum" (Menochius, de Præsumptionibus, lib. v., præf. 22).

[2] Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 246. The same writer observes: "It is of paramount importance that truth, and not error, should be accredited; that men, when they are led, should be led by safe guides; and that they should thus profit by those processes of reasoning and investigation which have been carried on in accordance with logical rules, but which they are not able to verify for themselves" (On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, p. 9).

[3] As the term "iconoclast" has been frequently applied to me by my friend, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who, moreover, suggests that my historical studies evince a policy of "dynamite," the attention of my reverend critic is especially invited to the following observations of Dr Arnold: "To tax any one with want of reverence, because he pays no respect to what we venerate, is either irrelevant, or is a mere confusion. The fact, so far as it is true, is no reproach, but an honour; because to reverence all persons and all things is absolutely wrong. ∴ ∴ If it be meant that he is wanting in proper reverence, not respecting what is really to be respected, that is assuming the whole question at issue, because what we call divine, he calls an idol; and as, supposing we are in the right, we are bound to fall down and worship, so, supposing him to be in the right, he is no less bound to pull it to the ground and destroy it" (Lectures on Modern History).

[4] History of Civilisation in England, vol. ii., p. 83. As Turgot finely says: "Ce n'est pas l'erreur qui s'oppose aux progrès de la vérité. Ce sont la mollesse, l'entêtement, l'esprit de routine, tout ce qui porte à l'inaction" (Pensées, Œuvres de Turgot, vol. ii., p. 343).

[5] See Chap. XII., p. 1.

same manner that an antiquary attempts to restore an inscription which is part defaced or obliterated.[1]

"If, indeed," as it has been well observed, "the results of historians led to an immediate practical result; if the conclusion of the writer deprived a man of his life, liberty, or goods, the necessity of guiding his discretion by rules, such as those followed in courts of justice, would long ago have been recognised."[2]

It is, moreover, but imperfectly grasped by Masonic writers, that as a country advances, the influence of tradition diminishes, and traditions themselves become less trustworthy.[3] Where there is no written record, tradition alone must be received, and there alone it has a chance of being accurate. But where events have been recorded in books, tradition soon becomes a faint and erroneous echo of their pages;[4] and the Freemasons, like the Scottish Highlanders, are apt to take their ancient traditions from very modern books, as the readers of this work,[5] in the one instance, and those of Burton's "History of Scotland"[6] in the other, can readily testify. Yet if an attempt is made to trace such traditions *retrogressively* up to the age to which they are usually attributed, we are presented with no *evidence*, but are merely given the *alleged fact*, a mode of elucidating ancient history, not unlike that pursued by Dr Hickes, who, in order to explain the Northern Antiquities, always went farther north—a method of procedure which might serve to illustrate, but could never explain, and has been compared to going down the stream to seek the fountain-head, or in tracing the progress of learning, to begin with the Goths.[7]

Although it is impossible to speak positively to a negative proposition, nevertheless the writer who questions the accuracy of his predecessors can hardly, by reason of his scepticism, be considered bound to *demonstrate* what they have failed to *prove*.[8] It has been

[1] *Cf.* Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, pp. 247, 248, 291.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197. The author of the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot" (bk. i., chap. i.), thus comments on a hearsay statement respecting the discoveries of that navigator: "It is obvious that, if the present were an inquiry in a court of justice, the evidence which limits Cabot to 56° would be at once rejected as incompetent. The alleged communication from him is exposed in its transmission, not only to all the chances of misconception on the part of the Pope's Legate, but admitting that personage to have truly understood, accurately remembered, and faithfully reported what he heard, we are again exposed to a similar series of errors on the part of our informant, who furnished it to us at second-hand. *But the dead have not the benefit of the rules of evidence.*" The preceding extract will merit the attention of those persons who attach any historical weight to the newspaper evidence of 1723, which makes Wren a Freemason, or to the hearsay statement of John Aubrey.

[3] "Although," says Buckle, "without letters, there can be no knowledge of much importance, it is nevertheless true that their introduction is injurious to historical traditions in two distinct ways: first by weakening the traditions, and secondly by weakening the class of men whose occupation it is to preserve them" (History of Civilisation, vol. i., p. 297).

[4] J. H. Burton, History of Scotland from 1689 to 1748, vol. i., p. 135. [5] See Chap. XII., *passim.*

[6] A parallel might be drawn between the influence upon the popular imagination of such works of fancy as Scott's "Lady of the Lake" and Preston's "Illustrations of Masonry." In his notice of the Highland Costume, Burton observes: "Here, unfortunately, we stumble on the rankest corner of what may be termed *the classic soil of fabrication and fable.* The assertions are abundant unto affluence; the facts few and meagre" (History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 374).

[7] Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv., p. 457.

[8] This is precisely and exactly what my reviewers (in the Masonic press) seem to require of me, and I respectfully commend to their notice the following remarks on the intolerance of the "Cameronians," as being capable of a far wider application: "The ruling principle among these men was the simplest and the broadest of all human principles—

well observed—"To every intelligent mind it is clear, that assertion without proof can no more be received to invalidate history, than to confirm and support it; and when objections founded on facts are advanced, it will then be for consideration whether they apply, and to what extent. But till assertion is converted into proof, and that proof found to destroy the authenticity of the instances produced, those instances must, by every rule of good sense and right reason, and infallibly will, be regarded as adequate evidence by every competent judge."[1]

Taylor rightly lays down that, "when historical facts, which in their nature are fairly open to direct proof, are called in question, there is no species of trifling more irksome (to those who have no dishonest ends to serve) than the halting upon twenty indirect arguments, while the *centre proof*—that which clear and upright minds fasten upon intuitively—remains undisposed of."[2] Now, it must be freely conceded, that however strongly the balance of probability may appear to incline *against* the *reception* of Sir Christopher Wren, at any time of his life, into the Masonic fraternity, the question after all must remain an open one, as even his dying declaration to the contrary, were such extant, might be held insufficient to clearly establish this negative proposition.[3] Though *until* "*assertion is converted into proof*, and that proof found to destroy the authenticity of the objections" raised by me to the current belief, I shall rest content that the latter "must, by every rule of good sense and right reason, and infallibly will, be regarded as adequate evidence by every competent judge."

Among these objections, however, is one, which no lapse of time can remove, and it is, the contention that Wren could not have held in the seventeenth century a title which did not then exist. This point I shall not re-argue, but may be permitted to allude to, as by "the removal of the pressure of tradition"[4] in this instance, it is confidently hoped that "the future progress of our knowledge" has been ensured, "by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible."[5]

that which has more or less guided mankind in all ages and all conditions of society—in despotisms, oligarchies, and democracies—among Polytheists, Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians. It was the simple doctrine, that I am right and you are wrong, and that whatever opinion different from mine is entertained by you, must be forthwith uprooted" (Burton, History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 33).

[1] J. S. Hawkins, History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture, 1813, p. 89.

[2] History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 224.

[3] In support of this position, the case of the late Duke of Wellington may be cited, who was initiated at the close of the last century in Lodge No. 494 on the Registry of Ireland (F. Q. Rev., 1836, p. 442; Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., 1874-75, p. 198), and of whom Lord Combermere said at Macclesfield in 1852—"Often when in Spain, where Masonry was prohibited, he [Wellington] regretted ∴ ∴ that his military duties had prevented him taking the active part his feelings dictated" (F. Q. Rev., 1852, p. 505). Although the records of No. 494 are said to contain a letter from the Duke, written during the secretaryship of Mr Edward Carleton (1838-53), declining to allow the Lodge to be called after him, "inasmuch as he never was inside any lodge since the day he was made" (Masonic Magazine, *loc. cit.*), the following communication attests that shortly before his death the circumstance of his initiation had quite passed out of his mind: "London, October 13th, 1851—F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr Walsh. He has received his letter of the 7th ult. The Duke has no recollection of having been admitted a Freemason. He has no knowledge of that association" (F. Q. Rev., 1854, p. 88).

[4] Although the *ancient* tradition of Wren's Grand Mastership was first published to the world in a work of comparatively *modern* date (Anderson's Constitutions, 1738), it must not be forgotten that fables, as Voltaire says, begin to be current in one generation, are established in the second, become respectable in the third, whilst in the fourth generation temples are raised in honour of them (Fragments sur l'Histoire, art. i., Œuvres, tome xxvii., pp. 158, 159).

[5] See p. 252; and Buckle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 82.

It is immaterial whether Wren was or was not a mere *member* of the Society. To my mind, and *upon the evidence before us*—to which our attention must be strictly confined—it seems impossible that he could have been, but even if he was, we should only have one speculative or geomatic brother the more, a circumstance of no real moment, and unless supported by new evidence of such a character as to utterly destroy the authenticity of that already produced, not in any way calculated to modify the judgment I have ventured to pass upon his alleged connection with Freemasonry. But the consequences arising from the deeply rooted belief in his being—under what title is immaterial—the Grand Master or virtual head of the Society, have already borne much evil fruit, by leading those who have successively founded schools of Masonic thought, to pursue their researches on erroneous *data*, and as a natural result, to reduce to a minimum the value of even the most diligent inquiry into the past history of the craft. Indeed, a moment's reflection will convince the candid reader that any generalisation of Masonic facts, based on an assumption, that the era of "Grand Lodges" can be carried back to 1663 [1]—when the famous regulations are alleged to have been made, which I have handled with some freedom in the last chapter [2]—must be devoid of any practical utility, or in other words, that in all such cases the want of judgment in the writer can only be supplied by the discrimination of his readers.

By way of illustration, let us take Kloss. It is certain that this author collected his materials with equal diligence and judgment; but yet, we perceive that in much relating to a country not his own, he was often egregiously misinformed.

I am not here considering his misinterpretation of the English statutes,[3] an error of judgment arising, not unnaturally, from the inherent defects of the printed copy to which alone we had access, but the inaccuracies which are to be found in his writings, owing to the confidence he placed in Anderson as the witness of truth.

The writings of Sir James Hall may also be referred to, as affording equally cogent evidence of the wide diffusion of error, owing a similar dependence upon statements for which the compiler of the first two editions of the "Constitutions" is the original authority. In the latter instance, we find, as I have already mentioned, that the *fact* of Wren's Grand Mastership, is actually relied upon, by a non-masonic writer of eminence, as stamping the opinion of the great architect, with regard to the origin of Gothic architecture, as the very highest that the subject will admit of.[4]

How, indeed—when we have marshalled all the authorities, considered their arguments, examined their proofs, and estimated the probability or improbability of what they advance by the *evidence* they present to us—any lingering belief in the existence of Grand Lodges during the seventeenth century can remain in the mind, is a mystery which I can only attempt to solve by making use of a comparison.

Writing in 1633, Sir Thomas Browne informs us, that the more improbable any proposition is, the greater is his willingness to assent to it; but that where a thing is actually impossible, he is, on that account, prepared to believe it! [5]

[1] Chaps. II., p. 105; XII., p. 11; and XV., p. 208.

[2] P. 208, *et seq.*

[3] Chap. VII., pp. 357-360, 362, 366.

[4] Chap. VI., p. 260.

[5] "Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith. I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *Altitudo*. I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian, *certum est quia impossibile est*. I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point,

By principles such as these, it is very evident that some living writers are accustomed to regulate their assent, and in this way a belief in Wren's *membership of the Society* will naturally arise out of its extreme improbability,[1] whilst a firm conviction in his having been *Grand Master*, will as readily follow from the circumstance of its utter impossibility![2]

The object of this digression will have been but imperfectly attained, if any lengthened observations are required to make it clear.

Upon the confidence hitherto extended to me by my readers, I shall again have occasion to draw very largely as we proceed. We are about to pass from one period of darkness and uncertainty to another of almost equal obscurity, and which presents even greater difficulties than we have yet encountered. In writing the history of the craft, as far as we have proceeded, the materials have been few and scanty, and I have had to feel my way very much in the dark.

If, under these conditions, I have sometimes strayed from the right path, it will not surprise me, and I shall be ever ready to accept with gratitude the help of any friendly hand that can set me right. All I can answer for is a sincere endeavour to search impartially after truth. Throughout my labours, to use the words of Locke, "I have not made it my business, either to quit or follow any authority. Truth has been my only aim, and wherever that has appeared to lead, my thoughts have impartially followed, without minding whether the footsteps of any other lay that way or no. Not that I want a due respect to other men's opinions, but after all, the greatest reverence is due to truth."[3]

It may be observed, that in my attempt to demonstrate the only safe principles on which Masonic inquiry can be pursued, whilst making a free use of *classical* quotations in support of the several positions for which I contend, the literature of the craft has not been laid under requisition for any addition to the general store. For this reason, and as an excuse for all the others, I shall introduce one quotation more, and this I shall borrow from an address recently delivered by our Imperial *brother*, the heir to the German Crown, who says: "But while earlier ages contented themselves with the authority of traditions, in our days the investigations of

for, to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith but persuasion" (Sir T. Browne, Works, edit. by S. Wilkin—Bohn's Antiq. Lib.—vol. ii., Religio Medici, sect. ix., p. 332). After this expression of his opinions, it is singular to find that only twelve years later (Inquiries into Vulgar Errors), the same writer lays down, that one main cause of error is *adherence to authority*; another, *neglect of inquiry*; and a third, *credulity*.

[1] The remarks on which the biographer of Sebastian Cabot founded his conclusion, "that the dead have not the benefit of the rules of evidence" (*ante*, p. 253), may be usefully perused by those who accept the paragraphs in the *Postboy* (Chap. XII. p. 9)—the only *positive* evidence on the subject prior to 1738—as determining the *fact* of Wren's membership of the Society. If the argument in respect of Cabot is deemed to be of any force, it follows, *a fortiori*, that we should place no confidence whatever in a mere newspaper entry of the year 1723.

It has been forcibly observed: "*Anonymous testimony to a matter of fact is wholly devoid of weight*, unless, indeed, there be circumstances which render it probable that a trustworthy witness has adequate motives for concealment, or extraneous circumstances may support and accredit a statement, *which, left to itself*, would fall to the ground" (Lewis, On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, p. 23).

[2] Tertullian's apophthegm, "credo quia impossibile est"—*I believe because it is impossible*—once quoted by the Duke of Argyle as "the ancient religious maxim" (Parl. Hist., vol. xi., p. 802), "might," Locke considers, "in a good man pass for a sally of zeal, but would prove a very ill rule for men to choose their opinions or religion by" (Essay on the Human Understanding, bk. iv., chap. xix., § 11). According to Neander, it was the spirit embodied in this sentence which supplied Celsus with some formidable arguments against the Fathers (General Hist. of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. i., p. 227).

[3] Essay on the Human Understanding, bk. i., chap. iv., sec. 23.

historical criticism have become a power. .·. .·. Historical truths .·. can only be secured by historical investigations; therefore such studies are in our time a serious obligation towards the Order, from which we cannot withdraw, having the confident conviction, that whatever the result may be, they can in the end be only beneficial. If they are confirmatory of the tradition, then in the result doubts will disappear; should they prove anything to be untenable, the love of truth will give us the manly courage to sacrifice what is untenable, but we shall then with the greater energy uphold that which is undoubted."[1]

We left off at that part of our inquiry,[2] where the evidence of several writers would seem to point very clearly to the widely-spread existence of Masonic lodges in southern Britain, at a period of time closely approaching the last decade of the seventeenth century.[3] But however naturally this inference may arise from a perusal of the evidence referred to, it may be at once stated that it acquires very little support from the scattered facts relating to the subject, which are to be met with between the publication of Dr Plot's account of the Freemasons (1686), and the formation of the Grand Lodge of England (1717).

The period, indeed, intervening between the date of Randle Holme's observations in the "Academie of Armory," to which attention has been directed,[4] and the establishment of a governing body for the English craft, affords rather materials for dissertation than consecutive facts for such a work as the present. It may be outlined in a few words, though by no means the least important portion of this chapter, which the study and inclination of the reader will enable him to fill up.

It is believed that changes of an essential nature were in operation during the years immediately preceding what I shall venture to term the *consolidation* of the Grand Lodge of England, or, in other words, the publication of the first "Book of Constitutions" (1723). The circumstances which conduced to these changes are at once complicated and obscure, and as they have not yet been studied in connection with each other, I shall presently examine them at some length.

That the Masonry which flourished under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England in 1723, differed in some respects from that known at Warrington in 1646, may be readily admitted, but the more serious point, as to whether the changes made were of *form* only, and not of *substance*, is not so easily disposed of. In the first place, the time at which any change occurred, is not only uncertain, but by its nature will never admit of complete precision.

"Criticism," as it has been happily observed, "may do somewhat towards the rectification of historical difficulties, but let her refrain from promising more than she can perform. A spurious instrument may be detected; if two dates are absolutely incongruous, you may accept that which reason shows you to be most probable. Amongst irreconcilable statements you may elect those most coherent with the series which you have formed. *But an approxi-*

[1] From an address delivered by the then Crown Prince of Prussia, in the double capacity of Deputy-Protector of the Three Prussian Grand Lodges, and M. I. Master of the Order of the Countries of Germany (Grand) Lodge, on June 24, 1870 (cited by Dr E. E. Wendt, in a lecture printed in the History of St Mary's Lodge No. 63, 1883, pp. 90-92).

[2] Chap. XV., pp. 244, 246.

[3] Ashmole, 1682; Plot and Aubrey, 1686; Randle Holme, 1688; and Aubrey, 1691. *Ante*, pp. 6, 143, 163, 180. For the dates dependent on the testimony of John Aubrey, see, however, pp. 5, 161.

[4] A.D. 1688. *Ante*, pp. 180, 181.

mation to truth, except so far as concerns single and insulated facts, *is the utmost we can obtain.* We have absolute certainty that the battle of Trafalgar was fought, but there is so much variety in the accounts of the Logs, that we cannot ascertain with precision the hour when the battle commenced, nor the exact position or distance of the fleet from the shore."[1]

In the same way we have reasonable certainty that an alteration in the method of communicating the Masonic secrets took place in the eighteenth century, but there is no evidence that will enable us to fix the date of the alteration itself. "An approximation to the truth is the utmost we can obtain," and in order that our inquiry may have this result, some points occur to me, which in my judgment we shall do well to carefully bear in mind during the progress of our research, as upon their right determination at its close, the accuracy of our final conclusions with regard to many vexed questions in Masonic history, can alone be ensured.

In the first place, let us ask ourselves—were the Masonic systems prevailing in England and Scotland respectively, before the era of Grand Lodges, identical?

They either were, or were not, and far more than would at first sight appear is involved in the reply to which we are led by the evidence.

If they were, the general character of our early *British* Freemasonry, would be sufficiently disclosed by the Masonic records of the Northern Kingdom. A difficulty, however, presents itself at the outset, and it is—the minutes of all Scottish Lodges of the seventeenth century, which are extant, show the essentially *operative* character of these bodies—whilst the scanty evidence that has come down to us—minutes there are none—of the existence of English Lodges at the same period, prove the latter to have been as essentially *speculative.*[2] I am not here forgetting either the Haughfoot records in the one case, or those of Alnwick in the other, which might be cited as invalidating these two propositions, but it will be seen that I limit the application of my remarks to the *seventeenth* century. Not that I undervalue the importance of either of the sets of documents last referred to, but their dates are material, and in both instances the minutes might tend to mislead us, since *if* the customs of the Scottish and English masons *were* dissimilar, the old Lodge at Haughfoot and Galashiels may possibly afford the only example there is, before Desaguliers' time, of the method of working in the south of Britain, having crossed the Border; whilst the very name of the Alnwick Lodge arouses a suspicion of its Scottish derivation.

Leaving undecided for the present the question, whether the two systems were in substance the same, or whether England borrowed her's from Scotland, and repaid the obligation (with interest) at the Revival, let us see what alternative suppositions we can find.

If the Freemasonry of England was *sui generis*, are we to conclude, that like the civilisation of Egypt, it culminated before the dawn of its recorded history? Or, instead of a gradual process of deterioration, is there ground for supposing that there was a progressive improvement, of which we see the great result, in the movement of 1717?

By some persons the speculative character of the Warrington Lodge, so far back as 1646,

[1] Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, vol. i., pp. 116, 117. The same writer remarks: "We can do no more than we are enabled; the crooked cannot be made straight, nor the wanting numbered. The preservation or destruction of historical materials is as providential as the guidance of events" (*Ibid.*, p. 121).

[2] *I.e.*, In the one case the lodges existed for trade purposes, and in the other not.

may be held to point to an antecedent system, or body of knowledge, of which the extent of time is, without further evidence, simply incalculable, whilst others, without inquiry of any kind, will shelter themselves under the authority of great names, and adopt a conclusion, in which our later historians are practically unanimous, that Freemasonry, as it emerged from the crucible in 1723, was the product of many evolutionary changes, consummated for the most part in the six years during which the craft had been ruled by a central authority.

It will be seen, that in tracing the historical development of Freemasonry, from the point of view of those who see in the early Scottish system something very distinct from our own, we must derive what light we can from the meagre allusions to *English* lodges that can be produced in evidence, aided by the dim and flickering torch which is supplied by tradition.

It may be freely confessed, that in our present state of knowledge, much of the early history of the Society must remain under a veil of obscurity, and whilst there is no portion of our annals which possesses greater interest for the student than that intervening between the latter end of the seventeenth century and the year 1723—the date of the earliest entries in the existing minutes of Grand Lodge, and of the first "Book of Constitutions"—it must be as frankly admitted, that the *evidence* forthcoming, upon which alone any determinate conclusion can be based, is of too vague and uncertain a character to afford a sure foot-hold to the historical inquirer.

By keeping steadily in view, however, the main point on which our attention should be directed, many of the difficulties that confront us may be overcome, and without giving too loose a rein to the imagination, some speculations may be safely hazarded, with regard to the period of transition, connecting the old Society with the new, which will be at least consistent with the evidence, and may be allowed to stand as a possible solution of a very complicated problem, until greater diligence and higher ability shall finally resolve it.

An antiquary of the last century has observed: "In Subjects of such distant ages, where History will so often withdraw her taper, Conjecture may sometimes strike a new light, and the truths of Antiquity be more effectually pursued, than where people will not venture to guess at all. One Conjecture may move the Veil, another partly remove it, and a third happier still, borrowing light and strength from what went before, may wholly disclose what we want to know."[1]

Now, I must carefully guard myself from being understood to go the length of laying down, that wherever there is a deficiency of evidence, we must fall back upon conjecture. Such a contention would utterly conflict with all the principles of criticism which, both in this and earlier chapters, I have sought to uphold.

But an historical *epoch* will never admit of that chronological exactitude familiar to antiquaries and genealogists, and the chief objection, therefore, to a generalisation respecting the changes introduced during the period of transition will be, not so much that it wants certainty, as that it lacks precision. For example, there is a great deal of evidence, direct, collateral, and presumptive, to support the belief that but a single form of reception was in vogue in the seventeenth century, and there are no known facts which are inconsistent with it. In 1723, as accredited writings prove, the ceremonies at the admission of Fellow Crafts and Apprentices were distinct from one another. Here is the old story of the Battle of Trafalgar and the confusion in the Logs,[2] over again. We are certain that alterations took place, but the dates

[1] W. Borlase, Antiquities of Cornwall, 1764. Preface, p. vii.

[2] *Ante*, p. 258.

cannot be established with precision and exactitude. We can point out the year in which a classification of the Society was published by order of the Grand Lodge; but who can point out the year in which the idea of that classification was first broached?

Upon the grounds stated, it will be allowable to speculate somewhat freely upon the possible *causes*—leading to *results*, which are patent to our senses.

The remaining evidence, that will bring us up to the year 1717, or to the close of what is sometimes described as Ancient Masonry, is, as already stated, of a very fragmentary character. Taking up the thread of our narrative from 1688, we find that Dr Anderson speaks of a London Lodge having met, at the instance of Sir Robert Clayton, in 1693, and on the authority of "some brothers, living in 1730," he names the localities in which six other metropolitan lodges held their assemblies,[1] a statement furnishing, at least so far as I am aware, the only historical *data* in support of the assertion in "Multa Paucis," that the formation of the Grand Lodge of England was due to the combined efforts of *six* private lodges.[2] Meetings of provincial lodges, in 1693 and 1705 respectively, are commemorated by *memoranda* on two of the "Old Charges," Nos. 25 and 28,[3] but the significance of these entries will more fitly claim our attention a little later, in connection with the subject of Masonry in York.

The records of the Alnwick Lodge come next before us,[4] and are of especial value in our examination, as they constitute the only evidence of the actual proceedings of an *English* lodge essentially, if not, indeed, exclusively operative, during the entire portion of our early history which precedes the era of Grand Lodges. That is to say, without these records, whatever we might infer, it would be impossible to prove, from other extant documents, or contemporary evidence of any sort or kind, that in a single lodge the operative predominated over the speculative element. The rules of the Lodge are dated September 29, 1701, and the earliest minute October 3, 1703. It would overtask my space were I here to give a full summary of these records, which, however, will be found in the appendix, so I shall merely notice their leading features, and restrict myself to such as appear to be of importance in this inquiry.

It should be stated, that the question of *degrees* receives no additional light from these minutes, indeed, if the Alnwick documents stood alone, as the sole representative of the class of evidence we have been hitherto considering, there would be nothing whatever from which we might ever plausibly infer, that anything beyond trade secrets were possessed by the members. To some extent, however, a side-light is thrown upon these records by some later documents of a kindred character, and the minutes of the Lodge of Industry, Gateshead, which date from 1725, ten years prior to its *acceptance* of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England, supply much valuable information relative to the customs of early operative lodges, which, even if it does not give us a clearer picture of the Masonry of 1701, is considered by

[1] Chap. XIV., pp. 178, 179; Constitutions, 1738, p. 106; 1756 and 1767, p. 176; and 1784, p. 193.

[2] Chap. XII., p. 37, note 1. See also "The Four Old Lodges," p. 23; and Woodford, A Point of Masonic History (Masonic Magazine, vol. i., p. 255).

[3] Chap. II., pp. 68, 70.

[4] An abstract of these was given by Hughan in the *Freemason*, January 21, 1871, which was reprinted in the *Masonic Magazine*, February 1874, and I have also before me the valuable MS. notes made from the original documents by Mr F. Hockley, to whom I here offer my best thanks. *Cf. ante*, Chaps. I., p. 69, and XIV., p. 156.

some excellent authorities, to hold up a mirror in which is reflected the usages of a period antedating, by at least several years, the occasion of their being committed to writing.

Although the circumstance of no less than three Cheshire lodges having been "constituted"—*i.e.*, warranted—by the Grand Lodge in 1724, the first year in which charters, or as they were then termed, "deputations," were granted to other than London lodges, may be held to prove that the old system, so to speak, overlapped the new, and to justify the conclusion, that the Masonry of Randle Holme's time survived the epoch of transition—this evidence is unfortunately too meagre, to do more than satisfy the mind of the strong probability, to put it no higher, that such was really the case. All three lodges died out before 1756, and their records perished with them. But here the minutes of Grand Lodge come to our assistance, and as will be seen in the next chapter, a petitioner for relief in 1732 claimed to have been made a Mason *by the Duke of Richmond* at *Chichester* in 1696.

The Lodge of Industry affords an example of an operative lodge—with extant minutes—which, although originally independent of the Grand Lodge, ultimately became merged in the establishment.[1]

The original home of this lodge was at the village of Swalwell, in the county of Durham, about four miles from Gateshead; and a tradition exists, for it is nothing more, that it was founded by operative masons brought from the south by Sir Ambrose Crowley, when he established his celebrated foundry at Winlaton about A.D. 1690. Its records date from 1725, and on June 24, 1735,[2] the lodge accepted a "deputation" from the Grand Lodge. The meetings continued to be held at Swalwell until 1844, and from 1845 till the present time have taken place at Gateshead. In the records there appear "Orders of Antiquity, Apprentice Orders, General Orders, and Penal Orders," all written in the old Minute Book by the same clear hand, *circa* 1730. These I shall shortly have occasion to cite, but in the first instance it becomes necessary to resume our examination of the Alnwick documents.

The records of the Alnwick Lodge comprise a good copy of the "Masons' Constitutions" or "Old Charges,"[3] certain rules of the lodge, enacted in 1701, and the ordinary minutes, which terminate June 24, 1757, though the lodge was still in existence, and preserved its operative character until at least the year 1763.[4] The rules or regulations are headed:—

[1] Authorities consulted—By-Laws of the Lodge of Industry, No. 48, 1870; Abstract of the Minutes of the Lodge by the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 72, 82, 125, 348); and Letters of Mr Robert Whitfield (Freemason, October 26 and December 11, 1880).

[2] Although no previous lodge was *chartered* in or near Newcastle, the following extracts show that there were several independent or non-warranted lodges in the neighbourhood about this period. "Newcastle-on-Tyne, May 29.—On Wednesday last was held at Mr Bartholomew Pratt's in the Flesh-Market, a Lodge of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at which abundance of Gentlemen assisted, wearing white Leathern Aprons and Gloves. N.B.—Never such an Appearance of Ladies and Gentlemen were ever seen together at this place" (Weekly Journal, No. 272, June 6, 1730). [Newcastle] "December 28, 1734.—Yesterday, being St John's Day, was held the *usual* anniversary of the Most Honourable and Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, at Widow Grey's, on the Quay, where there was the greatest appearance that has been known on that occasion, the Society consisting of the principal inhabitants of the town and country. In the evening they unanimously nominated Dr Askew their Master, Mr Thoresby their Deputy Master, Mr Blenkinsop and Mr Skal their Wardens for the ensuing year" (St James Evening Post).

[3] Chap. II., p. 69.

[4] Rules and Orders of the Lodge of Free Masons in the Town of Alnwick, Newcastle, Printed by T. Slack, 1763.

"ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED BY THE COMPANY AND FELLOWSHIP OF FREEMASONS ATT A LODGE HELD AT ALNWICK, SEPTR. 29, 1701, BEING THE GEN^{LL} HEAD MEETING DAY.

	£	s.	d.
"1*st.*—First it is ordered by the said Fellowship thatt there shall be yearly Two Wardens chosen upon the said Twenty-ninth of Septr., being the Feast of St Michaell the Archangell, which Wardens shall be elected and appoynted by the most consent of the Fellowship.[1]			
"2*nd.*—Item, Thatt the said Wardens receive, commence, and sue all such penaltyes and fforfeitures and fines as shall in any wise be amongst the said Fellowship, and shall render and yield up a just account att the year's end of all such fines and forfeitures as shall come to their hands, or oftener if need require, or if the Master or Fellows list to call for them, for every such offence to pay[2] . .	0	6	8
"3*rd.*—Item, That noe mason shall take any worke by task or by Day, other then the King's work, butt thatt att the least he shall make Three or Four of his Fellows acquainted therewith, for to take his part, paying for every such offence .	3	6	8[3]
"4*th.*—Item, Thatt noe mason shall take any work thatt any of his Fellows is in hand with all—to pay for every such offence the sume off[4] . . .	2	6	8[5]
"5*th.*—Item, Thatt noe mason shall take any Apprentice [but he must] enter him and give him his charge within one whole year after. Nott soe doing, the master shall pay for every such offence	0	3	4
"6*th.*—Item, Thatt every master for entering his apprentices shall pay[6] .	0	0	6
"7*th.*—Item, Thatt every mason when he is warned by the Wardens or other of the Company, and shall nott come to the place appoynted, except he have a reasonable cause to shew the Master and Wardens to the contrary; nott soe doing shall pay[7]	0	6	8
"8*th.*—Item, Thatt noe Mason shall shon [shun] his Fellow or give him the lye, or any ways contend with him or give him any other name in the place of meeting			

[1] "That there shall on St John Baptist's day, June 24th, yearly by the Majority of Votes in the assembly be chosen a Master and Warden for the year ensuing, and a Deputy to act in [the] Master's absence as Master" (Swalwell Lodge, General Orders, No. 1). "That the Chief Meeting Day be June 24th each year, the 29th of September, the 27th of December, and the 25th of March, Quarterly meeting days" (*Ibid.*, No. 2). See the rules of the Gateshead Corporation, *ante*, p. 151.

[2] "That the MASTER shall receive all ffines, Penaltys, and moneys collected amongst the ffellowship; And keep the moneys in the public fund-Box of the Company. AND from time to time render a just account of the State thereof when required on penalty of £01—00—00." (*Ibid.*, Penal Orders, No. 3).

[3] The Hockley MS. has, *query* £1, 6s. 8d.

[4] The "Old Charges" are very precise in forbidding one mason "to supplant another of his work." See the Buchanan MS. (15), Chap. II., p. 99; also the Orders of Antiquity (8th) and the Penal Orders (20th) of the Swalwell Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 82, 85).

[5] Mr Hockley writes, *query* £1, 6s. 8d., which is the amount deciphered by Hughan.

[6] "When any Mason shall take an APPRENTICE, he shall enter him in the Company's Records within 40 days, and pay 6d. for Registering on Penalty of 00—03—04" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 4).

[7] "Whatever Mason when warned by a Summons from Master & Warden [the last two words erased], shall not thereon attend at the place and time apointed, or within an hour after, without a reasonable Cause hindering, Satisfactory to the ffellowship; he shall pay for his Disobedience the sum of 00—00—06, whether on a Quarterly Meeting or any other occasion" (*Ibid.*, No. 1).

	£	s.	d.
then Brother or Fellow, or hold any disobedient argument, against any of the Company reproachfully, for every such offence shall pay[1]	0	0	6
"9*th.*—Item, There shall noe apprentice after he have served seaven years be admitted or accepted but upon the Feast of St Michael the Archangell, paying to the Master and Wardens[2]	0	6	8
"10*th.*—Item, If any Mason, either in the place of meeting or att work among his Fellows, swear or take God's name in vain, thatt he or they soe offending shall pay for every time[3]	[0	5	4][4]
"11*th.*—Item, Thatt if any Fellow or Fellows shall att any time or times discover his master's secretts, or his owne, be it nott onely spoken in the Lodge or without, or the secreets or councell of his Fellows, thatt may extend to the Damage of any of his Fellows, or to any of their good names, whereby the Science may be ill spoken of, ffor every such offence shall pay[5]	1	6	8
"12*th.*—Item, Thatt noe Fellow or Fellows within this Lodge shall att any time or times call or hold Assemblys to make any mason or masons free: Nott acquainting the Master[6] or Wardens therewith, For every time so offending shall pay[7]	3	6	8
"13*th.*—Item, Thatt noe rough Layers or any others thatt has nott served their time, or [been] admitted masons, shall work within the Lodge any work of masonry whatsoever (except under a Master), for every such offence shall pay[8] . .	3	13	4

14*th.*—Item, That all Fellows being younger shall give his Elder fellows the honor due to their degree and standing. Alsoe thatt the Master,[9] Wardens, and all the Fellows of this Lodge doe promise severally and respectively to performe all and every the orders above named, and to stand bye each other (but more particularly to the Wardens and their successors)[10] in sueing for all and every the forfeitures of our said Brethren, contrary to any of the said orders, demand thereof being first made."[11]

[1] "That no Mason shall huff his ffelow, giue him the lie, swear or take God's name in vain within the accustomed place of meeting, on pain of 00—01—00, on the yearly or Quarterly meeting days" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 2).

[2] "That no apprentice when having served 7 years, be admitted or accepted into the ffellowship, but either on the chief meeting day, or on a Quarterly meeting day" (*Ibid.*, General Orders, No. 3).

[3] See note above to the *eighth* order of the Alnwick Lodge.

[4] A blank here, according to Mr Hockley.

[5] "If any be found not faithfully to keep and maintain the 8 ffraternal signs, and all points of ffelowship, and principal matters relating to the secret craft, each offence, penalty 10—10—00" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 8).

[6] *Masters* (Hockley MS.).

[7] "That no master or ffelow take any allowance or ffee of any, for their being made a Mason without ye knowledge and consent of Seaven of the Society at least" (Swalwell Lodge, Orders of Antiquity, No. 10). *Cf.* Buchanan MS. (15), Special Charges, § 5; Schaw Statutes No. 1, § 13; Rules of the Gateshead "ffelowshipp;" and Plot's Account of the Freemasons, *ante*, Chaps. II., p. 99; VIII., p. 386; XIV., pp. 151, 164.

[8] See Chaps. II., p. 100 (Buchanan MS., § 16); and VIII., pp. 386, 390 (Schaw Statutes, No. 1, § 15, and No. 2, § 12).

[9] *Masters* (Hockley MS.).

[10] The absence of any allusion to the *Master*, in view of the observations that follow in the text, should be carefully noted.

[11] "That you reverence your elders according to their degree, and especially those of the Mason's Craft" (Swalwell Lodge, Apprentice Orders, No. 3); and see further, Chaps. II., pp. 98, 99; and VIII., p. 385.

The regulations of the Alnwick Lodge, though duly enacting the manner in which the annual election of Wardens shall be conducted, make no provision, as will be seen, for that of Master; nor among the signatures attached to the code, although those of two members have the descriptive title of "Warden" affixed, is there one which we might deem more likely than another to be the autograph of the actual head of the fraternity. This is the more remarkable, from the fact that in several places *the* Master is referred to;[1] and although we learn from the minute-book that James Mills (or Milles) was "chosen and elected Master" in 1704—there being but a single entry of earlier date (October 3, 1703), from this period till the records come to an end—both Master *and* Wardens were annually elected. Some alteration in the procedure, however slight, must have occurred, as instead of the election taking place on the "Feast of St Michaell," from 1704 onwards, the principal officers were invariably chosen on December 27, the Feast of St John the Evangelist. The latter evidently became the "general head-meeting day" from at least 1704, and the words "made Free Decr. 27th," which are of frequent occurrence, show that the apprentices who had served their time in accordance with the ninth regulation, were no longer "admitted or accepted" on the date therein prescribed.

The fifth and sixth regulations, which relate to the "entering" of apprentices, are worthy of our most careful attention, since they not only cast some rays of light upon our immediate subject—the customs of those early *English* Lodges which were in existence before the second decade of the eighteenth century—but also tend to illuminate some obscure passages in the Masonic records of the sister kingdom, upon which many erroneous statements have been founded.[2]

We have seen that a mason who took an apprentice was required to enter him and *give him his charge* within a year, and in estimating the meaning of these words it will be essential to recollect that a copy of the "Old Charges" formed part of the records of the lodge.[3] This was doubtless read to the apprentice at his entry, and may be easily referred to;[4] but the actual procedure in cases of admission into the lodge, is so vividly presented to us by a passage in the Swalwell records, that I shall venture to transcribe it.

"Forasmuch as you are contracted and Bound to one of our Brethren: We are here assembled together with one Accord, to declare unto you the Laudable Dutys appertaining unto those yt are Apprentices, to those who are of the Lodge of Masonry, which if you take good heed unto and keep, will find the same worthy your regard for a Worthy Science: ffor at the building of the Tower of Babylon and Citys of the East, King Nimrod the Son of Cush, the Son of Ham, the Son of Noah, &c., gave Charges and Orders to Masons, as also did Abraham in Egypt. King David and his Son King SOLOMAN at the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, and many more Kings and Princes of worthy memory from time to time, and did not only promote the ffame of the 7 Liberal Sciences but fformed Lodges, and give and granted their Commissions and Charters to those of or belonging to the Sciences of Masonry, to keep

[1] §§ 2, 7, 9, 12, 14.

[2] *E.g.*, that apprentices were not *members* of the lodge, and that they possessed but a fragmentary knowledge of the Masonic secrets. The Scottish practice with regard to the entering of apprentices will be presently examined.

[3] See, however, Johnson's Dictionary, *s.v.* Charge.

[4] Hughan, The Old Charges of British Freemasons, p. 69; and Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, pp. 253, 295.

and hold their Assemblys, for correcting of ffaults, or making Masons within their Dominions, when and where they pleased."[1]

The manuscript last quoted is of value in more ways than one, as whilst indicating with greater precision than any other document of its class, that apprentices under indentures were received into the lodge, and that a ceremony embodying at least the recital of our legendary history took place, the extract given tends to enhance the authority of the Swalwell records, as elucidatory of usages *dating* much farther back, by showing that the lodge was still essentially an operative one, and, so far as this evidence extends, that its simple routine was as yet uninfluenced by the speculative system into which it was subsequently absorbed.

Whether, indeed, the customs of the Swalwell Lodge received, at any period prior to its acceptance of a warrant, some tinge or colouring from the essentially speculative usages which are *supposed* to have sprung up during what I have already termed the epoch of transition—1717-23—cannot be determined; but even leaving this point, as we are fain to do, undecided, the *eighth* Penal Order of the Swalwell fraternity, which I have given in a note to regulation *eleven* of the Alnwick Lodge, possesses a significance that we can hardly overrate.

Reading the latter by the light of the former, we might well conjecture, that though to the Alnwick brethren *degrees*, as we now have them, were unknown, still, with the essentials out of which these degrees were compounded, they may have been familiar. This point, in connection with the evidence of Dr Plot and Randle Holme, will again come before us, but it will be convenient to state, that throughout the entire series of the Alnwick records there is no entry, if we except the regulation under examination, from which, by the greatest latitude of construction, it might be inferred that secrets of any kind were communicated to the brethren of this lodge.

The silence of the Alnwick records with respect to *degrees*, which is continuous and unbroken from 1701 to 1757, suggests, however, a line of argument, which, by confirming the idea that the Swalwell Lodge preserved its operative customs intact until 1730 or later, may have the effect of convincing some minds, that for an explanation of Alnwick regulation No. 11, we shall rightly consult Penal Order No. 8 of the junior sodality, to which attention has already been directed.

If, then, the silence of the Alnwick minutes with regard to "degrees" is held to prove—as it will be by most persons—that the independent character of the lodge was wholly unaffected by the marvellous success of the speculative system; or, in other words, that the Alnwick Lodge and the lodges under the Grand Lodge of England, existed side by side from 1717 to 1757—a period of forty years—without the operative giving way, even in part, to the speculative usages—it follows, *a fortiori*, that we must admit, if we do no more, the strong probability of the Swalwell customs having preserved their vitality unimpaired from the date we first hear of them (1725) until at any rate the year 1730, which is about the period when the Penal and other Orders, to which such frequent reference has been made, were committed to writing.[2]

[1] Swalwell Lodge, Apprentice Orders, No. 1 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 82, 83). These orders are eight in number, and may be termed an abbreviated form of the ordinary prose "Constitutions" or "Old Charges." See *ante*, Chap. II., p. 70 (80).

[2] *Ante*, p. 261; and Chap. II. (80), p. 70.

The notes appended to the Alnwick regulations constitute a running commentary on the text, and indicate the leading points on which, in my opinion, our attention should be fixed while scrutinising these laws.

According to Hughan, sixty-nine signatures are attached to the code, but Mr Hockley's MS. only gives fifty-eight, forty-two of which were subscribed *before* December 27, 1709, four on that date, and the remainder between 1710 and 1722. In several instances, marks, though almost entirely of a monogrammatic character, are affixed. Many names occur in the list, which, if not actually those of persons who have crossed the border, are certainly of Scottish derivation, *e.g.*, there is a Boswell and a Pringell, whilst of the extensive family of the Andersons there are no less than four representatives, two bearing the name of "John," and the younger of whom—"made free" July 17, 1713—is probably the same John Anderson who was Master of the Lodge in 1749, and a member so late as 1753. The protracted membership of certain of the subscribers is a noteworthy circumstance, from which may be drawn the same inference as in the parallel case of the brethren who founded the Grand Lodge of England, some of whom we know to have been active members of that organisation many years subsequently, viz., that no evolutionary changes of a violent character can be supposed to have taken place, since it is improbable—not to say impossible—that either the Alnwick Masons of 1701, or the London brethren of 1717, would have looked calmly on, had the forms and ceremonies to which they were accustomed been as suddenly metamorphosed, as it has become, in some degree, the fashion to believe.[1]

Four members of the Alnwick Lodge, Thomas Davidson,[2] William Balmbrough, Robert Hudson, and Patrick Milles[3]—the last named having been "made free" December 27, 1706, the others earlier—are named in its later records. Hudson was a warden in 1749, and the remaining three, or brethren of the same names, were present at the lodge on St John's Day, 1753.

The minutes of the Alnwick and of the Swalwell Lodges exhibit a general uniformity. The entries in both, record for the most part the "Inrollments of Apprentices," together with the imposition of fines, and the resolutions passed from time to time for the assistance of indigent brethren.

The head or chief meeting day, in the case of the Alnwick brethren, the festival of St John the Evangelist, and in that of the Swalwell fraternity, the corresponding feast of St John the Baptist, was commemorated with much solemnity. Thus, under date of January 20, 1708, we find: "At a true and perfect Lodge kept at Alnwick, at the house of Mr Thomas Davidson, one of the Wardens of the same Lodge, it was ordered that for the future noe member of the said lodge, Master, Wardens, or Fellows, should appear at any lodge to be kept on St John's day in (church[4]), without his apron and common Square fixed in the belt thereof;[5] upon pain

[1] The *names* of members of the Swalwell lodge, especially in the earlier portion of its history, are very sparingly given, in the excerpts to which alone I have had access, but there is at least a sufficiency of evidence, to warrant the conclusion, that the essentially operative character of the lodge remained unchanged for many years *after* 1735, the date of its coming under the rule of Grand Lodge.

[2] Warden apparently from 1701 to 1709, and Master 1710.

[3] Warden 1709-10, and again (or a namesake) in 1752.

[4] *Christmas*, according to Hughan, but given as above, within parenthesis, by Mr Hockley.

[5] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 423.

of forfeiting two shillings and 6 pence, each person offending, and that care be taken by the Master and Wardens for the time being, that a sermon be provided and preached that day at the parish Church of Alnwick by some clergyman at their appointment; when the Lodge shall all appear with their aprons on and common Squares as aforesaid, and that the Master and Wardens neglecting their duty in providing a clergyman to preach as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings."

A minute of the Swalwell lodge, dated the year *before* it ceased to be an independent Masonic body, reads: "Decr. 27, 1734.—It is agreed by the Master and Wardens, and the rest of the Society, that if any brother shall appear in the Assembly[1] without gloves and aprons at any time when summoned by [the] Master and Wardens, [he] shall for each offence pay one shilling on demand."

Between the years 1710 and 1748 the Alnwick records, if not wholly wanting, contain at best very trivial entries. A few notes, however, may be usefully extracted from the later minutes, which, though relating to a period of time somewhat in advance of the particular epoch we are considering, will fit in here better than at any later stage, and it must not escape our recollection, that the Alnwick Lodge never surrendered its independence, and, moreover, from first to last, was an operative rather than a speculative fraternity. Indeed, that it was speculative at all, in the sense either of possessing members who were not operative masons, or of discarding its ancient formulary for the ceremonial of Grand Lodge, is very problematical. If it became so, the influx of speculative *Free*masons on the one hand, or its assimilation of modern customs on the other hand, must alike have occurred at a comparatively late period.

The minutes of the lodge, towards the close of its existence, admit, it must be confessed, of a varied interpretation, and in order that my readers may judge of this for themselves, I subjoin the few entries which appear to me at all material in this inquiry:—

December 27, 1748.—Three persons subscribe their names as having been "made free Brothers" of the lodge, and their signatures are carefully distinguished from those of the Master, Wardens, and the twelve other members present, by the memorandum.—"Bro^{s}. to the assistance of the said lodge."

By a resolution of the same date—December 27, 1748—though entered on a separate page—"It was ordered, that a Meeting of the Society shall be held at the house of M^{r} Thos. Woodhouse, on Sat^{y}. evening next, at 6 o'clock [for the propose of making] proper Orders and Rules for the better regulating *the free masonry*."

Among a variety of resolutions, passed December 31, 1748, are the following:—

"It is ordered that all apprentices that shall offer to be admitted into the s^{d} lodge after serving due apprenticeship, shall pay for such admittance—10s."

"Also that *all other persons* and *strangers not serving a due apprenticeship*, shall pay for such admittance the sum of 17s. 6d."[2]

[1] June 24. See General Orders of the Swalwell Lodge, Nos. 1 and 2 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 83).

[2] "June 14, 1733.—It is agreed by the Society, that any brother of the lodge that hath an apprentice that serves his time equally and lawfully as he ought to do, shall be made free for the sum of 8s. And for any working mason, not of the lodge, the sum of 10s. And to any *gentlemen or other* that is not a working mason, [an amount fixed] according to the majority of the company" (Records of the Swalwell Lodge).

"Ordered that none shall be admitted into the said lodge under the age of 21 or above 40."[1]

"Also, that in case any of the s^d. members of the s^d. Society shall fail in the world, it is ordered that there shall be paid weekly out of the s^d. Lodge, 4s."[2]

The striking resemblance of these old regulations of the Alnwick and Swalwell fraternities, to those of the Gateshead Incorporation,[3] will be apparent to the most casual reader.

Apprentices, in every case, were only admitted to full membership at the expiration of seven years from the dates of their indentures. Whether, indeed, any process analogous to that of "entering" prevailed in the Incorporation, cannot be positively affirmed, but it is almost certain that it did, though the term "entered apprentice" does not occur, at least so far as I am aware, in any *English* book or manuscript, Masonic or otherwise, of earlier date than 1723. From the fifth of the Alnwick "Orders" we can gather with sufficient clearness what an "Entered Apprentice" must have been, but the particular expression first appears in 1725, in the actual minutes of any English *lodge*, of which I have seen either the originals or copies.

The earliest entry in the minute book of Swalwell Lodge runs as follows:—

"September 29, 1725.—Then Matthew Armstrong and Arthur Douglas, Masons, appeared in ye lodge of Freemasons, and agreed to have their names registered as 'Enterprentices,' to be accepted next quarterly meeting, paying one shilling for entrance, and 7s. 6d. when they take their freedom."[4]

As the question will arise, whether the terms Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice—all well known in Scotland, in the seventeenth century—were *introduced* into England, and popularised by the author of the first book of Constitutions (1723); the earliest allusion to any grade of the Masonic hierarchy, which is met with in the records of an English lodge—one, moreover, working by inherent right, and independently of the Grand Lodge—may well claim our patient examination.

It may be urged that the entry of 1725 comes two years later than Dr Anderson's "Constitutions," where all the titles are repeatedly mentioned, and the lowest of all, "Entered Prentice," acquires a *prestige* from the song at the end of the book, "to be sung when all *grave* business is over,"[5] which may have greatly aided in bringing the term within the popular comprehension.[6]

Yet to this may be replied, that the Swalwell minutes, not only during the ten years of independency—1725-35—but for a generation or two after the lodge had accepted a charter from the Grand Lodge, teem with resolutions of an exclusively operative character, for example:—"25th March 1754.—That B^ro. W^m. Burton having taken John Cloy'd as an apprentice for 7 years, made his apperance and had the apprentice charge read over, and p^d. for registering, 6d."[7]

[1] A simular regulation was enacted by the Swalwell Lodge *circa* 1754, and was not an unusual one in the *regular* lodges, *e.g.*:—"Feb 5, 1740, a debate arising concerning the entrance of B^ro Peek the ensuing lodge night. But he confessing himself to be above 40 years of age, and he was rejected" (Minutes of No. 168, afterwards the "Vacation Lodge," and numbered 76 at the Union, now extinct).

[2] See the "Fund Laws" of the Swalwell Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 125).

[3] Chap. XIV., p. 151.

[4] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 74.

[5] "The Enter'd Prentice's Song, by our late Brother Mr Matthew Birkhead, deceased" (Constitutions, 1723).

[6] As will presently appear, "Apprentices" are not alluded to in the York minutes of 1712-25.

[7] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 74.

Here, at a period nearly forty years after the formation of a Grand Lodge, we find one of the lodges under its sway, entering an apprentice in the time-honoured fashion handed down by the oldest of our manuscript Constitutions.

The Swalwell records present other noteworthy features, to which attention will be hereafter directed. Yet, though they have but a slight connection with the immediate subject of our inquiry, it would be unfair to pass them over without notice, as the entries relating to the Orders of the "Highrodiams" and the "Damaskins," which begin in 1746, and are peculiar to this lodge, may be held by some to attest the presence of speculative novelties, that detract from the *weight* which its later documentary evidence would otherwise possess as coming from the archives of an operative sodality. A reference to these entries is therefore given below,[1] whilst such readers as are content with the information contained in this history, may consult a later chapter, where the curious allusions above cited, and some others, will be carefully examined in connection with the origin of the Royal Arch degree.

Before leaving these old minutes, however, there is a singular law, which, as it throws some light upon the doubtful point of how far females were permitted, in those early days, to take part in the proceedings of lodges, I shall venture to transcribe:—

"No woman, if [she] comes to speak to her husband, or any other person, shall be admitted *into the room*, but speak at the door, nor any woman be admitted to serve [those within] wth drink, etc."[2]

The next evidence in point of time, as we pass from the operative records, which have their commencement in 1701, is contained in the following reply from Governor Jonathan Belcher to a congratulatory address, delivered September 25, 1741, by a deputation from the "First Lodge in Boston."

"WORTHY BROTHERS: I take very kindly this mark of your respect. It is now thirty-seven years since I was admitted into the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, to whom I have been a faithful Brother & a well-wisher to the Art of Freemasonry. I shall ever maintain a strict friendship for the whole Fraternity, & always be glad when it may fall in my power to do them any Services."[3]

Governor Belcher was born in Boston in 1681, graduated at Harvard in 1699, and immediately afterwards went abroad, and was absent six years.[4] It was at this time that he was presented to the Princess Sophia and her son, afterwards George II., and made a Mason, as his language would imply, about the year 1704. His next visit to England occurred in 1729, and in the following year he returned to America, on receiving the appointment of Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.[5]

Although Governor Belcher does not name the place of his initiation, it is probable that it took place in London, and the words he uses to describe his "admission" into the Society, will

[1] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., pp. 73, 75, 76; Freemason, Oct. 30, Dec. 4, and Dec. 11, 1880.

[2] Swalwell Lodge—General Orders, No. 6. See *ants*, Chap. II., pp. 68, 90, 91; III., p. 176; VI., p. 319; and Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 121, 122.

[3] Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1871, p. 376; *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 184; New England Freemason, Boston, U.S.A., vol. i., 1874, p. 67.

[4] Grand Master Gardner (Massachusetts), Address upon Henry Price, 1872, p. 22.

[5] "On Monday next, Jonathan Belcher, who is soon to depart in the 'Susannah,' Captain Cary, for his government of New England, is to be entertained at dinner at Mercer's Hall, by the gentlemen trading to that Colony" (Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, No. 248, Feb. 28, 1730).

justify the inference, that on being *made* a Freemason, whatever Masonic Secrets then existed, were communicated to him in their entirety, precisely as we may imagine was the case when Ashmole became a member of the Warrington Lodge, and in the parallel instances of the reception of gentlemen at York, to the records of which Masonic centre I shall next turn.

The history of Freemasonry in York will, however, be only partially treated in the ensuing pages. Its later records will form the subject of a distinct chapter, and I shall attempt no more, at this stage, than to introduce such extracts from the early minutes, as in my judgment are at all likely to elucidate the particular inquiry we are now pursuing.

At present I pass over the *inferences* to be drawn from the existence of so many copies of the "Old Charges," as found a home in the archives of the Grand Lodge of York. Their cumulative value is great, and will be hereafter considered. The names also, which appear on York MS. 4 (25), at once carry us back to the existence of a lodge in 1693. But *where* it was held is a point upon which we can now only vainly speculate, without the possibility of arriving at any definite conclusion.

Happily, there is undoubted evidence, coming from two distinct sources, which in each case points to the vigorous vitality of York Masonry in 1705, and inferentially, to its continuance from a more remote period. At that date, as we learn from a minute-book of the Old Lodge at York, which unfortunately only commences in that year,[1] "Sir George Tempest, Barronet," was the President, a position he again filled in 1706 and 1713. Among the subsequent Presidents were the Lord Mayor of York, afterwards Lord Bingley (1707), the following Baronets, Sir William Robinson (1708-10), Sir Walter Hawksworth (1711-12, 1720-23), and other persons of distinction.

The "Scarborough" MS. (28)[2] furnishes the remaining evidence, which attests the active condition of Yorkshire Freemasonry in 1705. The endorsement in this roll may, without any effort of the imagination, be regarded as bearing indirect testimony to the influence of the Lodge or Society at York. This must have radiated to some extent at least, and an example is afforded by the proceedings at Bradford in 1713. These, I shall presently cite, but the position of York as a local and independent centre of the transitional Masonry, which interposed between the reigns of the purely operative and the purely speculative Societies, will be examined at greater length hereafter. We learn at all events, from the roll referred to (28), that at a *private* lodge held at Scarborough "*in the County of York*," on the 10th of July 1705, "before" William Thompson, *President*, and other Free Masons, six persons, whose names are subscribed, were "admitted into the fraternity." It is difficult to understand what is meant by the term "private lodge," an expression which is frequently met with, as will be shortly perceived, in the minutes of the York body itself. Possibly the explanation may be, that it signified a *special* as distinguished from a *regular* meeting, or the words may imply that an *occasional* and not a *stated*[3] lodge was then held?

Indeed the speculation might even be advanced, that the meeting was in effect a "move-

[1] Now unfortunately missing; but for an account of the vicissitudes both of good and bad fortune, through which the York Records have passed, see Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, *passim*; and Freemasonry in York, *post*.

[2] Chap. II., p. 70.

[3] For the use of these expressions, see *ante*, pp. 10, 178, 179; The Four Old Lodges, pp. 27, 46; Book of Constitutions, 1738, pp. 106, 107, 129, 137.

able lodge," convened by the York brethren. Such assemblies were frequently held in the *county*, and on the occasion of the York Lodge, meeting at Bradford in 1713, no less than eighteen gentlemen of the first families in that neighbourhood were made Masons. A further supposition presents itself, and it is, that we have here an example of the custom of granting written licences to enter Masons at a distance from the lodge, such as we find traces of in the Kilwinning, the Dunblane, and the Haughfoot minutes.[1] If so, we may suppose that the precedent set by the Lodge of Kilwinning in 1677,[2] when the Masons from the Canongate of Edinburgh applied to it for a roving commission or "travelling warrant," was duly followed, and that the Scarborough brethren were empowered to admit qualified persons "in name and behalf" of the Lodge of York?

The earliest of the York minutes—now extant—are contained in a roll of parchment,[3] endorsed "1712 to 1730," and for the following extracts I am indebted to my friend and *collaborateur*, William James Hughan.

"March the 19th, 1712.[4]—At a private Lodge, held at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr Thomas Shipton, Mr Caleb Greenbury, Mr Jno. Norrison, Mr Jno. Russell, Jno. Whitehead, and Francis Norrison were all of them severally sworne and admitted into the honourable Society and fraternity of Free-Masons.

Geo. Bowes, Esq., *Dep.-President.*

Jno. Wilcock also admitted at the same Lodge.	Thos. Shipton.	Caleb Greenbury.
	Jno. Norrison.	John Russell.
	Fran. Norrison.	John Whitehead.
		John Wilcock."

"June the 24th, 1713.—At a General Lodge on St John's Day, at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr John Langwith was admitted and sworne into the honourable Society and fraternity of Freemasons.

Sir Walter Hawksworth, Knt. and Bart., *President.*
Jno. Langwith."

"August the 7th, 1713.—At a private Lodge held there at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Robert Fairfax, Esq., and Tobias Jenkings, Esq., were admitted and sworne into the hon^ble^ Society and fraternity of Freemasons, as also the Reverend Mr Robert Barker was then admitted and sworne as before.

Geo. Bowes, Esq., *Dep.-President.*
Robert Fairfax. T. Jenkyns. Robt. Barber."

"December the 18th, 1713.—At a private Lodge held there at the house of Mr James Boreham, in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr Thos. Hardwick, Mr Godfrey Giles, and Mr Tho. Challoner was admitted and sworne into the hono^ble^ Society and Company of Freemasons before the Worshipfull S^r^ Walter Hawksworth, Knt. and Barr^t^., *President.*

Tho. Hardwicke.
Godfrey Giles.
Thomas his T mark Challoner."

[1] Chap. VIII.; and Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 100.

[2] Chap. VIII., p 410.

[3] The entire contents of this roll were copied for Hughan, by the late Mr William Cowling of York.

[4] It is quite patent that if there had been no other evidence of the earlier existence of the Lodge, this record indicates that the meeting of March 19th, 1712, was not the first of its kind.

"1714.—At a General Lodge held there on the 24th June at Mr James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in York, John Taylor, of Langton in the Woulds, was admitted and sworne into the hono^{ble} Society and Company of Freemasons in the City of York, before the Worshipfull Charles Fairfax, Esq. John Taylor."

"At St John's Lodge in Christmas, 1716.—At the house of Mr James Boreham, situate [in] Stonegate, in York, being a General Lodge, held there by the hono^{ble} Society and Company of Free Masons, in the City of York, John Turner, Esq., was sworne and admitted into the said Hono^{ble} Society and Fraternity of Free Masons.

Charles Fairfax, Esq., *Dep.-President.*
John Turner."

"At St John's Lodge in Christmas, 1721.—At Mr Robert Chippendal's, in the Shambles, York, Rob^{t} Fairfax, Esq., then Dep.-President, the said Rob^{t} Chippendal was admitted and sworne into the hon^{ble} Society of Free Masons. Rob. Fairfax, Esq., D.P.
Robt. Chippendal."

"January the 10th, 1722-3.—At a private Lodge, held at the house of Mrs Hall, in Thursday Market, in the City of York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into y^{e} honourable Society of Free Masons:—

Henry Legh. Richd. Marsh. Edward Paper.

At the same time the following persons *were acknowledged as Brethren of this ancient Society:*[1]—

Edmd. Winwood. G. Rhodes. Josh. Hebson. John Vauner. Francis Hildyard, jun^{r}."

"February the 4th, 1722-3.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Boreham's, in Stonegate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into the Ancient and Hon^{ble} Society of Free Masons:— John Lockwood. Matt^{w}. Hall.

At the same time and place, the two persons whose names are underwritten were, *upon their examinations,* received as Masons, and as such were accordingly introduced and admitted into this Lodge.[1] Geo. Reynoldson. Barnaby Bawtry."

"November 4th, 1723.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Wm. Stephenson's, in Petergate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into the Antient Society of Free Masons:— John Taylor. Jno. Colling."

"Feb. 5th, 1723-4.—At a private Lodge at Mr James Boreham's, in Stonegate, York, the underwritten persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons:—

Wm. Tireman. Charles Pick. Will^{m}. Musgrave. John Jenkinson. John Sudell."

"June 15, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held in Davy Hall, in the City of York, the underwritten persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons:—

Daniel Harvey. Ralph Grayme."

"June 22, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, in the City of York, were admitted and sworn into the Society of Free Masons the persons underwritten, viz.:—

Robert Armorer. William Jackson. Geo. Gibson."

[1] Evidently these seven brethren—*acknowledged* and *received* as Masons on January 10 and February 4, 1723—were accepted either as Joining members, or as visitors, hailing from another Lodge or Lodges.

"Dec. 28, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Jno. Colling's, in Petergate, the following persons were admitted and sworn into y^e^ Society of Free Masons.

Wm. Wright. Ric. Denton. Jno. Marsden. Ste. Bulkley."

"July 21, 1725.—At a private Lodge at Mr Jno. Colling's, in Petergate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworn into the Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

Luke Lowther. Chas. Hutton."

"At an adjournment of a Lodge of Free Masons from Mr Jno. Colling, in Petergate, to Mr Luke Lowther's, in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Society of free [and] Accepted Masons—Ed. Bell, Esq., Master.

Chas. Bathurst. John Johnson. John Elsworth. Lewis Wood."

"Augt. 10, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held this day at the Star Inn in Stonegate, the underwritten Persons were admitted and sworne into the Antient Society of Free Masons, viz.:—

Jo. Bilton.

The Wors^l^. Mr Wm. Scourfield, M^r^.
Mr Marsden,
Mr Reynoldson, } Wardens."

"Augt. 12, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at the Starr, in Stonegate, the underwritten Person was sworn and admitted a member of the Antient Society of Free Masons, viz.:—

John Wilmer.

The Worsp^l^. Philip Huddy, M^r^.
Mr Marsden,
Mr Reynoldson, } Wardens."

"Sept. 6, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at the Starr Inn, in Stonegate, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into [the] Antient Society of Free Masons.

William Pawson.
Edmond Aylward.
Jon. Pawson.
Francis Drake.[1]
Malby Beckwith."

The Worsp^l^. Wm. Scourfield, M^r^.
Jonathan Perritt,
Mr Marsden, } Wardens.

"A new Lodge being call'd at the same time and Place, the following Person was admitted and sworn into this Antient and Hon^ble^ Society.

Henry Pawson.

The Worsp^l^ Mr Scourfield, M^r^.
Mr Jonathan Perritt,
Mr Marsden, } Wardens."

"Oct. 6, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr James Boreham's, the underwritten Person[s] was [were] admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Antho. Hall.
Philemon Marsh."

[1] Author of "Eboracum; or, History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral Church of York, 1736." As Junior Grand Warden he delivered a speech at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of York, December 27, 1726, which will be noticed hereafter.

"Nov. 3, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Hutton's, at the Bl. Swan in Coney Street, in York, the following Person was admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons. John Smith."

"Dec. 1st, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, in the City of York, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons before The Worsh[l] E. Bell, Esq., M[r].

Mr Etty, Mr Perritt, } Wardens. Will. Sotheran. John Iveson. Jos. Lodge."

"Dec. 8, 1725.—At a private Lodge at Mr Lowther's, being the Starr, in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Christof. Coulton. Thos. Metcalfe. Francis Lowther. George Coates. William Day."

"Dec. 24, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Lowther's, at y[e] Starr in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free-Masons.

Matt. St Quintin. Tim. Thompson. Fran[s]. Thompson. William Hendrick. Tho. Bean."

"Dec. 27, 1725.—At a Lodge, held at Mr Philemon Marsh's, in Petergate, the following gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Freemasons. Leo[d] Smith was also sworn and admitted at the same time. Chas. Howard.

Richd. Thompson."

"The same day the undermentioned Person was received, admitted, and acknowledged as a member of this Antient and Hon[ble] Society. John Hann.

Isaac ⊣ Scott."

Further extracts from these minutes will be given in their proper place. I have brought down the evidence to 1725, because that year was as memorable in the York annals, as 1717 and 1736 were in those of the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland respectively. The most important entries are, of course, those antedating the great event of 1717. None of these require any very elaborate commentary, and I shall therefore allow them, for the most part, to tell their own tale. "Sworne and admitted" or "admitted and sworne" are correlative terms, which, in the documents of the Company or the Guild, appear quite to belong to one another. Thus, the 14th ordinance of the Associated Corvisors (Cordwainers) of Hereford, A.D. 1569, runs:—

"The manner of the *othe* geven to any that shall be *admytted* to the felowshippe or companye—you .·. shall keepe secrete all the lawful councill of the saide felowshippe, and shall observe all manner of rules and ordinances by the same felowshippe, made or hereafter to be made .·. .·. soe helpe me God."[1]

Also, we learn from the ordinances of the Guild of St Katherine, at Stamford, which date from 1494, though, in the opinion of Mr Toulmin Smith, they are "the early translation of a lost original,"[2] that on St Katherine's Day, "when the first euensong is doone, the Alderman and his Bredern shall assemble in their Halle, and *dryncke*. And then shal be called forth all thoo [those] that shal be *admytted* Bredern or Sustern off the Gilde." A colloquy then ensued between the Alderman and the newcomers, the latter being asked if they were willing to

[1] J. D. Devlin, Helps to Hereford History, in an Account of the Ancient Cordwainers' Company of the City, 1848, p. 23.

[2] English Gilds, p. 191.

become "Bredern," and whether they would desire and ask it, in the worship of Almighty God, our blessed Lady Saint Mary, and of the holy virgin and martyr, St Katherine, the founder of the Guild, "*and in the way of Charyte.*"[1] To this "*by their owne Wille,*" they were to answer yea or nay, after which the clerk, by the direction of the Alderman, administered to them an oath of fealty to God, Saints Mary and Katherine, and the Guild. They then kissed the book, were lovingly received by the brethren, *drank a bout*, and went home.[2]

The York minutes inform us that three *Private* lodges were held in 1712 and the following year, two *General* lodges in 1713-14, and a *St John's* Lodge at Christmas, 1716. Confining our attention to the entries which precede the year 1717, we find the proceedings of *three* meetings described as those of "the Honourable Society and *Fraternity* of Freemasons," whilst on two later occasions, *Fraternity* gives place to *Company*, and in the minutes of 1716, these terms are evidently used as words of indifferent application.

Whether a "Deputy President" was appointed by the President or elected by the members as chairman of the meeting, in the absence of the latter official, there are no means of determining. In every instance, however, the Deputy President appears to have been a person of gentle birth and an *Esquire*. It is worthy of note, that Charles Fairfax, who occupied the chair, June 24, 1714, is styled "Worshipful" in the minutes.

Under the dates, July 21, August 10 and 12, September 6, and December 1, 1725, certain brethren are named as "Masters," but which of the three was really *the Master*, is a point that must be left undecided. The speculative character of the lodge is sufficiently apparent from the minutes of its proceedings. This, indeed, constitutes one of the *two* leading characteristics of the Freemasonry practised at York, a system frequently though erroneously termed the York Rite—the other, being, if we form our conclusions from the documentary evidence before us, the extreme simplicity of the lodge ceremonial.

Two allusions to the "Freemasons," between the date at which the York records begin (1705) and the year 1717, remain to be noticed. These occur in the *Tatler*, and in each case were penned by Mr (afterwards Sir Richard) Steele, who has been aptly described by Mr J. L. Lewis, in an article on the earlier of the two passages, as "one of the wits of Queen Anne's time—a man about town, and a close observer of everything transpiring in London in his day."[3] The following are extracts from Steele's Essays :—

June 9, 1709.—"But my Reason for troubling you at this present is, to put a stop, if it may be, to an insinuating set of People, who sticking to the LETTER of your Treatise,[4] and not to the spirit of it, do assume the Name of PRETTY[5] Fellows; nay, and even get new Names, as

[1] "Amen ! Amen ! So mot hyt be !
Say we so alle per Charyté."
—Halliwell Poem. *Cf.* Chap. XIV., p. 217.

[2] Smith, English Gilds, pp. 188, 189. See further, *ibid.*, pp. 316-319; Rev. J. Brand, History and Antiquities of Newcastle, 1789, vol ii., p. 346; Jupp, History of the Carpenters' Company, 1848, p. 8; Dr T. Harwood, History and Antiquities of Lichfield, 1806, p. 311; and Rev. C. Coates, History and Antiquities of Reading, 1802, p. 57.

[3] A Fragment of History (Masonic Eclectic, vol. i., New York, 1865, pp. 144-146).

[4] Referring to the *Tatler*, No. 24—June 4, 1709—also by Steele.

[5] Sir Walter Scott in "Waverley," p. 75, makes the Highland robber, Donald Bean Lean, speak of "the recruits who had recently joined Waverley's troop from his Uncle's estate, as '*pretty men*,' meaning (says Scott), not handsome, but stout warlike fellows." Also, at p. 326, note 30, he cites the following lines from an old ballad on the "Battle of the Bridge of Dee :"—

"The Highlandmen are pretty men
For handling sword and shield,
But yet they are but simple men
To stand a stricken field."

you very well hint. ∴ ∴ *They have their Signs and Tokens like Free-Masons;* they rail at Womankind," etc.[1]

May 2, 1710.—[After some remarks on "the tasteless manner of life which a set of idle fellows lead in this town," the essay proceeds] "You may see them at first sight grow acquainted by sympathy, insomuch that one who did not know the true cause of their sudden Familiarities, would think, *that they had some secret Intimation of each other like the Free-Masons.*"[2]

The "Fragment of History" from which I have already quoted, is too long for transcription, but some of Mr Lewis's observations on the passage in the *Tatler*, No. 26—it does not appear that he had seen the equally significant allusion in the *Tatler*, No. 166—are so finely expressed, that I shall here introduce them. He says, "The Writer (Steele) is addressing a miscellaneous public, and is giving, in his usual lively style of description, mixed with good-humoured satire, an account of a band of London dandies and loungers, whom he terms in the quaint language of the day, Pretty Fellows. He describes their effeminacy and gossip, and to give his readers the best idea that they were a closely-allied community, represents them as having 'signs and tokens like the Free-Masons.' Of course he would employ in this, as in every other of his essays, such language as would convey the clearest and simplest idea to the mind of his readers. Is it conceivable, therefore, if Freemasonry was a novelty, that he would content himself with this simple reference?"

The same commentator proceeds, "Signs and tokens are spoken of in the same technical language which is employed at the present time, and as being something peculiarly and distinctively Masonic. What other society ever had its signs except Masons and their modern imitators?[3] In what other, even of modern societies, except the Masonic, is the Grip termed 'a token?' Whether," he continues, "Sir Richard Steele was a Mason, *I do not know*,[4] but I *do know* that, in the extract I have given, he speaks of signs and tokens as matters well known and well understood by the public in his day as belonging to a particular class of men. It is left for the intelligent inquirer to ascertain how long and how widely such a custom must have existed and extended, to render such a brief and pointed reference to them intelligible to the public at large, or even to a mere London public. Again, they are spoken of as *Free-Masons*, and not merely *Masons*, or artificers in stone, and brick, and mortar; and this, too, like the signs and tokens, is unaccompanied by a single word of explanation. If it meant operative masons only, freemen of the Guild or Corporation, why should the compound word be used, connected, as *in the original*, by a hyphen? Why not say Free-Carpenters or Free-Smiths as well?"

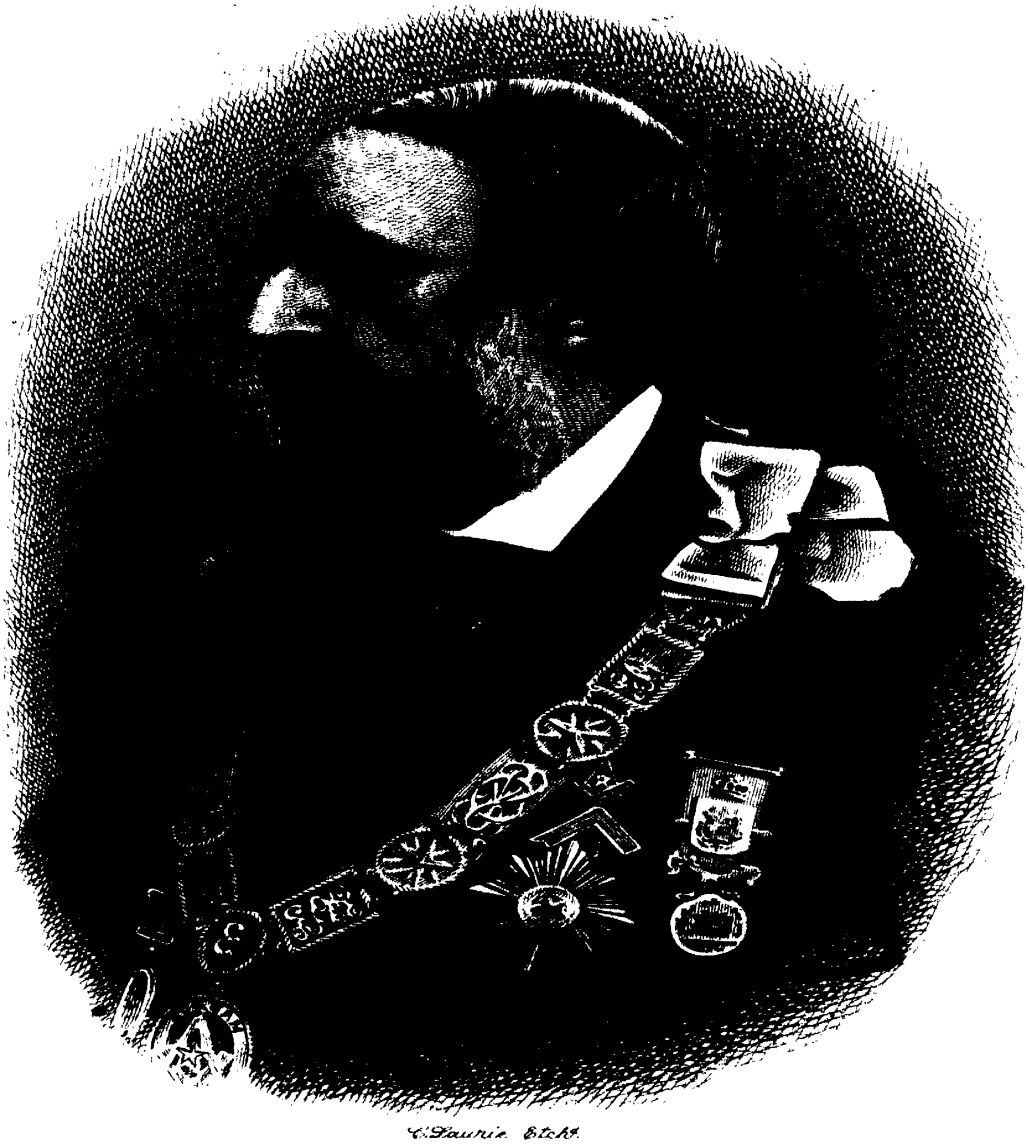
Mr Lewis then adds,—and if we agree with him, a portion of the difficulty which overhangs our subject is removed,—"The conclusion forces itself irresistibly upon the mind of every candid and intelligent person that there existed in London in 1709, and for a *long time* before,

[1] The Tatler, No. 26. From Tuesday, June 7, to Thursday, June 9, 1709.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 166. From Saturday, April 29, to Tuesday, May 2, 1710.

[3] The essayist here goes much too far, though his general argument is not invalidated. See Chaps. I., pp. 20-22; V., *passim;* and XV., p. 230.

[4] There is no further evidence to connect Sir Richard Steele with the Society of Freemasons, beyond the existence of a curious plate in Bernard Picart's "Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the various Nations of the Known World," English Edition, vol. vi., 1737, p. 193, where a portrait of Steele surmounts a copy of Pine's "Engraved List of Lodges," arranged after a very singular fashion. See further, Freemasons' Magazine, Feb. 26, 1870, p. 165; and Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, pt. i., pp. 67, 68.



RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF DURHAM.

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh.

a Society known as the Free-masons, having certain *distinct* modes of recognition; and the proof of it is found, not in the assertions of Masonic writers and historians, but in a standard work. It is not found in an elaborate panegyric written by a Masonic pen, but in the bare statement of a fact, unaccompanied by explanation, because it needed none then, as it needs none now, and is one of these sure and infallible guide-marks whence the materials for truthful history are taken, and by which its veracity is tested." [1]

Steele's allusions to the Freemasons merit our closest attention, and if, indeed, the information contained in them should not appear as complete as might be wished, it must not be forgotten that a faint light is better than total darkness.

The passages quoted from the *Tatler*, may well be held to point to something more than was implied by the phrase, "the benefit of the MASON WORD," which, if we follow the evidence, was all that *Scottish* brethren, in the *seventeenth* century, were entitled to.[2] The Masonic systems prevailing in the *two* kingdoms, will be hereafter more closely compared, but having regard to the expediency, of keeping steadily in our minds as we proceed, the important point,[3] towards the determination of which we are progressing, Lyon's definition of what is to be understood by the expression MASON WORD, will assist us in arriving at a conclusion with regard to the special value (if any) of the extracts from the *Tatler*. "The Word," says this excellent authority, "is the only secret that is ever alluded to in the minutes of Mary's Chapel or in those of Kilwinning, Atcheson's Haven, or Dunblane, or any other that we have examined of a date prior to the erection of the Grand Lodge. But that this talisman consisted of something more than a word is evident from the *secrets* of the Mason Word, being referred to in the minute-book of the Lodge of Dunblane, and from the further information drawn from that of Haughfoot, viz., that in 1707 [1702] the Word was accompanied by a grip." Lyon adds,—and in the following remarks I am wholly with him,—"If the communication by Masonic Lodges of secret words or signs constituted a *degree*—a term of modern application to the esoteric observances of the Masonic body—then there was, under the purely Operative regime, *only one known to Scottish Lodges*,[4] viz., that in which, under an oath, apprentices obtained a knowledge of the Mason Word and all that was implied in the expression." [5]

It will be observed that Lyon rests his belief in the term "Mason Word" comprising far more than its ordinary meaning would convey, upon lodge-minutes of the *eighteenth* century —the Haughfoot entry dating from 1702,[6] and that of the lodge of Dunblane so late as 1729.[7] These, however, in my judgment, are not sufficiently to be depended upon, in the entire absence of corroboration, as indicating, with any precision, the actual customs prevalent among Scottish Masons in the *seventeenth* century. The Haughfoot minute-book, like some other old manuscripts, notably the Harleian, No. 1942, and the Sloane, No. 3329,[8] opens more questions than it closes; but as the records of this lodge will again claim our attention, I shall at this point

[1] Masonic Eclectic, vol. i., *loc. cit.*

[2] Chap. VIII., pp. 390, 396, 418, 420, 429, 432, 444, 445, 447, and 454.

[3] *I.e.*, whether the early Freemasonry of England and that of Scotland were substantially one and the same thing? See *ante*, p. 258.

[4] The italics are mine.

[5] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 22, 23.

[6] *Ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 447.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

[8] Given in Appendix C. of Findel's "History of Freemasonry," and again printed, with lithographed *facsimile*, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, in 1872.

merely refer below[1] to some words of caution, already thrown out, against placing too great a reliance upon the Haughfoot documents, as laying bare the inner life of a *representative* Scottish lodge, even of so late a date as the year 1702.

Neither is the evidence furnished by the Dunblane records, of an entirely satisfactory character. The fact that in 1729, two "entered apprentices" from "Mother Kilwinning," on proof of their possessing "a competent knowledge of the secrets of the MASON WORD," were entered *and passed* in the Lodge of Dunblane[2] is interesting no doubt, but the proceedings of this meeting would be more entitled to our confidence, as presenting a picture of Scottish Masonic life *before* the era of Grand Lodges, if they dated from an earlier period. It is true that in Scotland the year 1736 corresponds in some respects with 1717 in England. Lodges in either country prior to these dates respectively were independent communities. But it does not follow, because nineteen years elapsed before the example set in England (1717) was followed in Scotland (1736), that during this interval the speculative Freemasonry of the former kingdom never crossed the Border. Indeed, the visit of Dr Desaguliers to the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721[3] will of itself dispel this illusion, and we may leave out of sight reasons that might be freely cited, which would afford the most convincing proof of the influence of English ideas and English customs on the Scottish character, between the Treaty of Union (1707) and "the Forty-Five"[4]—a period of time that overlaps at both ends the interval which divides the two Grand Lodges. That the larger number of the members of the Lodge of Dunblane were non-operatives, is also a circumstance that must not be forgotten, and it is unlikely that the noblemen and gentlemen, of whom the lodge was mainly composed, were wholly without curiosity in respect of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England, which in 1729 had been just twelve years established. The probability, indeed, is quite the other way, since we learn from the minutes that on September 6, 1723, William Caddell of Fossothy, a member of the lodge, presented it with a "Book intituled the Constitutions of the Free Masons ∴ ∴ by Mr James Andersone, Minister of the Gospell, and printed at London ∴ Anno Domini 1723."[5]

But putting all the objections I have hitherto raised on one side, and assuming, let us say, that the allusion to "the Secrets of the MASON WORD" can be carried back to the seventeenth century, what does it amount to? I am far from contending that the term "secrets" *may* not comprise the "signs and tokens" in use in the South. But the question is, will such a deduction be justified by the *entire body* of documentary evidence relating to the early proceedings of Scottish lodges? Are the mention of a *grip* in the Haughfoot minutes, and the allusion to *secrets* in those of Dunblane, to be considered as outweighing the uniform silence of the records of all the other Scottish lodges, with regard to aught but the MASON WORD itself, or to the "benefit" accruing therefrom?[6]

Here, for the present, I break off. A few final words have yet to be said on the compara-

[1] *Ante*, p. 258. [2] Chap. VIII., p. 420; Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 417.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-153. The details of Desaguliers' reception by the Lodge of Edinburgh are fully given by the Scottish Historian, who, however, has founded on them—as I shall presently endeavour to show—rather more than they will safely bear. *Cf. post*, pp. 285, 286.

[4] It is somewhat singular that Cameron of Lochiel, Lord Strathallan, Lord John Drummond, and other leading members of the Lodge of Dunblane, were prominent actors on the Stewart side in the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Lord John Drummond was Master in 1743-45 (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 414).

[5] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 416. [6] See the observations in Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432.

tive development of the two Masonic systems, but these will be more fitly introduced when I have brought up the evidence to the year 1723. But before attempting to describe the rise and progress of the "Premier Grand Lodge of the World," a remarkable manuscript of uncertain date must be briefly noticed, as by so doing I shall hold the scales evenly, since to waive its consideration altogether until a later period, or to examine its pretensions at length in this place, would in either case be equivalent to dealing with the writing *chronologically*, an obligation happily not forced upon me, and which I shall not rashly assume.

"The antiquity and independence of the three degrees" are *claimed* to be satisfactorily attested by the evidence of Sloane MS. 3329. Therefore (it is argued), as the existence or non-existence of degrees before the era of Grand Lodges is the *crux* of Masonic historians, *if* this MS. is of earlier date than 1717—*cadit quæstio*. But inasmuch as there is no other *proof* —if the premises are conceded—that *degrees*, in the modern acceptation of the term, were known in Masonry until the third decade of the eighteenth century, even the most superstitious believer in the antiquity of the Sloane MS. should pause before laying down that their earlier existence is conclusively established—by relying on that portion *only* of the paleographical evidence which is satisfactory to his own mind.

Sloane MS. 3329 will be presently examined in connection with other documents of a similar class, and I now turn to the great Masonic event of the eighteenth century—the ASSEMBLY of 1717—out of which sprang the Grand Lodge of England, the Mother of Grand Lodges.

Unfortunately the minutes of Grand Lodge only commence on June 24, 1723.

For the history, therefore, of the first six years of the new *régime*, we are mainly dependent on the account given by Dr Anderson in the "Constitutions" of 1738, nothing whatever relating to the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, except the "General Regulations" of 1721, having been inserted in the earlier edition of 1723. From this source I derive the following narrative, in which are preserved as nearly as possible both the orthographical and the typographical peculiarities of the original[1]:—

"KING GEORGE I. enter'd *London* most magnificently on 20 *Sept.* 1714. And after the Rebellion was over A.D. 1716, the few *Lodges* at *London* finding themselves neglected by Sir *Christopher Wren*,[2] through fit to cement under a *Grand Master* as the Center of Union and Harmony, *viz.*, the *Lodges* that met,

"1. At the *Goose* and *Gridiron* Ale-house in St *Paul's Church-Yard.*

"2. At the *Crown* Ale-house in *Parker's-Lane* near *Drury-Lane.*

"3. At the *Apple-Tree* Tavern in *Charles-street, Covent-Garden.*

"4. At the *Rummer* and *Grapes* Tavern in *Channel-Row, Westminster.*[3]

"They and some old Brothers met at the said *Apple-Tree*, and having put into the Chair

[1] Except other authorities are cited, the ensuing account down to the meeting of Grand Lodge, at the White Lion, Cornhill, April 25, 1723, is taken from the "New Book of Constitutions," 1738, pp. 109-115.

[2] See Chap. XII., *passim.*

[3] On removing from Oxford to London in 1714, Dr Desaguliers settled in *Channel-Row, Westminster*, and continued to reside there until it was pulled down to make way for the new bridge at Westminster. George Payne, his immediate predecessor as Grand Master, lived at New Palace Yard, Westminster, where he died February 23, 1757. Both Desaguliers and Payne were members in 1723 of the lodge at the "Horn" Tavern in New Palace Yard, Westminster, which is described in the "Constitutions" of 1738 (p. 185) as "the *Old Lodge* removed from the RUMMER and GRAPES, *Channel-Row*, whose *Constitution* is immemorial." (*Now* the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4.)

the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*), they constituted themselves a GRAND LODGE pro Tempore in *Due Form*, and forthwith revived[1] the Quarterly *Communication* of the *Officers* of Lodges (call'd the Grand Lodge) resolv'd to hold the *Annual* ASSEMBLY *and Feast*, and then to chuse a GRAND MASTER from among themselves, till they should have the Honour of a Noble Brother at their Head.

"Accordingly

On St *John Baptist's* Day, in the 3d year of KING GEORGE I., A.D. 1717, the ASSEMBLY and *Feast* of the *Free and accepted Masons* was held at the foresaid *Goose and Gridiron* Ale-house.

"Before Dinner, the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*) in the Chair, proposed a List of proper Candidates; and the Brethren by a Majority of Hands elected MR ANTONY SAYER, Gentleman, *Grand Master* of *Masons*, who being forthwith invested with the Badges of Office and Power by the said *oldest Master*, and install'd, was duly congratulated by the Assembly who pay'd him the Homage.[3]

Mr *Jacob Lamball*, Carpenter, } Grand
Capt. *Joseph Elliot*,[2] } Wardens.

"Sayer, *Grand Master*, commanded the *Masters* and *Wardens* of Lodges to meet the *Grand* Officers every *Quarter* in *Communication*,* at the Place that he should appoint in his Summons sent by the *Tyler*.

* "N.B.—It is call'd the *Quarterly Communication*, because it should meet *Quarterly* according to antient Usage. And

When the *Grand Master* is present it is a Lodge in *Ample Form*; otherwise, only in *Due Form*, yet having the same Authority with *Ample Form*.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at the said Place 24 *June* 1718.

"Brother *Sayer* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud our Brother GEORGE PAYNE[4] Esq[r] *Grand Master* of *Masons* who being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homaged, recommended the strict Observance of the Quarterly Communication; and desired any Brethren to bring to the

Mr *John Cordwell*, City Carpenter, } Grand
Mr *Thomas Morrice*,[5] Stone Cutter, } Wardens.

[1] It must be carefully borne in mind, that this *revival* of the Quarterly Communication was *recorded* twenty-one years after the date of the occurrence to which it refers; also, that no such "revival" is mentioned by Dr Anderson in the Constitutions of 1723.

[2] The positions of these worthies are generally reversed, and the *Captain* is made to take precedence of the *Carpenter*, but the *corrigenda* appended to the "Book of Constitutions" directs that the names shall be read as above.

[3] In an anonymous and undated work, but which must have been published in 1763 or the following year, we are told that "the Masters and Wardens of *six* Lodges assembled at the *Apple Tree* on St *John's* Day, 1716, and after the oldest Master Mason (who was also the Master of a lodge) had taken the Chair, they constituted among themselves a GRAND LODGE '*pro tempore*,' and revived their Quarterly Communications, and their Annual Feast" (The Complete Free-mason; or, Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets, p. 83). All subsequent writers appear to have copied from Anderson in their accounts of the proceedings of 1717, though the details are occasionally varied. The statement in "Multa Paucis" is evidently a "blend" of the events arranged by Anderson under the years 1716 *and* 1717, and that the author of "Multa Paucis" had studied the Constitutions of 1738 with some care, is proved by his placing Lambell [*Lamball*] and Elliot in their proper places as *Senior* and *Junior* Grand Warden respectively. The word *six* can hardly be a misprint, as it occurs twice in the work (pp. 83, 111), but see *ante*, p. 260.

[4] Although Payne is commonly described as a "learned antiquarian," he does not appear to have been a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxvii., 1757, p. 93, has the following: "*Deaths.*—Jan. 23. Geo. Payne, Esq., of New-Palace-yd. *Promotions.*—Arthur Leigh, Esq., secretary to the tax-office (George Payne, Esq., dec.).

[5] A member of the Masons' Company. See *ante*, p. 150.

Grand Lodge any old *Writings* and *Records* concerning *Masons* and *Masonry* in order to shew the Usages of antient Times: And this Year several old Copies of the *Gothic Constitutions* were produced and collated.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at the said Place, 24 *June* 1719. Brother *Payne* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud our Reverend Brother

JOHN *Theophilus Desaguliers*, L.L.D. and F.R.S., *Grand Master* of *Masons*, and being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homaged, forthwith reviv'd the old regular and peculiar Toasts or Healths of the *Free Masons*. Now several *old* Brothers, that had neglected the *Craft*, visited the *Lodges;* some *Noblemen* were also made Brothers, and more *new* Lodges were constituted.

{ Mr *Antony* Sayer foresaid, / Mr *Tho. Morrice* foresaid, } *Grand Wardens.*

"ASSEMBLY and Feast at the foresaid Place 24 *June* 1720. Brother *Desaguliers* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud

GEORGE PAYNE, Esq[r]; again *Grand Master* of *Masons;* who being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homag'd, began the usual Demonstrations of Joy, Love and Harmony.

{ Mr *Thomas Hobby*, Stone-Cutter, / Mr *Rich. Ware*, Mathematician, } *Grand Wardens.*

"This Year, at some *private* Lodges, several very valuable *Manuscripts* (for they had nothing yet in Print) concerning the Fraternity, their Lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets, and Usages (particularly one writ by Mr *Nicholas Stone* the Warden of *Inigo Jones*) were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers; that those Papers might not fall into strange Hands.[1]

"At the *Quarterly* Communication or *Grand Lodge*, in *ample* Form, on St *John Evangelist's* Day 1720,[2] at the said Place

"It was agreed, in order to avoid Disputes on the *Annual* Feast-Day, that the *new Grand Master* for the future shall be named and proposed to the *Grand Lodge* some time before the Feast, by the present or *old Grand Master;* and if approv'd, that the Brother proposed, if present, shall be kindly saluted; or even if absent, his Health shall be toasted as *Grand Master Elect.*

"Also agreed, that for the future the *New Grand Master*, as soon as he is install'd, shall have the sole Power of appointing both his *Grand Wardens* and a *Deputy* Grand Master (now found as necessary as formerly) according to antient Custom, when *Noble* Brothers were *Grand* Masters.[3]

[1] Dallaway, citing Ware's Essay in the Archæologia (vol. xvii., p. 83), says: "Perhaps they thought the new mode, though dependent on taste, was independent of science, and, like the Caliph Omar, held what was agreeable to the new faith useless, and what was not, ought to be destroyed" (Discourses upon Architecture, p. 428). An antagonistic writer wittily observes: "[Freemasonry] professes to teach the seven liberal arts, and also the black art; professes to give one a wonderful secret, which is, that she has none; who sprung from the clouds, *formed by the smoke of her own records, which were burnt for the honour of the mystery*," etc. (Quoted by Dr Oliver in his "Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry," 1846, vol. ii., preface, p. vi.).

[2] Although Quarterly Communications are *said* to have been enjoined by Sayer, none seem to have taken place up to the above date. Subsequently, with the exception of the stormy year, 1722, they were held with frequency.

[3] At the risk of being found tedious, I must again ask the reader to bear in mind that the above narrative was compiled many years *after* the events occurred, upon which Dr Anderson moralises. To quote my own remarks, expressed some years ago: "The first innovation upon the usages of the Society occurred December 27, 1720, when the office of Deputy Grand Master was established, and the Grand Master was empowered to *appoint* that officer, together with the

"Accordingly

At the Grand Lodge in *ample* Form on *Lady-Day* 1721, at the said Place *Grand Master* PAYNE proposed for his Successor our most Noble Brother.

"John Duke of Montagu,[1] *Master* of a Lodge; who being present, was forthwith saluted *Grand Master Elect*, and his Health drank in *due* Form; when they all express'd great Joy at the happy Prospect of being again patronized by *noble Grand Masters*, as in the prosperous Times of *Free Masonry*.[2]

"PAYNE, *Grand Master*, observing the *Number* of Lodges to encrease, and that the General *Assembly* requir'd more Room, proposed the next *Assembly* and *Feast* to be held at *Stationers-Hall, Ludgate Street;* which was agreed to.

"Then the *Grand Wardens* were order'd, as usual, to prepare the Feast, and to take some *Stewards* to their Assistance, Brothers of Ability and Capacity, and to appoint some Brethren to attend the Tables; for that no strangers must be there.[3] But the *Grand* Officers not finding a proper Number of *Stewards*, our Brother Mr Josiah Villenau, Upholder in the *Burrough Southwark*, generously undertook the whole himself, attended by some Waiters, *Thomas Morrice, Francis Bailey*, &c.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at *Stationers-Hall*, 24 *June* 1721 in the 7th Year of King GEORGE I.[4]

"PAYNE, *Grand Master*, with his *Wardens*, the former *Grand* Officers, and the *Masters* and *Wardens* of 12 Lodges, met the *Grand Master Elect* in a *Grand Lodge* at the *King's Arms* Tavern[5] St *Paul's Church-yard*, in the Morning; and having forthwith recognized their Choice of Brother MONTAGU they made some new Brothers,[6] particularly the noble PHILIP Lord

two wardens. This encroachment upon the privileges of members seems to have been strenuously resisted for several years, and the question of *nomination* or *election* was not finally settled until April 28, 1724" (The Four Old Lodges, 1879, p. 30).

[1] See Chap. XIII., p. 126.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 255, 256; and Chap. XII., *passim*.

[3] Notwithstanding the precautions taken to exclude the uninitiated, if we believe the witty author of the "Praise of Drunkenness" (*ante*, pp. 127, 128), one *stranger*, at least, succeeded in obtaining admission to *a* meeting of the Grand Lodge held at Stationers' Hall.

[4] Up to this period there appear to have been *seven* meetings of the Grand Lodge, of which one was held at the "Apple Tree Tavern" in Charles Street, Covent Garden, and the remainder at the "Goose and Gridiron" Alehouse in St Paul's Churchyard.

Thus the four earliest Grand Masters were elected in the local habitation of the "old lodge of St Paul"—a circumstance which, as far as I know, furnishes the only evidence at all consistent with Preston's statement—That the new Grand Master was always proposed and presented for approval in the Lodge of Antiquity (original No. 1) before his election in the Grand Lodge (Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 257; *ante*, Chap. XII., p. 47).

[5] Preston, who styles it "the *Queen's* Arms," says in a note: "The old lodge of St Paul's, now the Lodge of Antiquity, having been removed hither" (Illustrations, p. 262)—but the lodge in question is entered in the Grand Lodge books as meeting at the "Goose and Gridiron" in 1723, 1725, and 1728, and continued to do so until 1729, as we learn from Pine's Engraved list. Of course, the lodge *may* have removed from the Goose and Gridiron to the King's Arms *after* 1717, and have gone back again *before* 1723? But as the Grand Lodge met at the former house up to Lady-day 1721, this will only leave three months within which the senior lodge could have changed its *locale*, unless we abandon the supposition of the Goose and Gridiron having been the common meeting-place of the private lodge and the governing body from 1717 to 1721. To the possible objection, that these apparently trivial matters are beneath the dignity of history, I reply, that inasmuch as we have Preston's sole authority for much that is *alleged* to have occurred between 1717 and 1723, his accuracy in *all* matters, where there are opportunities of testing it, cannot be too patiently, or too minutely considered.

[6] As the famous "General Regulations" of the Society were "approv'd" at this meeting, the *proviso* that appren-

Stanhope, now Earl of *Chesterfield:* And from thence they marched on Foot to the *Hall* in proper Clothing and due Form; where they were joyfully receiv'd by about 150 *true* and *faithful*, all clothed.

"After Grace said, they sat down in the antient Manner of *Masons* to a very elegant Feast, and dined with Joy and Gladness. After Dinner and Grace said, Brother PAYNE, the old *Grand Master*, made the *first Procession* round the *Hall*, and when return'd he proclaim'd aloud the most noble Prince and our Brother.

"JOHN MONTAGU, Duke of Montagu, GRAND MASTER of *Masons!* and Brother *Payne* having invested his *Grace's* WORSHIP with the Ensigns and Badges of his Office and Authority, install'd him in *Solomon's* Chair and sat down on his Right Hand; while the Assembly own'd the Duke's Authority with due Homage and joyful Congratulations, upon this Revival of the *Prosperity* of *Masonry*.

"MONTAGU, G. Master, immediately call'd forth (without naming him before) as it were carelesly, John Beal, M.D. as his *Deputy Grand Master*, whom Brother *Payne* invested, and install'd him in *Hiram Abbiff's* Chair on the *Grand Master's Left Hand*.

"In like Manner his *Worship* call'd forth and appointed { Mr *Josiah Villeneau*, Mr *Thomas Morrice*, } *Grand Wardens*, who were invested and install'd[1] by the last *Grand* Wardens.

"Upon which the *Deputy* and *Wardens* were saluted and congratulated as usual.

"Then MONTAGU, G. *Master*, with his *Officers* and the *old Officers*, having made the 2d *procession* round the *Hall*, Brother Desaguliers made an eloquent Oration about *Masons* and *Masonry:* And after Great Harmony, the Effect of brotherly Love, the *Grand Master* thank'd Brother *Villeneau* for his Care of the *Feast*, and order'd him as *Warden* to close the *Lodge* in good Time.

"The Grand Lodge in *ample* Form on 29 Sept. 1721, at *King's-Arms* foresaid, with the former *Grand* Officers and those of 16 *Lodges*.

"His Grace's *Worship* and the *Lodge* finding Fault with all the Copies of the *old Gothic Constitutions*, order'd Brother *James Anderson*, A.M., to digest the same in a new and better Method.

"The Grand Lodge in *ample* Form on St JOHN's Day 27 *Dec.* 1721, at the said *King's Arms*, with former *Grand* Officers and those of 20 Lodges.

"MONTAGU, *Grand Master*, at the Desire of the *Lodge*, appointed 14 learned Brothers

tices, unless by dispensation, were to "be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here"—*i.e.*, at the Grand Lodge—which occurs in Article XIII., *may* date from June 24, 1721, though in the process of "digesting" these rules into a "new method," of which we have the result, in the code of laws enacted in 1723, Dr Anderson, with equal probability, *may* have borrowed the *proviso* from the "immemorial *Usages* of the Fraternity," with which it is expressly stated that he "compar'd them." See the 9th and 12th Orders of the Alnwick Lodge (*ante*, p. 263); Chaps. III., pp. 129 (LXIV.), 149; VIII., p. 450; and XIV., p. 151. It is somewhat singular, that in Anderson's account of the proceedings on the day of St John the Baptist, 1721, we have the only evidence that the ceremony of Initiation, Passing, or Raising, was ever *actually* performed in the Grand Lodge.

[1] "Installation—the act of giving visible possession of a rank or office by placing in the proper seat" (Johnson's Dictionary).

There is no reason to believe that anything more than this was implied by the term "install'd," which, as will be seen above, was used in 1721 to describe the ceremonial in vogue at the investment of *all* Grand Officers.

to examine Brother *Anderson's*[1] Manuscript, and to make Report. This *Communication* was made very entertaining by the Lectures of some *old Masons.*"

At this point, and before proceeding with the narrative of Dr Anderson, some additional evidence from other sources will be presented.

Between 1717 and 1720—both dates inclusive—there are no allusions in the newspaper files at the British Museum,[2] or in contemporary writings, which possess any bearing on Masonic history. In 1721, however, the Society, owing, it may well have been, to the acceptance by the Duke of Montagu of the office of Grand Master, rose at one bound into notice and esteem.

If we rely upon the evidence of a contemporary witness, Masonry must have languished under the rule of Sayer, Payne, and Desaguliers. An entry in the diary of Dr Stukeley[3] reads:—

"Jan. 6, 1721. I was made a Freemason at the Salutation Tavern, Tavistock Street [London], with Mr Collins and Capt. Rowe, who made the famous diving engine."

The Doctor adds—"I was the first person made a Freemason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately upon that it took a run, and ran itself out of breath thro' the folly of the members."[4]

Stukeley, who appears to have dined at Stationers' Hall on the occasion of the Duke of Montagu's installation, mentions that Lord Herbert and Sir Andrew Fountaine—names omitted by Anderson—were present at the meeting, and states that Dr Desaguliers "pronounced an Oration," also that "Grand Master Pain produced an old MS. of the Constitutions" (Chap. II., p. 60, note 1), and "read over a new sett of Articles to be observed."

The following reasons for becoming a Freemason are given by Dr Stukeley in his autobiography:—

"His curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be

[1] It is highly probable that Anderson was admitted into Masonry before he crossed the border, but it is unlikely that he became a member of an *English* lodge prior to 1721. Had he been initiated or affiliated in London at any period anterior to June 24, 1720, I think that, instead of electing Payne for a second term, the Grand Lodge would have chosen Anderson to preside over it for the year ensuing. See the extracts from the diary of Dr Stukeley, which follow in the text, and particularly the first.

[2] *Ante*, p. 10.

[3] Dr William Stukeley was born at Holbeach in Lincolnshire, November 7, 1687, and having taken the degree of M.B. at Cambridge, 1709, commenced practice as a physician at Boston in his native county; but, in 1717, removed to London, and on March 3, in the same year, he was elected F.R.S., an honour also conferred upon John, Duke of Montagu, the earliest of our "noble Grand Masters," at the same date; became one of the re-founders of the Society of Antiquaries, 1718; in 1726 removed to Grantham; and in 1729 he entered into holy orders, and was presented to the Rectory of All Saints, Stamford. In 1747 the Duke of Montagu gave him the Rectory of St George the Martyr, Queen Square, where he died March 3, 1765, in his 78th year. Stukeley's antiquarian works are more voluminous than valuable. He was a member of the "Gentlemen's Society" of Spalding, a literary association patronised by many well-known antiquaries and Freemasons, *e.g.*, Dr Desaguliers, the Earl of Dalkeith, and Lord Coleraine (Grand Masters of England, 1719, 1723, 1727); Joseph Ames, David Casley, Francis Drake (Grand Master of *All* England, 1761-2); Martin Folkes (Dep. G. M., 1724), Sir Richard Manningham, Dr Thos. Manningham (Dep. G. M., 1752-56), and "Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, Knight of St Lazarus" (March 12, 1729).

[4] For these extracts I am indebted to Mr T. B. Whytehead, who has favoured me with the notes made by the Rev. W. C. Lukis from the actual Diary, now in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St John, of Dinmore House, Herefordshire.

the remains of the mysterys of the antients; when, with difficulty, a number sufficient was to be found in all London. After this it became a public fashion, not only spred over Brittain and Ireland, but [over] all of Europe."

The Diary proceeds:—

"Dec. 27th, 1721.—We met at the Fountain Tavern, Strand, and by the consent of the Grand Master present, Dr Beal [D. G. M.] constituted a lodge there, where I was chose Master."

Commenting on this entry, Mr T. B. Whytehead observes: "Nothing is named about the qualification for the chair, and as Bro. Stukeley had not been twelve months a Mason, it is manifest that any brother could be chosen to preside, as also that the verbal consent of the Grand Master, or his Deputy, was sufficient to authorise the formation of a lodge."[1]

The statement in the Diary, however, is inconsistent with two passages in Dr Anderson's narrative, but as the consideration of this discrepancy will bring us up to March 25, 1722, I shall first of all exhaust the evidence relating to the previous year.

This consists of the interesting account[2] by Lyon of the affiliation of Dr Desaguliers as a member of the Scottish Fraternity.

"Att Maries Chapell the 24 of August 1721 years—James Wattson present deacon of the Masons of Edinr., Preses. The which day Doctor John Theophilus Desauguliers, fellow of the Royall Societie, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Grace James Duke of Chandois, late Generall Master of the Mason Lodges in England, being in town and desirous to have a *conference* with the Deacon, Warden, and Master Masons of Edinr., which was accordingly granted, and finding him duly qualified *in all points of Masonry*,[3] they received him as a Brother into their Societie."

"Likeas, upon the 25th day of the sd moneth, the Deacons, Warden, Masters, and several other members of the Societie, together with the sd Doctor Desaguliers, haveing mett att Maries Chapell, there was a supplication presented to them by John Campbell, Esq^{r}., Lord Provost of Edinbr., George Preston, and Hugh Hathorn, Baillies; James Nimo, Thesaurer; William Livingston, Deacon-convener of the Trades thereof; and George Irving, Clerk to the Dean of Guild Court,—and humbly craving to be admitted members of the sd Societie; which being considered by them, they granted the desire thereof, and the saids honourable persons were admitted and receaved Entered Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts accordingly."[4]

"And sicklike upon the 28th day of the said moneth there was another petition given in by Sr Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Barronet; Robert Wightman, Esq^{r}., present Dean of Gild of Edr.; George Drummond, Esq., late Theasurer therof; Archibald M'Aulay, late Bailly there; and Patrick Lindsay, merchant there, craveing the like benefit, which was also granted, and they receaved as members of the Societie as the other persons above mentioned. The same day James Key and Thomas Aikman, servants to James Wattson, deacon of the masons, were admitted and receaved entered apprentices, and payed to James Mack, warden, the ordinary dues as such. Ro. Alison, Clerk."

[1] Freemason, July 31, 1880.

[2] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 151.

[3] This may either mean that Desaguliers passed a satisfactory examination in all the Masonic Secrets then known in the Scottish metropolis, or the words italicised may simply import—*in Masonic phrase*—that the *two* parties to the *conference* were mutually satisfied with the result.

[4] Neither in this, or in the following entry, is there anything to indicate that the persons admitted "Entered Apprentices and Fellow Crafts" were entrusted with further secrets than those communicated to the "Fellow Crafts and Masters" of the seventeenth century. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 407, 408, 435.

Dr Desaguliers' visit to Edinburgh appears to have taken place at the wish of the magistrates there, who, when they first brought water into that city by leaden pipes, applied to him for information concerning the quantity of water they could obtain by means of a given diameter.[1]

At this time, says Lyon, "a revision of the English Masonic Constitutions was in contemplation;[2] and the better to facilitate this, Desaguliers, along with Dr James Anderson, was engaged in the examination of such ancient Masonic records as could be consulted. Embracing the opportunity which his sojourn in the Scottish capital offered, for comparing what he knew of the pre-symbolic constitutions and customs of English Masons, with those that obtained in Scotch Lodges, and animated, no doubt, by a desire for the spread of the new system,[3] he held a conference with the office-bearers and members of the Lodge of Edinburgh. That he and his brethren in Mary's Chapel should have so thoroughly understood each other on all the points of Masonry, shows either that in their main features the secrets of the old Operative Lodges of the two countries were somewhat similar, or that an inkling of the novelty had already been conveyed into Scotland. The fact that English versions of the Masonic Legend and Charges were in circulation among the Scotch in the middle of the seventeenth century favours the former supposition;[4] and if this be correct, there is strong ground for the presumption that the conference in question had relation to Speculative Masonry and its introduction into Scotland."[5]

The same distinguished writer then expresses his opinion that on both the 25th and the 28th of August, 1721, "the ceremony of entering and passing would, as far as the circumstances of the Lodge would permit, be conducted by Desaguliers himself in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce," and goes on to account for the Doctor's having confined himself to the two lesser degrees, by remarking that "it was not till 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge was repealed."[6] Lyon adds

[1] Dr T. Thomson, History of the Royal Society, 1812, bk. iii., p. 406.

[2] There is no *evidence* to show that a revision of the "Constitutions" was in contemplation before September 29, 1721.

[3] This is conjecture, pure and simple, and it might with far greater probability be inferred, that Desaguliers, whose tendency to conviviality is well known, thought that a little innocent mirth in the society of his Masonic brethren would form an agreeable interlude between the duties he was required to perform in a professional capacity, and his homeward journey?

[4] It is difficult to reconcile the above remarks with some others by the same writer, which appear on the next page of his admirable work, viz.: "Some years ago, and when unaware of Desaguliers' visit to Mary's Chapel, we publicly expressed our opinion that the system of Masonic Degrees, which, for nearly a century and a half, has been known in Scotland as Freemasonry, was an *importation* from England, seeing that in the processes of initiation and advancement, conformity to the new ceremonial required the adoption of genuflections, postures, etc., which, in the manner of their use—the country being then purely Presbyterian—were regarded by our forefathers with abhorrence as relics of Popery and Prelacy" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 153).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[6] This is incorrect. The regulation in question was only *enacted* in 1722-23, *i.e.*, as far as can be positively affirmed. It *may*, of course, have formed a part of Payne's code (1721), but under either supposition there is nothing in the language of the "Constitutions" of 1723 which will justify the *conclusion*, that at the date of its publication the term "Master" signified anything but "Master of a Lodge." Indeed, further on in his History, Lyon himself observes: "The Third Degree could hardly have been present to the mind of Dr Anderson, when in 1723 he superintended the printing of his 'Book of Constitutions,' for it is therein stated that the '*key* of a fellow-craft' is that by

that he "has no hesitation in ascribing Scotland's acquaintance with, and subsequent adoption of, English Symbolical Masonry, to the conference which the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system held with the Lodge of Edinburgh in August 1721."

The affiliation of a former Grand Master of the English Society, as a member of the Scottish Fraternity, not only constitutes a memorable epoch in the history of the latter body, but is of especial value in our general inquiry, as affording some assured *data* by aid of which a comparison of the Masonic Systems of the two countries may be pursued with more confidence, than were we left to formulate our conclusions from the evidence of either English or Scottish records, dealing only with the details of the individual system to which they relate.

Before again placing ourselves under the guidance of Dr Anderson, two observations are necessary. One, that the incident of Desaguliers' affiliation is recorded under the year 1721—though its full consideration will occur later—because, in investigations like the present, *dates* are our most material facts, yet unless arranged with some approach to chronological exactitude, they are calculated to hinder rather than facilitate our research, by introducing a new element of confusion.

The other, that nowhere do the errors of the "Sheep-walking School" of Masonic writers stand out in bolder relief than in their annals of the year 1717, where the leading *rôle* in the movement, which culminated in the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England, is assigned to Desaguliers.

Laurence Dermott (of whom more hereafter), in the third edition of his "Ahiman Rezon,"[1] published in 1778, observes :—

"Brother Thomas Grinsell, a man of great veracity (elder brother of the celebrated James Quin, Esq.), informed his lodge No. 3 in London (in 1753), that eight persons, whose names were Desaguliers, Gofton, King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden, De Noyer, and Vraden, were the geniusses to whom the world is indebted for the memorable invention of Modern[2] Masonry."

Dermott continues—"Mr Grinsell often told the author [of the "Ahiman Rezon," *i.e.*, himself] that he (Grinsell) was a Free-mason before Modern Masonry was known. Nor is this to be doubted, when we consider that Mr Grinsell was an apprentice to a weaver in Dublin, when his mother was married to Mr Quin's father, and that Mr Quin himself was seventy-three years old when he died in 1766."[3]

Passing over intermediate writers, and coming down to the industrious compilation of Herr Findel, we find the establishment of the first Grand Lodge described as being due to the exertions of "several brethren who united for this purpose, among whom were King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden," etc. "At their head," says this author, "was Dr J. Theophilus Desaguliers."[4]

which the secrets communicated in the ancient Lodges could be unravelled" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 210). See in the Constitutions of 1723—The Charges of a Free-Mason, No. IV.; and the General Regulations, No. XIII.

[1] *Ante*, p. 86.

[2] The terms "Ancients" and "Moderns" were coined by Laurence Dermott to describe the Regular and the Seceding Masons respectively. There is a great deal in a good "cry," and though the titular "Ancients" were the actual "Moderns," much of the success which attended the Great Schism was due to Dermott's unrivalled audacity, both in the choice of phrases, which placed the earlier Grand Lodge in a position of relative inferiority, and in ascribing to his own a derivation from the "Ancient Masons of York."

[3] Ahiman Rezon; or, A Help to a Brother, 3d edit., 1778.

[4] History of Freemasonry, p. 136.

Now, it happens, strangely enough, that at an occasional lodge held at Kew on November 5, 1737, the eight persons named by Dermott (and no others) were present, and took part at the initiation and passing of Frederick, Prince of Wales![1]

Resuming the thread of our narrative, the "Constitutions" proceed:—

"Grand Lodge at the *Fountain*,[2] Strand, in *ample* Form, 25 *March* 1722, with former *Grand* officers and those of 24 *Lodges*.

"The said *Committee* of 14 reported that they had perused Brother *Anderson's* Manuscript, *viz.*, the *History, Charges, Regulations, and Master's Song*, and after some Amendments, had approv'd of it: Upon which the *Lodge* desir'd the *Grand Master* to order it to be printed. Meanwhile

"Ingenious Men of all Faculties and Stations being convinced that the *Cement* of the *Lodge* was Love and Friendship, earnestly requested to be made *Masons*, Affecting this amicable Fraternity more than other Societies, then often disturbed by warm Disputes.

"*Grand Master* MONTAGU'S good Government inclin'd the better Sort to continue him in the Chair another Year; and therefore they delay'd to prepare the *Feast*."

At this point, and with a view to presenting the somewhat scattered evidence relating to the year 1722, with as much chronological exactitude as the nature of the materials before me will permit, I shall introduce some further extracts from Dr Stukeley's Diary, as the next portion of Dr Anderson's narrative runs on, without the possibility of a break, from June 24, 1722, to January 17, 1723.

"May 25th, 1722.—Met the Duke of Queensboro', Lord Dumbarton, Hinchinbroke, &c., at Fountain Tavern Lodge, to consider of [the] Feast of St John's."

"Nov. 3rd, 1722.—The Duke of Wharton and Lord Dalkeith[3] visited our lodge at the Fountain."[4]

These current notes by a Freemason of the period merit our careful attention, the more so, since the inferences they suggest awaken a suspicion, that in committing to writing a recital of events in which he had borne a leading part, *many years after the occurrences he describes*, Dr Anderson's memory was occasionally at fault, and therefore we should scrutinise very closely the few collateral references in newspapers or manuscripts, which antedate the actual records of Grand Lodge.

The entries in Stukeley's Diary of May 25 and November 3, 1722, are hardly reconcilable with the narrative (in the "Constitutions") which I here resume.

[1] Dr Desaguliers, *Master*; William Gofton and Erasmus King, *Wardens*; Charles Calvert, Earl of Baltimore; the Hon. Colonel James Lumley; the Hon. Major Madden; Mr de Noyer; and Mr Vraden (The New Book of Constitutions, 1738, p. 137).

[2] This conflicts with the entry, already given (December 27, 1721), from Dr Stukeley's Diary. According to Anderson, the Grand Lodge was held at the "King's Arms" in "*ample* Form"—*i.e.*, the Grand Master was present—on December 27, 1721—the ordinary business, together with the lectures delivered at this meeting, must have taken up some considerable time, and it is unlikely that either *before* or *after* the Quarterly Communication, the Grand Master, the Deputy, and a *posse* of the brethren, paid a visit to the "Fountain."

[3] This nobleman, afterwards Duke of Buccleuch, succeeded the Duke of Wharton as Grand Master.

[4] Two remarkable entries in Dr Stukeley's Diary are: "Nov. 7th, 1722.—Order of the Book instituted." "Dec. 28th, 1722.—I din'd with Lord Hertford, introduced by Lord Winchelsea. I made them both members of the Order of the Book, or Roman Knighthood."

"But *Philip*, Duke of *Wharton*,[1] lately made a Brother, tho' not the *Master* of a *Lodge*, being ambitious of the Chair, got a Number of Others to meet him at *Stationers-Hall* 24 *June* 1722. And having no *Grand* Officers, they put in the Chair the *oldest Master Mason* (who was not the *present* Master of a *Lodge*, also *irregular*), and without the usual decent Ceremonials, the said *old Mason* proclaim'd aloud

"*Philip Wharton*, Duke of *Wharton*, Grand Master of *Masons*, and

{ Mr *Joshua Timson*, Blacksmith, / Mr *William Hawkins*, Mason, } { *Grand Wardens*, } but his Grace appointed no *Deputy*,[2] nor

was the *Lodge* opened and closed in due Form. Therefore the *noble* Brothers [3] and all those that would not countenance Irregularities, disown'd *Wharton's* Authority, till worthy Brother MONTAGU heal'd the Breach of Harmony, by summoning

"The Grand Lodge to meet 17 *January* 172⅘ at the *King's-Arms* foresaid, where the *Duke* of *Wharton* promising to be *True* and *Faithful*, *Deputy Grand* Master *Beal* proclaim'd aloud the most noble Prince and our Brother.

"PHILIP WHARTON, Duke of *Wharton*, GRAND MASTER of *Masons*, who appointed Dr Desaguliers the *Deputy Grand* Master,

{ *Joshua Timson*, foresaid, / *James* Anderson, A.M., } { *Grand Wardens*, } for *Hawkins* demitted as always out of Town.

When former *Grand* Officers, with those of 25 *Lodges*,[4] paid their Homage.

"G. Warden *Anderson* produced the *new* Book of *Constitutions* now in Print, which was again approv'd, with the Addition of the *antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge*.

"Now *Masonry* flourish'd in Harmony, Reputation, and Numbers; many Noblemen and Gentlemen of the first Rank desir'd to be admitted into the *Fraternity*, besides other Learned

[1] Born in 1698. Son of the Whig Marquis to whom is ascribed the authorship of *Lilliburlero*. After having, during his travels, accepted the title of Duke of Northumberland from the Old Pretender, he returned to England, and evinced the versatility of his political principles by becoming a warm champion of the Hanoverian government; created *Duke* of Wharton by George I. in 1718. Having impoverished himself by extravagance, he again changed his politics, and in 1724 quitted England never to return. Died in indigence at a Bernardine convent in Catalonia, May 31, 1731. The character of Lovelace in "Clarissa" has been supposed to be that of this nobleman; and what renders the supposition more likely, the *True Briton*, a political paper in which the Duke used to write, was printed by Mr Richardson.

[2] At this meeting, according to the *Daily Post*, June 27, 1722, "there was a noble appearance of persons of distinction," and the Duke of Wharton was chosen Grand Master, and Dr Desaguliers *Deputy Master*, for the year ensuing.

[3] The authority of Anderson, on all points within his own knowledge, is not to be lightly impeached. But it is a curious fact, that the journals of the day (and the Diary of Dr Stukeley) do not corroborate his general statement,—*e.g.*, the *Daily Post*, June 20, 1722, notifies that tickets for the Feast must be taken out "before next Friday," and declares that "all those *noblemen* and gentlemen *that have took tickets*, and do not appear at the hall, will be look'd upon as false brothers;" and the *Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer*, June 30, 1722, describing the proceedings, says: "They had a most sumptuous Feast, *several of the nobility*, who are members of the Society, being present; and his Grace the Duke of Wharton was then unanimously chosen governor of the said Fraternity."

[4] Findel, following Kloss, observes: "Only twenty Lodges, ratified [the Constitutions]; five Lodges would not accede to, or sign them" (History of Freemasonry, p. 159). This criticism is based on the circumstance, that *twenty-five* Lodges were represented at the meeting of January 17, 1723, whilst the Masters and Wardens of *twenty* only, signed the APPROBATION of the "Constitutions" of that year. It must be borne in mind, however, that the "Constitutions" submitted by Anderson in January 1723, *were in print*, and that the vicissitudes of the year 1722, must have rendered it difficult to obtain even the signatures of *twenty*, out of the *twenty-four* representatives of lodges by whom the "Constitutions" were ordered to be printed on March 25, 1722.

Men, Merchants, Clergymen, and Tradesmen, who found a *Lodge* to be a safe and pleasant Relaxation from Intense Study or the Hurry of Business, without Politicks or Party. Therefore the *Grand Master* was obliged to constitute more *new Lodges*, and was very assiduous in *visiting* the *Lodges* every Week with his *Deputy* and *Wardens;* and his *Worship* was well pleas'd with their kind and respectful Manner of receiving him, as they were with his affable and clever conversation.

"Grand Lodge in *ample* Form, 25 *April* 1723, at the *White-Lion, Cornhill*, with former *Grand* Officers and those of 30 *Lodges* call'd over by G. Warden *Anderson*, for no *Secretary* was yet appointed. When

"WHARTON, *Grand Master*, proposed for his Successor the Earl of *Dalkeith* (now *Duke* of *Buckleugh*), *Master* of a *Lodge*, who was unanimously approv'd and duly saluted as *Grand Master Elect.*"

In bringing to a close these extracts from the "Constitutions" of 1738, and before proceeding to compare the Scottish system of Freemasonry with its English counterpart, a short biography of the "Father of Masonic History" becomes essential.

This will assist us, on the one hand, in estimating the weight of authority, due to a record of events, uncorroborated for the most part on any material points, and on the other hand, in arriving at a definite conclusion, with regard to the extent to which the masonic systems in the two Kingdoms borrowed from one another.

In tracing the circumstances of Dr Anderson's life, I have derived very little assistance from the ordinary Dictionaries of Biography.[1] Chambers has evidently copied from Chalmers, and the latter introduced an element of confusion in his notices of the worthies bearing the surname of Anderson, which has caused Mackey and other Masonic encyclopædists to give the place and date of birth of James Anderson, Advocate and Antiquary, as those of his namesake, the Doctor of Divinity, and compiler of the "Constitutions."

This has arisen from Chalmers stating in his memoir of Adam Anderson, author of the "History of Commerce," that he was the brother of James Anderson, the *Freemason*, and in that of James Anderson, the *Antiquary*, that he was brother to Adam Anderson, the historian. *Our* Doctor, therefore, has had Edinburgh assigned as his native town, whilst the date of his birth has been fixed at August 5, 1662. In reality, however, both his age and birth-place are unknown, though, for reasons to be presently adduced, a presumption arises that he was born and educated at Aberdeen.

A short memoir of Dr Anderson was given in the *Scots Magazine*,[2] but the circumstances of his life are more fully referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[3] (1783), by a correspondent who writes under the letter B., and furnishes the following particulars respecting *Adam* Anderson, a gentleman he professes to have both *known* and esteemed.

"Adam Anderson was a native of Scotland; he was brother to the Rev. James Anderson, D.D., editor of the "Diplomata Scotiæ"[4] and "Royal Genealogies," many years since minister of

[1] R. Chambers, Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, vol. i.; A. Chalmers, General Biographical Dictionary, vol. ii.; and D. Irving, Lives of Scottish Writers, 2d edit., 1839.

[2] Vol. i., 1739, p. 236. [3] Vol. liii., p. 41.

[4] Here we have, possibly, the *fons et origo* of the confusion that has arisen between the *Antiquary* and the *Freemason*. James Anderson, the Edinburgh advocate—born August 5, 1662, died April 3, 1729—was the author of "Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus," a splendid folio volume, published after his death in 1739.

the Scots Presbyterian Church in Swallow Street, Piccadilly, and well-known in those days among the people of that persuasion resident in London, by the name of Bishop Anderson, a learned but imprudent man, who lost a considerable part of his property in the fatal year 1720: he married, and had issue, a son, and a daughter, who was the wife of an officer in the army; his brother Adam was for 40 years a clerk in the South Sea House, and at length arrived to his *acmé* there, being appointed chief clerk of the Stock and New Annuities, which office he retained till his death in 1765. He was appointed one of the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, by charter dated June 9, 5 Geo. II. (1732). He was also one of the court of assistants of the Scots Corporation in London. ∴ ∴

"Mr Anderson died *at his house*,[1] in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, I apprehend about the year 1764."

Although the anonymous writer of the preceding memoir falls into some slight errors,[2] in portions of his narrative where there are opportunities of testing its accuracy, this memorial of Dr Anderson is the most trustworthy we can refer to, as being the only one in which a personal knowledge of his subject can be inferred from the expressions of the writer.

For this reason I have given it at length, and it may be observed, that the mistake in citing *Doctor* Anderson as the author of the learned treatise on the charters and coins of Scotland, has probably arisen from the coincidence of the death of the *Freemason* occurring in the same year as the publication of the posthumous work of the *Antiquary* (1739).

Dr Anderson's *magnum opus* was his "Royal Genealogies,"[3] produced, it is said, at the cost of twenty years' close study and application.[4] At the close of his life, he was reduced to very slender circumstances, and experienced some great misfortunes,[5] but of what description we are not told. The *Pocket Companion* for 1754 points out "great defects" in the edition of the "Constitutions," published the year before his death (1738), and attributes them either to "his want of health, or trusting [the MS.] to the management of strangers." "The work," it goes on to say, "appeared in a very mangled condition, and the Regulations, which had been revised and corrected by Grand-Master Payne, were in many cases interpolated, and in others, the sense left very obscure and uncertain."[6]

Upon the whole, it is sufficiently clear, that the "New Book of Constitutions" (1738), which contains the only connected history of the Grand Lodge of England, for the first six years of its existence (1717-1723), was compiled by Dr Anderson at a period when troubles crowded thickly upon him, and very shortly before his death. This of itself would tend to detract from the weight of authority with which such a publication should descend to us. Moreover, if the discrepancies between the statements in the portion of the narrative which I have reproduced, and those quoted from "Multa Paucis," Dr Stukeley's Diary, and the journals of the day, are carefully noted, it will be impossible to arrive at any other conclusion—

[1] "Friday, died suddenly of an apoplectic fit, *at the South Sea House*, in his 73d year, Mr Adam Anderson, author of the 'Historical and Chronological Deduction of Commerce,' in two volumes, folio, lately published" (Public Advertiser, Monday, January 14, 1765).

[2] See the two last notes.

[3] Royal Genealogies, or The Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, from Adam to these Times, etc., folio, 1732. Second edit., 1736.

[4] Scots Magazine, vol. i., 1739, p. 236. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Pocket Companion, and History of Free-Masons, 1754, preface, pp. vi., vii.

without, however, impeaching the good faith of the compiler—than that the history of the Grand Lodge, from 1717 to 1723, as narrated by Anderson, is, to say the least, very unsatisfactorily attested.[1] Dr Anderson died May 28, 1739,[2] and it is a little singular that none of the journals recording his decease, or that of his brother[3] Adam (1765), give any further clue to the place of their birth, than the brief statement that they were "natives of Scotland."

There seems, however, some ground for supposing that Dr James Anderson was born at Aberdeen or in its vicinity, and it appears to me not improbable, that the records of the Aberdeen Lodge might reveal the fact of his having been either an initiate or an affiliate of that body.

It is at least a remarkable coincidence—if nothing more—that almost the same words are used to describe James Anderson, the compiler of the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670), and James Anderson, the compiler of the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England (1723). Thus the assent of the seventeenth lodge on the English Roll, in 1723, to the Constitutions of that year, is thus shown:—

XVII. James Anderson, A.M.
The Author of *this* Book,[4] } Master.

The assimilation into the English Masonic System of many operative terms indigenous to Scotland, is incontestable.[5] Now, although there are no means of deciding whether Anderson was *initiated* in, or *joined* the English Society,[6] there is evidence from which we may infer, either that he examined the records of the Lodge of Aberdeen, or that extracts therefrom were supplied to him.

In support of this position, the *eleventh* subscription to the Aberdeen Statutes may be again referred to.

James Anderson, "Glassier and Measson," the *clerk* of the lodge in 1670, was still a member (and Master) in 1696.[7] In a list before me, of "Clerks of the Aberdeen Lodge," but which unfortunately only commences in 1709, the first name on the roll is that of *J. Anderson,*

[1] The *early* history of the Freemasons, as related in the same work, is quite unworthy of serious consideration, and Professor Robison rightly inveighs against "the heap of rubbish with which Anderson has disgraced his Constitutions of Free Masonry—the basis of Masonic History" (Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, 5th edit., 1798, p. 17).

[2] "Yesterday died, at his house in Exeter Court, Dr James Anderson, a Dissenting teacher" (London Evening Post, from May 26 to May 29, 1739). A similar notice appears in *Read's Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer*, June 2; and the *London Daily Post* of May 29 says, "the deceased was reckoned a very facetious companion."

[3] I may observe, that the relationship between *James* and *Adam* Anderson, rests upon the authority of the anonymous contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1783, vol. liii., p. 41). One allusion to the Freemasons is made, indeed, by Adam Anderson, but very little can be inferred from it. Quoting the Stat. Hen. VI., cap. i., he says—"Thus we see this Humour of *Free-masonry* is of no small antiquity in England" (History of Commerce, 1764, vol. i., p. 252).

[4] Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 74; and *cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 434, No. 11.

[5] Certainly *Cowan* and *Fellow-craft*, and possibly *Master Mason, Entered, Passed, Raised*, etc.

[6] If Dr Stukeley's statement is to be believed, Anderson could not have been initiated in *London* until 1721 (*ante*, p. 284). It should be borne in mind, moreover, that the latter doctor is not named in the proceedings of Grand Lodge until September 29, 1721. His admission or affiliation, therefore, into English Masonry probably occurred *after* the election as Grand Master of the Duke of Montagu. In this view of the case, the information he furnishes with regard to the Masonic events of the years 1717-1720, must have been derived from *hearsay*.

[7] Chap. VIII., p. 484.

which is repeated year by year until 1725.[1] At the time, therefore, when James Anderson, the Presbyterian Minister, published the English Book of Constitutions (1723), *a* J. Anderson —presumably the *glazier* of 1670—was the lodge clerk at Aberdeen. Now, if the *author* of one Masonic book, and the *writer* of the other, were both natives of Aberdeen, the similarity of name will imply relationship, and in this view of the facts, it would seem only natural that the younger historian should have benefited by the research of his senior. Clearly, the glazier and clerk of 1670 *may* not have been the clerk of 1709-24; also, Dr Anderson *may* have had no connection with Aberdeen. These propositions are self evident, but though I have searched for many weary hours in the library of the British Museum and elsewhere, I can find nothing which conflicts with the idea, that the brothers, Adam and James Anderson, were natives of Aberdeen.

However this may be, Dr Anderson was certainly a Scotsman, and to this circumstance must be attributed his introduction of many operative terms from the vocabulary of the sister kingdom into his "Book of Constitutions." Of these, one of the most common is, the compound word *Fellow-craft*,[2] which is plainly of Scottish derivation. *Enter'd Prentice*[3] also occurs, and though presented as *a quotation* from an old *English* manuscript, it hardly admits of a doubt that Anderson *embellished* the text of his authority by changing the words "new men" into "enter'd Prentices."[4]

Allusions to the Freemasonry of Scotland are not infrequent. "Lodges there," with "Records and Traditions"—"kept up without interruption many hundred years"—are mentioned in one place,[5] and in another we read that "the Masons of Scotland were impower'd to have a certain and fix'd Grand Master and Grand Warden"[6]—here, no doubt the writer had in his mind the Laird of Udaucht, or William Schaw.[7]

Again, in the "Approbation" appended to his work, Anderson expressly states that he has examined "several copies of the *History, Charges,* and *Regulations,* of the *ancient* FRATERNITY, from Scotland" and elsewhere.[8]

The word *Cowan,* however, is reserved for the second edition of the Constitutions,[9] where also the following passage occurs, relative to the Scottish custom of lodges meeting in the open air,[10] a usage probably disclosed to the compiler by the records of the Aberdeen Lodge, or by his namesake, their custodian. The words run—

"The *Fraternity* of old met in *Monasteries* in foul Weather, but in fair Weather they met early in the Morning on the Tops of Hills, especially on St JOHN *Evangelist's Day,* and from thence walk'd in due Form to the Place of Dinner, according to the Tradition of the old *Scots Masons,* particularly of those in the antient Lodges of *Killwinning, Sterling,* Aberdeen," etc.[11]

Our next task will be, to compare the Masonic systems prevailing in Scotland and England respectively, at a date preceding the era of Grand Lodges, or, to slightly vary the

[1] The Constitutions, etc., of the Aberdeen Mason Lodge, 1858. Appendix, p. xxiv.

[2] Constitutions, 1723, *passim.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[4] "That *enter'd Prentices* at their making, were charg'd not to be Thieves, or Thieves-Maintainers" (Constitutions, 1723, p. 34). "At the first beginning, *new men* . ·. be charged . ·. that [they] should never be thieves, nor thieves' maintainers" ("Cooke" MS., lines 912-917). *Cf.* Chap. II., pp. 103, 104.

[5] Constitutions, 1723, p. 37. [6] *Ibid.* [7] Chap. VIII., pp. 425, 426.

[8] Constitutions, 1723, p. 78. [9] Preface, p. ix., and pp. 54, 74.

[10] *Ante,* Chap. VIII., pp. 428, 429. [11] Constitutions, 1738, p. 91.

Kilwinning, will ever be effectually stamped out. The mythical character of both these traditions, has, indeed, been fully exposed by the latest and ablest of Scottish historians of the Craft.[1] But passing from fable to fact, it will be unnecessary to concern ourselves any further with the compilation of 1804, except so far as the vivid imagination of Sir David Brewster, has suggested a possible derivation of English from Scottish Masonry. The probability, not to put the case any higher, is, indeed, quite the other way, but "as waters take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run," so may the Masonic customs, though proceeding from the same source, have varied according to the regions and circumstances where they were planted. Neither the traditions nor the usages of the Craft have come down from antiquity in one clear unruffled stream. Why the *two* Masonic bodies followed in their development such different paths, it is the province of history to determine. Such a task lies, indeed, beyond my immediate purpose, and would exceed the limits of this work. Still, however, whilst leaving the problem to be dealt with by an historian of the future, it may be possible, nevertheless, in the ensuing pages, to indicate some promising lines of inquiry, which will lead, in my judgment, to the elucidation of many points of interest, if pursued with diligence.

It has been already noticed,[2] that the two legendary centres of Masonic activity—York and Kilwinning—were comprised within the ancient Kingdom of Northumbria.[3] Disrael[i] observes,—"The casual occurrence of the ENGLES leaving their name to this land has bestowed on our country a foreign designation; and—for the contingency was nearly arising—had the Kingdom of Northumbria preserved its ascendancy in the octarchy, the seat of dominion had been altered. In that case, the lowlands of Scotland would have formed a portion of England; York would have stood forth as the metropolis of Britain, and London had been but a remote mart for her port and her commerce."[4]

A speculation might be advanced, though it rests on no shadow of proof, but is nevertheless a somewhat plausible theory, that the Italian workmen imported by Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid,[5] may have formed Guilds—in imitation of the Collegia, which perhaps still existed in some form in Italy—to perpetuate the art among the natives, and hence the legend of Athelstan and the Grand Lodge of York. But unfortunately, Northumbria was the district most completely revolutionised by the Danes, and again effectually ravaged by the Conqueror.[6]

The legend pointing to Kilwinning as the original seat of Scottish Masonry, based as it is upon the story which makes the institution of the *Lodge*, and the erection of the *Abbey* (1140) coeval, is inconsistent with the fact that the latter was neither the first nor second Gothic structure erected in Scotland.[7] Moreover, we are assured on good authority that a minute

[1] See Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 65, 66.

[2] Chap. XIII., p. 23.

[3] "Northumbria extended from the Humber to the Forth, and from the North Sea inland to the eastern offsets of the Pennine Range. Its western limit in the country now called Scotland is more uncertain, but would probably be fairly represented by a line drawn from the Liddel through Selkirk or Peebles to the neighbourhood of Stirling" (Globe Encyclopædia, *s.v.*).

[4] Amenities of Literature, vol. i., p. 41.

[5] Chap. VI., p. 272.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[7] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 242.

inspection of its ruins proves its erection to have been antedated by some eighty or ninety years.[1] Still, whether at Kilwinning or elsewhere, it is tolerably clear that the Scottish stone-workers of the twelfth century came from England. The English were able to send them, and the Scots required them. Also, it is a fair presumption from the fact of numerous Englishmen of noble birth having, at the instance of the King, settled in Scotland at this period, that Craftsmen from the South must soon have followed them.[2] Indeed, late in the twelfth century, "the two nations, according to Fordun, seemed one people, Englishmen travelling at pleasure through all the corners of Scotland; and Scotchmen in like manner through England."[3]

When the Legend of the Craft, or in other words the Masonic traditions which we find enshrined in the "Old Charges," was or were introduced into Scotland, it is quite impossible to decide. If, indeed, a traditionary history existed at all in Britain, before the reign of Edward III., as I have ventured to contend that it must have done,[4] this, for several reasons, would seem the most likely period at which such transfusion of ideas occurred. It is true that *probability* in such decisions will often prove the most fallacious guide we can follow. *Le vraisemblable n'est pas toujours vrai*, and *le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable.* Yet it is free from doubt that *after* the war of independence in the thirteenth century, the Scottish people, in their language, their institutions, and their habits, gradually became estranged from England.[5] A closer intercourse took place with the French, and "the Saxon institutions in Scotland were gradually buried under foreign importations."[6] "The earliest ecclesiastical edifices of England and Scotland show the same style of architecture—*in many instances the same workmen.* When, *after* the devastations of the war of independence, Gothic architecture was resumed, it leaned, in its gradual development from earlier to later styles, more to the Continental than the English models; and when the English architects fell into the thin mouldings and shafts, depressed arches, and square outlines of the Tudor-Gothic, Scotland took the other direction of the rich, massive, wavy decorations and high-pointed arches of the French Flamboyant."[7]

But even if we go the length of believing that English Masons, or at least their customs, had penetrated into Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the circumstances of that unfortunate kingdom from 1296 to 1400, have yet to be considered. Throughout this period, Scotland was continually ravaged by the English. In 1296, they entered Berwick, the richest town Scotland possessed, and not only destroyed all the property, but slew nearly all the inhabitants, after which they marched on to Aberdeen and Elgin, and completely desolated

[1] "The earliest date, even were it in England, that could be fixed for the erection of a structure like Kilwinning Abbey, would be A.D. 1220" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh). *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 185, note 1.

[2] See a letter in the *Freemason* of June 19, 1869, signed "Leo." The writer—*semble*, Mr W. P. Buchan—remarks, "In the 12th and 13th centuries, England, I should say, was the Mother of Scottish Operative *Masonry*, just as in the 18th century, she was of Speculative *Freemasonry*."

[3] Rev. G. Ridpath, Border History of England and Scotland, 1810, p. 76. *Cf.* Sir D. Dalrymple, Annals of Scotland, vol. i., p. 158.

[4] Chap. XIII., p. 219.

[5] J. H. Burton, History of Scotland, 1853, vol. i., p. 516.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 518. "In the mansions of the gentry, the influence of France was still more complete; for when the English squires were building their broad, oriel-windowed, and many-chimneyed mansions of the Tudor style, the Scottish lairds raised tall, narrow fortalices, crowned with rich clusters of gaudy, painted turrets, like the châteaux of Guienne and Berri" (*Ibid.*). *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 264, 284-286.

the country.[1] In 1298 the English again broke in, burnt Perth and St Andrews, and ravaged the whole country, south and west.[2] In 1322, Bruce, in order to baffle an English invasion, was obliged to lay waste all the districts south of the Firth of Forth. In 1336, Edward III. destroyed everything he could find, as far as Inverness, whilst in 1355, in a still more barbarous inroad, he burnt every church, every village, and every town he approached. Nor did the country fare better at the hands of his successor, for Richard II. traversed the southern counties to Aberdeen, scattering destruction on every side, and reducing to ashes the cities of Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee.[3] It has been estimated, that the frequent wars between Scotland and England since the death of Alexander III. (1286), had occasioned to the former country the loss of more than a century in the progress of civilisation.[4] We are told that, in the fifteenth century, even in the best parts of Scotland, the inhabitants could not manufacture the most necessary articles, which they imported largely from Bruges.[5] At Aberdeen, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was not a mechanic in the town capable to execute the ordinary repairs of a clock.[6]

Dunfermline, associated with so many historic reminiscences, at the end of the fourteenth century was still a poor village, composed of wooden huts.[7] At the same period, the houses in Edinburgh itself were mere huts thatched with boughs, and even as late as 1600 they were chiefly built of wood.[8] Down, or almost down, to the close of the sixteenth century, skilled labour was hardly known, and honest industry was universally despised.[9]

If it be conceded, therefore, that prior to the war of independence the architecture of Scotland, and with it the customs of the building trades, received an English impress, we must, I think, also admit the strong improbability—to say no more—of the influence thus produced, having survived the period of anarchy, which has been briefly described. Neither is it likely that French or other Continental customs became permanently engrafted on the Scottish Masonic system.[10] Indeed, it is clear almost to demonstration, that the usages wherein the Masons of Scotland differed from the other trades of that country were of English derivation. The "Old Charges" here come to our aid, and prove, if they do no more,

[1] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., pp. 13, 14.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 15, 16.

[4] J. Pinkerton, History of Scotland, vol. i., pp. 166, 167.

[5] Mercer, History of Dunfermline, p. 61. Lyon, in chap. xxiv. of his "History," prints the Seal of Cause, incorporating the Masons and Wrights of Edinburgh, A.D. 1475, and observes (p. 233), "The reference which is made to BRUGES in the fourth item, is significant, as indicating one of the channels through which the Scottish Crafts became acquainted with customs obtaining among their brethren in foreign countries." He adds, "the secret ceremonies observed by the representatives of the builders of the mediæval edifices of which Bruges could boast, may have to some extent been adopted by the Lodges of Scotch Operative Masons in the fifteenth century" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 234).

[6] W. Kennedy, Annals of Aberdeen, 1818, vol. i., p. 99.

[7] Mercer, History of Dunfermline, p. 62.

[8] G. Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. i., p. 802; Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 30.

[9] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 31. "Our manufactures were carried on by the meanest of the people, who had small stocks, and were of no reputation. These were, for the most part, workmen for home consumpt, such as *Masons*, house-carpenters, armourers, blacksmiths, taylors, shoemakers, and the like" (*Ibid.*, citing "The Interest of Scotland considered," 1733, p. 82).

[10] The possible influence of the "Companionage," and the "Steinmetzen," upon *British* Freemasonry, will be considered in the next chapter.

that in one feature at least the Scottish ceremonial was based on an English prototype.[1] The date when the "Legend of the Craft" was introduced into Scotland is indeterminable. The evidence will justify an inference, that a copy of our manuscript Constitutions was in the possession of the Melrose Lodge in 1581.[2] Still, it is scarcely possible, if we accept this date, that it marks the *introduction* into Scotland of a version of the "Old Charges." From the thirteenth century to the close of the sixteenth, the most populous Scottish cities were Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, and St Andrews.[3] English craftsmen, or English craft usages, it may be supposed, passed into Scotland by way of the great towns rather than of the smaller ones. Melrose, it is true, stands on the border line of the two countries, and its beautiful Abbey, as previously stated, is also betwixt the two in style.[4] But even were we to accept the dates of erection of the chief ecclesiastical buildings, as those of the introduction of Masonry into the various districts of Scotland, it would be found, says the historian of the Lodge of Melrose, that Kelso stood first, Edinburgh second, Melrose *third*, and Kilwinning fourth.[5] On the whole we shall, perhaps, not go far astray, if we assume that the lost exemplars of the "Old Charges" extant in both kingdoms, or to speak more correctly, those of the normal or ordinary versions, were in substance identical.[6] This would carry back the ceremony of "reading the Charges," as a characteristic of Scottish Masonry, to the period when our manuscript Constitutions assumed the coherent and, as it were, stereotyped form, of which either the Lansdowne (3) or the Buchanan (15) MSS. affords a good illustration.[7] As against this view, however, it must not escape our recollection that the only direct evidence pointing to the existence in Scotland of versions of the Old Charges *before* the seventeenth century, consists of the memorandum or attestation, a copy of which is appended to Melrose MS., No. 2 (19).[8] It runs—

Extracted be me	Be it knouen to all men to whom these presents
M. upon	shall come that Robert Wincester hath lafuly
the 1 2 3 and 4	done his dutie to the science of Masonrie in witnes
dayes of	wherof J. [I] John Wincester his Master frie mason
December	have subscribit my name and sett to my mark
anno	in the Year of our Lord 1581 and in the raing of
MDCLXXIIII.	our most Soveraing Lady Elizabeth the (22) Year.

If it is considered that more has been founded on this entry than it will safely bear,[9] or in other words that it *does not* warrant the inference, with regard to MS. 19 being a copy of a sixteenth century version, a further supposition presents itself. It is this. All Scottish copies of the "Old Charges" may then date *after* the accession of James I. to the

[1] Chaps. II., pp. 89, 90; VIII., p. 433. *Cf.* Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 108, 421.

[2] Chap. II., pp. 66, 89.

[3] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 29.

[4] Chap. VIII., p. 286.

[5] W. F. Vernon, in the *Masonic Magazine*, February, 1880. *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. i.; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 449.

[6] *Cf.* Chap. XV., p. 206. [7] *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 207.

[8] This having been only partially given at Chap. II., pp. 90, note 1, is now shown above in full.

[9] *Cf.* Chaps. II., pp. 66, 90; VIII., pp. 409, 451; XIV., p. 194 (3*a*); and Hughan's description of Melrose MS., No. 2, in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. vii., 1880, p. 289.

English throne (1603), and the question arises, Can the words "leidgeman to the King of England" be understood as referring to this monarch? If so, some difficulties would be removed from our path, but only, alas, to give place to others.

When James at the death of Queen Elizabeth proceeded to England, the principal native nobility accompanied him.[1] Nor was this exodus restricted to the upper classes. Howell, writing in 1657, assigns as a reason for the cities of London and Westminster, which were originally far apart, having become fully joined in the early years of the seventeenth century, the great number of Scotch who came to London on the accession of James I., and settled chiefly along the Strand.[2] It may therefore be contended that *if* about the close of the sixteenth century the Mason's lodges in England had ceased to exist, the great influx of Scotsmen just alluded to, might reasonably account for the Warrington meeting of 1646,[3] before which there is no evidence of *living* Freemasonry in the South. This, of course, would imply either that the Scottish Lodges, which we know existed in the sixteenth century, *then* possessed versions of the "Old Charges," or that for some period of time at least, they were without them.

The latter supposition would, however, be weakened by the presumption of the English Lodges having died out, since it would be hardly likely that from their fossil remains the Scotch Masons extracted the manuscript Constitutions, which they certainly *used* in the seventeenth century.

My own view is that that William Schaw, the Master of Work and General Warden, had a copy of the "Old Charges" before him when he penned the Statutes of 1598 and 1599,[4] and with regard to the Warrington Lodge (1646), that it was an out-growth of something essentially distinct from the Scotch Masonry of that period.

On both these points a few final words remain to be expressed, but before doing so, it will be convenient if I resume and conclude the observations on the general history of Scotland, which I have brought down to the year 1657, and show the possibility of the legislative Union of 1707, having conduced in some measure to the (so-called) Masonic Revival of 1717.

At the accession of William III. (1689) every Scotsman of importance, who could claim alliance with the revolutionary party, proffered his guidance to the new King through the intricacies of his position. But the clustering of these gratuitous advisers became so troublesome to him, that the resort of members of the Convention to London was prohibited.[5]

After the Union of the two Kingdoms (1707), the infusion of English ideas was very rapid. Some of the most considerable persons in Scotland were obliged to pass half the year in London, and naturally came back with a certain change in their ideas.[6] The Scotch nobles looked for future fortune, not to Scotland but to England. London became the centre of their intrigues and their hopes.[7] The movement up to this period, it may be remarked, was entirely in one direction. The people of Scotland knew England much better than the people of England knew

[1] Irving, History of Dumbartonshire, 1860, pp. 137, 166; Bishop Guthry, Memoirs, 1702, pp. 127, 128.

[2] Londinopolis, Historical Discourse and Perlustration of London, p. 346.

[3] Chap. XIV., p. 140.

[4] Chap. VIII., pp. 385, 389, 397.

[5] Burton, History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 19.

[6] Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 85.

[7] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 165.

Scotland—indeed, according to Burton, the efforts of the pamphleteers to make Scotland known to the English, at the period of the Union, resemble the missionary efforts at the present day (1853) to instruct the people about the policy of the Caffres or the Japanese.[1]

A passing glance at the Freemasonry of the South in 1707—the year of the Union between the two kingdoms—has been afforded us by the essay of Sir Richard Steele.[2] Upon this evidence, it is argued with much force, that a Society known as the Freemasons, having certain *distinct* modes of recognition, must have existed in London in 1709, and for a *long time* before.[3]

This position, with the reservation that the words *signs* and *tokens*,[4] upon which Steele's commentator has relied—like the equivalent terms cited by Aubrey, Plot, Rawlinson, and Randle Holme [5]—do *not* decide the *vexata quaestio* of Masonic degrees, will, I think, be generally conceded. But I am here concerned with the date only of Steele's first essay (1709). Whether the customs he attests were new or old will be considered later. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to assume, that about the period of the Union, there was a marked difference between the ceremonial observances of the English [6] and of the Scottish Lodges. This conclusion, it is true, has yet to be reduced to actual demonstration, but the further *proofs* on which I rely—notably the lodge procedure of Scotland—will be presently cited, when every reader will be able to form an independent judgment with regard to the proposition which I have ventured to lay down.

It seems to me a very natural deduction from the evidence, that during the ten years which intervened between the Treaty of Union (1707), and the formation of the Grand Lodge of England (1717), the characteristics of the Masonic systems, which existed, so to speak, side by side, must have been frequently compared by the members of the two brotherhoods. Among the numerous Scotsmen who flocked to London, there must have been many geomatic [7] masons, far more, indeed, than, at this lapse of time, can be identified as members of the Craft. This is placed beyond doubt by the evidence that has come down to us. To retrace our steps somewhat, we find that the Earl of Eglinton, Deacon of "Mother" Kilwinning in 1677, having "espoused the principles which led to the Revolution, enjoyed the confidence of William the Third." [8] Sir Duncan Campbell, a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh, was the personal friend and one of the confidential advisers of Queen Anne.[9] Sir John Clerk, and Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, were also members of this lodge.[10] The former, one of the Barons of the Exchequer for Scotland, from 1707 to 1755, was also a Commissioner for the

[1] History of Scotland, 1853, vol. i., p. 523. [2] *Ante*, p. 275, *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* Shakespeare, Taming of the Shrew, iv. 4; and Titus Andronicus, ii. 5. In the former play, Lucentio winks and laughs, and leaves a servant behind "to expound the meaning or moral of his signs and tokens." In the latter, Demetrius says of Lavinia, whose *hands* have been cut off, and tongue cut out, "See, how with signs and tokens she can scrowl."

[5] Chaps. XII., pp. 6, 17; XIV., pp. 164, 183.

[6] By this is meant, of course, the Lodges in the Southern metropolis. The English Masonic system, as a whole, will be examined with some fulness in the next chapter.

[7] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 437, note 2. [8] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 52.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 155. See, however, *ante*, p. 285. If initiated, as Lyon states, in the time of Queen Anne, he must have *joined* the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721?

[10] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 147. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 408.

Union, a measure, the success of which was due in no small degree to the tact and address of the latter, who was one of the foremost Scottish statesmen of his era.[1] The Treaty of Union also found an energetic supporter in the Earl of Findlater, whose name appears on the roll of the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670.[2]

Inasmuch as the names just cited, are those of persons at one end of the scale, whilst the bulk of the Scottish Craft were at the other end, it is plainly inferential, that many masons of intermediate degree in social rank, must also have found their way to the English metropolis.

Let me next endeavour, by touching lightly on the salient features of Scottish Masonry, to show what the ideas and customs were, from which the founders or early members of the Grand Lodge of England, *could* have borrowed. In so doing, however, I hasten to disclaim the notion of entering into any rivalry with the highest authority upon the subject under inquiry. But, not to say, that in the remarks which follow, I have derived great assistance from notes freely supplied by Lyon, it must be remembered, as Mackey points out, that the learned and laborious investigations of the Historian of "Mother Kilwinning" and "Mary's Chapel," refer only to the Lodges of Scotland. He adds, "There is no sufficient evidence that a more extensive system of initiation did not prevail at the same time, or even earlier, in England and Germany." "Indeed," he continues, "Findel has shown that it did in the latter country."[3] Passing over the alleged identity of the Steinmetzen with the Freemasons, which has been already disposed of,[4] the remarks of the veteran encyclopædist will be generally acquiesced in. They are cited, however, in this place, because they justify the conclusion, that some statements by Lyon, with regard to the Freemasonry of *England*, are evidently mere *obiter dicta*, and may be passed over, therefore, without detracting in the slightest degree from the value of his work as an authentic history of *Scottish* Masonry. Among these is the allusion to Desaguliers as "the pioneer and co-fabricator of symbolical Masonry," a popular delusion, the origin of which has been explained at an earlier page.[5]

Leaving, however, the Freemasonry of England for later examination, let me next, in the shortest compass that is consistent with perspicuity, summarise those features of the Scottish system which await final examination.

Turning to the Schaw Statutes, which are based, according to my belief, upon the "Old

[1] See the numerous references to this nobleman, in Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i.

[2] Chap. VIII., p. 434. The Earls of Marchmont, Eglinton, and Findlater, were accused by Lockhart of having sold their country for £1104, 15s. 7d.; £200; and £100, respectively. "It has been related," observes Burton, "that the Earl of Marchmont had so nicely estimated the value of his conscience, as to give back 5d. in copper, on receiving £1104, 16s. The price for which the Lord Banff had agreed to dispose of himself, was £11, 2s.—an amount held to be the more singularly moderate, as he had to throw in a change of religion with his side of the bargain, and become a Protestant that he might fulfil it!" (History of Scotland, vol. i., pp. 485, 486).

[3] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* Word.

[4] See Chap. III.; and G. W. Speth, The Steinmetz Theory Critically Examined—shortly to be published.

[5] *Ante*, p. 287. Warburton observes, "An historian who writes of past ages ought not to sit down with the reasons former writers give for things, but examine them, and prove their truth or falsehood—this distinguishes an historian from a mere compiler" (Literary Remains, edited by the Rev. F. Kilvert, 1841, p. 288), *cf. ante*, p. 251. It may be worth remarking, that the talented author of the "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh" does not profess to give more than the result of researches among the manuscripts and documents preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge, and in those of Mother Kilwinning, the Lodge of Edinburgh, and other *Scottish* Masonic bodies, dating from the seventeenth century or earlier (Preface, pp. vii., viii.).

English Charges" or Manuscript Constitutions,[1] we find ordinances of earlier date referred to. These, if not the ancient writings with which I have ventured to identify them, must have been some regulations or orders now lost to us. However this may be, the Schaw Statutes themselves present us with an outline of the system of Masonry peculiar to Scotland in 1598-99, which, to a great extent, we are enabled to fill in by aid of the further documentary evidence supplied from that kingdom, and dating from the succeeding century.

The Schaw Statutes are given in Chapter VIII., though not in their vernacular idiom. For this reason a few literal extracts from the two *codices*, upon which some visionary speculations have been based, become essential. These, however—not to encumber the text—will appear in the notes, where they can be referred to by those of my readers, for whom the old Scottish dialect has attractions.

Many of the clauses are in close agreement with some which are to be found in the "Old Charges," whilst others exhibit a striking resemblance to the regulations of the Steinmetzen,[2] and of the craft guilds of France.[3] Schaw, there can hardly be a doubt, had ancient writings to copy from, and what they were I have already ventured to suggest. That trade regulations, all over the world, are characterised by a great family likeness may next be affirmed, and for this reason the points of similarity between the Scottish and the German codes appear to me to possess no particular significance, though with regard to the influence of French customs upon the former, it may be otherwise.

Lyon's *dictum*, that the rules ordained by William Schaw were applicable to Operative Masons alone, will be regarded by most persons as a verdict from which there is no appeal. This point is one of some importance, for although addressed ostensibly to all the Master Masons within the Scottish realm, the Statutes have special reference to the business of *Lodges*, as distinguished from the less ancient organisations of the Craft known as *Incorporations*, holding their privileges direct from the crown, or under Seals of Cause granted by burghal authorities.[4]

The purposes for which the old Scottish lodges existed, are partly disclosed by the documents of 1598 and 1599, though, as the laws then framed or codified were not always obeyed, the "items" of the Warden-General, point in more than one instance to customs that were notoriously more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Of this, a good illustration is afforded by the various passages in the two codes which appear to regulate the *status* of apprentices. Thus, according to the Statutes of 1598, no apprentice was to be made *brother* and fellow craft until the period of his servitude had expired.[5] That is to say, on being made free, or attaining the position of a full craftsman, he was admitted or accepted into the fellowship,[6] or to use a more modern expression, became a member of the lodge.

[1] *Ante*, p. 300, and Chap. VIII., p. 397.

[2] *E.g.*, compare the Schaw Statutes, No. I. (1598), Articles 1-6, with §§ II., XLII., II., IV., XI., VI. of the Strassburg Code respectively (*ante*, Chaps. VIII., pp. 385, 386; and III., p. 119 *et seq.*); also Nos. 8, 9, 10, 13, and 15 of the former, with Nos. XV., XV. (and LIV., LV.), LXI., LXIV., and LXIV. of the latter.

[3] Especially is this the case with regard to the Essay or Masterpiece, named in both editions of the Schaw Statutes. *Cf.* Articles 13 of the 1st and 10 of the 2d, with the Montpellier Statutes of 1586 (*ante*, Chaps. VIII., pp. 386, 390; and IV., pp. 203-206).

[4] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 16.

[5] § 9.

[6] *Cf.* p. 263, note 2, and Chap. XIV., p. 151.

That the apprentices in Schaw's time stood on quite a different footing from that of the Masters and fellows, is also attested by the second code,[1] and that their *status* in the lodge during the seventeenth century was still one of relative inferiority to the *members*[2] in some parts of Scotland, is as certain as that in others they laboured under no disability whatever, and were frequently elected to the chair.[3] "Beyond providing for the 'orderlie buiking' of apprentices, the Schaw Statutes are silent as to the constitution of the lodge at entries. On the other hand, care is taken to fix the number and quality of brethren necessary to the reception of masters or fellows of craft, viz., six masters and two entered apprentices.[4] The presence of so many masters was doubtless intended as a barrier to the advancement of incompetent craftsmen, and not for the communication of secrets with which entered apprentices were unacquainted; for the arrangement referred to proves beyond question that whatever secrets were imparted in and by the lodge were, as a means of mutual recognition, patent to the intrant. The 'trial of skill in his craft,'[5] the production of an 'essay-piece,'[6] and the insertion of his name and mark in the lodge book, with the names of his 'six admitters' and 'intendaris' as specified in the act,[7] were merely practical tests and confirmations of the applicant's qualifications as an apprentice, and his fitness to undertake the duties of journeyman or master in Operative Masonry; and the apprentice's attendance at

[1] §§ 10-12. The subordinacy of apprentices in *England* is also abundantly proved by the language of the "Old Charges," though, as we have seen, in tracing upwards or backwards, the evidence from all other sources becomes exhausted when the year 1646 is reached, without apparently bringing us any nearer to a purely or even partly operative *regime*. *Cf. ante*, p. 300, and Chap. XIV., p. 143.

[2] Of the Lodge of Glasgow, Lyon remarks, "unlike other pre-eighteenth century lodges, its membership was exclusively operative, and although doubtless giving the mason word to entered apprentices, none were recognised as members till they had joined the incorporation, which was composed of Mason burgesses" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 413). By the rules, however, of the Operative Lodge of Banff (1765), a person became a member on "being Made an Entred Apprentice" (Freemason, March 20, 1869; and Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., p. 37).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 394; and Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning, Freemason's Magazine, July to December 1863, pp. 95, 154, 236. An apprentice was elected master of the legendary parent of Scottish Freemasonry so late as 1736 (*Ibid.*, p. 237).

[4] Schaw Stat. No. 1 (1598), § 13.—"*Item*, That na maister or fallow of craft be ressauit [*received*] nor admittit wtout the numer of sex maisteris and twa enterit prenteissis, the wardene of that ludge being ane [*one*] of the said sex, and that the day of the ressauyng [*receiving*] of the said fallow of craft or maister be ordrlie buikit and his name and mark insert in the said buik wt the names of his sex admitteris and enterit prenteissis, and the names of the intendaris that salbe chosin to everie persone to be alsua insert in thair buik. Providing alwayis that na man be admittit wtout ane assay [*essay*] and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocatioun and craft" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 10; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 386).

[5] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 6.—"*Item*, it is ordanit be my lord warden generall, that the warden of Kilwynning, as secund in Scotland, elect and chuis sex of the maist perfyte and worthiest of memorie within [*thair boundis*], to tak tryall of the qualificatioun of the haill masonis within the boundis foirsaid, *of thair art, craft, scyance and antient memorie;* to the effect the warden deakin may be answerable heiraftir for sic personis as is committit to him, and within his boundis and jurisdictioun" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 12; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390).

[6] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 10.—"*Item*, it is ordainit that all fallows of craft at his entrie pay to the commoun bokis of the ludge the soume of ten pundis mone [*money*], with xs. worthe of gluffis [gloves], or euir [before] he be admittit, and that for the bankatt [*banquet*]; *and that he be not admittit without ane sufficient essay and pruife of memorie and art of craft*, be [*by*] the warden, deacon, and quarter maisteris of the ludge, conforme to the foirmer; and quhairthrow thai may be the mair answerable to the generall warden" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 13; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390). It will be seen that the "Essay" is referred to in both codes. *Cf.* the last note but one.

[7] Schaw Statutes No. I. (1598), § 13. See note above, and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 386.

such an examination could not be otherwise than beneficial to him, because of the opportunity it afforded for increasing his professional knowledge."[1]

No traces of an annual "tryall of the art and memorie and science thairof of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss,"[2] were found by Lyon in the recorded transactions of Mary's Chapel or in those of the Lodge of Kilwinning. But as already mentioned,[3] the custom was observed with the utmost regularity by the Lodge of Peebles,[4] and is alluded to with more or less distinctness in the proceedings of other lodges.[5] It has been shown that the presence of apprentices at the admission of fellows of craft was rendered an essential formality by the Schaw Statutes of 1598. This regulation appears to have been duly complied with by the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning,[6] and in the former at least, the custom of apprentices giving or withholding their consent to any proposed accession to their own ranks was also recognised. But whether the latter prerogative was exercised as an inherent right, or by concession of their superiors in the craft, the records do not disclose. The earliest instance of the recognition of apprentices as active members of the Lodge of Edinburgh, is furnished by a minute of June 12, 1600, whence it appears that at least four of them attested the entry of William Hastie,[7] whilst in those of slightly later date, certain entered prentices are represented as "consenting and assenting" to the entries to which they refer. The presence of apprentices *in the lodge* during the making of fellow-crafts is also affirmed by Lyon, on the authority of minutes which he cites,[8]—a "fact," in his opinion, utterly destructive of the theory which has

[1] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 17.

[2] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 13.—"*Item*, it is ordainit be [by] the generall warden, that the luge of Kilwynning, being the second luge in Scotland, *tak tryall of the art of memorie and science thairof, of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss according to ather* [*either*] *of their vocationis; and in cais that thai have lost onie point thairof*, eurie [*every*] of thame to pay the penaltie as followis, for their slewthfulness, viz., ilk fallow of craft, xxs.; ilk prenteiss, xis.; and that to be payit to the box for the commoun weil zeirlie; and that conforme to the commoun vse and pratik of the commoun lugis of this realm" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 13; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390).

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 421.

[4] "Dec. 27, 1718.—This being St John's day the Honourable Society of Masons mett, and after prayer, proceeded to an examination of entered apprentices and Fellow Crafts, and which was done *hinc illæ* to the general satisfaction of the whole brethren" (Old Records of the Lodge of Peebles, Masonic Magazine, vol. vi., p. 355).

[5] *E.g.*, those at Kelso, Melrose, Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Atcheson Haven. *Cf.* Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 28; Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., p. 369; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 420, 429. The records of the last-named lodge contain the following minute: [December 27, 1722.] "The which day the Companie being convened, feinding a great loss of the Enterd Prentises not being tryed every St John's-day, thinks it fitt for the futter [*future*] that he who is Warden (or any in the Company who he shall call to assist him) shall every St John's-day, in the morning, try every Entered Prentis that was entered the St John's-day before, under the penalty of on croun [*one crown*] to the box" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 18). The following item in the Melrose records (1696)—"There was three payd for not being perfyt," shows that fines were imposed on ignorant or uninstructed members (Masonic Magazine, *loc. cit.*, note 2; and *cf.* the Aberdeen Statutes—*ante*, Chap. VIII.—*s. v.* Intender).

[6] The second by-law of the Lodge of Brechin, enacted December 27, 1714, runs:—"It is statute and ordained that none be entered to this lodge unless either the Master of the Lodge, Warden, and Treasurer, with two free Masters and two entered prentices be present" (Masonic Magazine, vol. i., p. 110). *Cf.* the Buchanan MS., Special Charges, No. 5; Smith, English Gilds, pp. 21, 31, 267, 328; and Plot's allusion to "5 or 6 of the Ancients of the Order," *ante*, Chaps. II., p. 99; and XIV., p. 164.

[7] "Blais Hamilton, Thos. Couston, Thos. Tailzefeir, and Cristill Miller, who were made fellows of craft in March 1601, November 1606, December 1607, and December 1609 respectively" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 74).

[8] "November 26, 1601; November 10, 1606; February 24, 1637; and June 28, 1637" (*Ibid.*).

been advanced, "that apprentices were merely present at the constitution of the lodge for the reception of fellows of craft or masters, but were not present during the time the business was going on."[1] A minute of the year 1679 shows, however, very plainly, that whether *in* or *out of* the lodge, the apprentices were in all respects fully qualified to make up a quorum for the purposes either of initiation or the reception of fellows.

"Deeember the 27, 1679: Maries Chappell. The which day Thomas Wilkie, deacon, and Thomas King, warden, and the rest of the brethren convened at that tyme, being represented unto them the great abuse and usurpation committed be John Fulltoun, mason, on [*one*] of the friemen of this place, by seducing *two entered prentises* belonging to our Lodge, to witt, Ro. Alison and John Collaer, and other omngadrums, in the moneth of august last, within the sheraffdome of Air: Has taken upon himself *to passe and enter* sevrall gentlemen without licence or commission from this place: Therfore for his abuse committed, the deacon and maisters hes forthwith enacted that he shall receave no benefit from this place nor no converse with any brother; and lykwayes his servants to be discharged from serving him in his imployment; and this act to stand in force, ay and whill [*until*] he give the deacon and masters satisfaction."[2]

It has been sufficiently demonstrated, though the evidence is not yet exhausted, that the apprentice, at his entry, was placed in full possession of the secrets of the lodge. But here we must be careful not to confuse the Masonic nomenclature prevailing in the two kingdoms respectively. The term "Free Mason," of which, in Scotland, except in the "Old Charges," the use first appears in the records of Mary's Chapel, under the year 1636, and does not reappear until 1725, was in that country until the eighteenth century, a mere abbreviation of "Freemen Masons."[3] Thus, David Dellap on being *made* an *entered apprentice* at Edinburgh in 1636,[4] must have had communicated to him, whatever of an esoteric character there was to reveal, precisely as we are justified in believing must have happened in Ashmole's case, when *made* a *Free Mason* at Warrington in 1646.[5] Yet, though the latter became a *Free Mason* at admission, whilst the former did not, both were clearly *made* brethren of the lodge.[6] The bond of brotherhood thus established may have been virtually one and the same thing in the two countries, or it may, on the other hand, have differed *toto cœlo*. But unless each of the Masonic systems be taken as a whole, it is impossible to adequately bring out the distinctions between the two. Consulted in portions, dates may be verified, and facts ascertained, but the significance of the entire body of evidence escapes us—we cannot enjoy a landscape reflected in the fragments of a broken mirror.

[1] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh. This point is completely set at rest by the evidence of the Aberdeen and Kilwinning records, the laws of the former lodge (1670) having been "ordained" by the "Maister Meassones *and* Entered Prentises," whilst the minutes of the latter (1659) show that apprentices not only assisted in the transaction of business, but that they frequently presided at the meetings (*Ibid.*, pp. 423-427; Freemason's Magazine, July to December 1863, pp. 95, 237).

[2] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[3] Chaps. VIII., p. 407; XIV., p. 160, note 10. "The adoption in January 1735 by the Lodge of Kilwinning, of the distinguishing title of *Freemasons*, and its reception of symbolical Masonry, were of simultaneous occurrence. The same may be said of Canongate Kilwinning" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 80).

[4] Chap. VIII., p. 407.

[5] Chaps. XIV., p. 140; XV., pp. 240, 245.

[6] The *free masons* of the lodges of Edinburgh (1636), Melrose (1674), and Alnwick (1701), must have occupied an analogous position to that of the *freemen* of the Gateshead Company. *Cf.* Chaps. VIII., pp. 407, 409; II., p. 89; XVI., p. 263; and XIV., p. 151.

Proceeding, therefore, with our examination of Scottish Masonry, it may be confidently asserted, that though the admissions of *gentlemen* into the Lodge of Edinburgh, both before and after the entry of David Dellap (1636), are somewhat differently recorded, the procedure, at least so far as the communication of anything to be kept secret, was the same.

Believers in the antiquity of the present third degree, are in the habit of citing the records of the Lodge of Edinburgh, as affording evidence of gentlemen masons having, in the seventeenth century, been denominated "master masons." The entries of General Hamilton and Sir Patrick Hume are cases in point.[1] But though each of these worthies was enrolled as a "fellow *and master*," their Masonic *status* did not differ from that of Lord Alexander and his brother Henry, who were enrolled, the one as a "fellow of craft," and the other as a "fellow and brother."[2] The relative position, indeed, of the incorporation and the lodge placed the making of a master mason beyond the province of the latter.[3]

"Only in four of the minutes, between December 28, 1598, and December 27, 1700, is the word 'master' employed to denote the Masonic rank in which intrants were admitted in the Lodge of Edinburgh; and it is only so used in connection with the making of theoretical Masons, of whom three were gentlemen by birth, and two master wrights."[4] It is worthy of observation, also, as Lyon forcibly points out, "that all who attest the proceedings of the Lodge, practical and theoretical masons alike, are in the earliest of its records in general terms designated Masters—a form of expression which occurs even when one or more of those to whom it is applied happen to be apprentices."[5]

The same historian affirms—and no other view would seem possible, unless we discard evidence for conjecture—that "if the communication of Mason Lodges of secret words or signs constituted a *degree*—a term of modern application to the esoteric observances of the Masonic body—then there was, under the *purely Operative régime*, only one known to Scotch Lodges, viz., that in which, under an oath, apprentices obtained a knowledge of the Mason Word, *and all that was implied in the expression.*"[6] Two points are involved in this conclusion. One, the essentially *operative* character of the early Masonry of Scotland; the other, the comparative simplicity of the lodge ceremonial. Taking these in their order, it may be necessary to explain that a distinction must be drawn between the *character* and the *composition* of the Scottish Lodges. In the former sense all were *operative*, in the latter, all, or nearly all, were more or less *speculative*. By this must be understood that the lodges in Scotland discharged a function, of which, in England, we meet with no trace, save in our manuscript Constitutions, until the eighteenth century. It is improbable that the Alnwick Lodge (1701)[7] was the first of its kind, still, all the evidence we have of an earlier date (with the exception noted) bears in quite a contrary direction. The Scottish lodges, therefore, existed, to fulfil certain operative

[1] Chap. VIII., p. 408. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 407; Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 210. [3] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 210.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*
[6] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Of the Scottish mode of initiation or Masonic reception, the same authority remarks: "*That this was the germ whence has sprung Symbolical Masonry*, is rendered more than probable by the traces which have been left upon the more ancient of our Lodge records—especially those of Mary's Chapel—of the gradual introduction, during the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, of that element in Lodge membership which at first modified and afterwards annihilated the original constitution of these ancient courts of Operative Masonry" (*Ibid.*). See, however, *ante*, pp. 258, 302; and the observations on *degrees* in the ensuing chapter.
[7] *Ante*, pp. 258, 260, *et seq.*

requirements, of which the necessity may have passed away, or at least has been unrecorded in the south.[1]

In Chapter VIII. will be found some allusions to the presence, side by side, of the operative and speculative elements, in the lodges of Scotland.[2] The word *speculative* has been turned to strange uses by historians of the craft. In this respect I am no better off than my predecessors, and the reference to "Speculative Freemasonry" at p. 437, is at least ambiguous, if nothing more. It is there argued that the speculative ascendancy which, in 1670, prevailed in the Lodge of Aberdeen, might be termed, in other words, *Speculative Freemasonry*. This is true, no doubt, in a sense, but the horizon advances as well as recedes, and I find in some few instances, that a subject provisionally dealt with, at an earlier stage, requires some qualifying remarks. Indeed, as it has been well expressed, "The idea in the mind is not always found under the pen, any more than the artist's conception can always breathe in his pencil."

Without doubt, the Earls of Findlator and Errol, and the other noblemen and gentlemen, who formed a majority of the members of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670), were speculative or honorary, and not operative or practical masons. The same may be said of the entire bead-role of Scottish worthies whose connection with the craft has been already glanced at.[3] But the speculative element within the lodges was a mere excrescence upon the operative. From the earliest times, in the cities of Scotland, the burgesses were accustomed to purchase the protection of some powerful noble by yielding to him the little independence that they might have retained.[4] Thus, for example, the town of Dunbar naturally grew up under the shelter of the castle of the same name.[5] Few of the Scottish towns ventured to elect their chief magistrate from among their own people; but the usual course was, to choose a neighbouring peer as provost or bailie.[6] Indeed, it often happened that his office became hereditary, and was looked upon as the vested right of some aristocratic family.[7] In the same way the lodges eagerly courted the countenance and protection of the aristocracy. Of this, many examples might be given, if, indeed, the fact were not sufficiently established by the evidence before us.[8] But the hereditary connection of the noble house of Montgomerie with the Masonic Court of Kilwinning must not be passed over, as it shows, that to some extent at least, the "mother" lodge of Scottish tradition grew up under the shelter of Eglinton Castle.[9]

"The grafting of the non-professional element on to the stem of the operative system of masonry," is said to have had its commencement in Scotland about the period of the Reformation,[10] nor are we without evidence that will justify this conclusion. According to the solemn

[1] *Ante*, p. 258. [2] Pp. 406, 433, 437. [3] Chap. VIII., *passim*.

[4] *Cf.* Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., pp. 32, 33.

[5] "Dunbar became the town, in demesn, of the successive Earls of Dunbar and March, partaking of their influences, whether unfortunate or happy" (G. Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. ii., p. 416).

[6] P. F. Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. iv., p. 225.

[7] *Cf.* Buckle, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 33, and the authorities cited.

[8] Chap. VIII., *passim*. Lyon observes, "it is worthy of remark that with singularly few exceptions, the non-operatives who were admitted to Masonic fellowship in the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning during the seventeenth century, were persons of quality, the most distinguished of whom, as the natural result of its metropolitan position, being made in the former lodge" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 81).

[9] Chap. VIII., pp. 388, 395. For further proof of this connection, which extended to a comparatively recent period, see Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 52, 245; and R. Wylie, History of Mother Lodge Kilwinning, 1878, *passim*.

[10] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 78.



RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT HOLMESDALE.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF KENT.

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh.

declaration of a church court in 1652,[1] many masons having the "word" were ministers and professors in "the purest tymes of this kirke," which may mean any time after the Reformation of 1560, but must, at least, be regarded as carrying back the admission of honorary members into masonic fellowship, beyond the oft-quoted case of John Boswell, in 1600.[2] But as militating against the hypothesis, that honorary membership was then of frequent occurrence, the fact must be noted, that the records of Lodge of Edinburgh contain no entries relating to the admission of *gentlemen* between 1600 and 1634,—the latter date, moreover, being thirty-eight years before the period at which the presence of Geomatic Masons is first discernible in the Lodge of Kilwinning.[3] But whatever may have been the motives which animated the parties on either side—Operatives or Speculatives—the tie which united them was a purely honorary one.[4] In the Lodge of Edinburgh, Geomatic Masons were charged no admission fee until 1727.[5] The opinion has been expressed that a difference existed between the ceremonial at the admission of a theoretical, and that observed at the reception of a practical mason. This is based upon the inability of non-professionals to comply with tests to which operatives were subjected ere they could be passed as fellows of craft.[6] Such was probably the case, and the distinction is material, as naturally arising from the presumption that the *interests* of the latter class of intrants would alone be considered in a court of purely operative masonry.

Passing, however, to the second point—the simplicity of the lodge ceremonial—and I must here explain that I use this expression in the restricted sense of the *masonic reception* common to both classes alike—the operative tests from which gentlemen were presumably exempt are of no further interest in this inquiry. The geomatic[7] class of intrants, if we follow Lyon, were "in all likelihood initiated into a knowledge of the legendary history of the mason craft, and had the Word and *such other secrets* communicated to them, as was necessary to their recognition as brethren, in the very limited masonic circle in which they were ever likely to move—limited, because *there was nothing of a cosmopolitan character*, in the bond which [then] united the members of lodges, nor had the Lodge of Edinburgh *as yet* become acquainted with the dramatic degrees of speculative masonry."[8] Subject to the qualification, that the admission of a *joining member* from the Lodge of Linlithgow, by the brethren of the Lodge of Edinburgh, in 1653,[9] attests that the bond of fellowship was something more than a mere token of membership of a particular lodge, or of a masonic society in a single city, the proceedings at the entry or admission of candidates for the lodge are well outlined by the Scottish historian. The ceremony was doubtless the same—*i.e.*, the esoteric portion of it, with which we are alone concerned—whether the intrant was an operative apprentice, or a speculative fellow-craft, or master.[10] The legend of the craft was read, and "the benefit of the MASON WORD" conferred.

[1] Chap. VIII., p. 444.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 406, *q.v.*; and 407.

[3] *I.e.*, by the election of Lord Cassillis to the deaconship.

[4] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 82.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 82.

[7] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 437, note 2.

[8] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83.

[9] Chap. VIII., p. 409:—"Dec. 22, 1702.—William Cairncross, mason in Stockbridge, gave in his petition desiring liberty to associate himself with this lodge, which being duly considered, and *he being examined before the meeting*, they were fully satisfied *of his being a true entered apprentice and fellow-craft*, and therefore admitted him into their Society as a member thereof in all tyme coming, and upon his solemn promise in the terms of the Society, anent which he accordingly gave" (Minutes of the Haughfoot Lodge, Freemasons' Magazine, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 222).

[10] The practice of the Lodge of Kilwinning shows that gentlemen became *apprentices* at their entry, and not fellows of craft or masters, as was commonly the case in the Lodge of Edinburgh.

The Schaw Statutes throw no light on the ceremony of masonic initiation, beyond justifying the inference, that extreme simplicity must have been its leading characteristic. The WORD is the only secret referred to throughout the seventeenth century in any Scottish records of that period.[1] The expression "Benefit of the Mason Word" occurs in several statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670).[2] The Atcheson-Haven records (1700) mention certain "disorders of the lodge" which it was feared would "bring all law and order, and consequently the mason word, to contempt."[3] The Haughfoot minutes (1702) mention a grip, though I may here interpolate the remark, that my belief in a plurality of secrets being appurtenant to the WORD,[4] that is to say, before their introduction from England, at some period now indeterminable, but not before the last quarter of the seventeenth century—has been somewhat disturbed by a further study of the subject since the publication of the eighth chapter of this history.

The same records detail the admission of two members in 1710, who "received the word in common form,"[5] an expression which is made clearer by the laws of the Brechin Lodge (1714), the third of which runs—"It is statute and ordained that when any person that is entered to this lodge shall be receaved by the Warden in the common form," etc.[6] Liberty to give the "Mason Word" was the principal point in dispute between Mary's Chapel and the Journeymen, which was settled by "Decreet Arbitral" in 1715, empowering the latter "to meet together as a society for giving the Mason Word."[7]

The *secrets* of the Mason Word are referred to, as already stated, in the minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane,[8] and what makes this entry the more remarkable is, that the "secrets" in question were revealed, after due examination, by two "*entered apprentices*" from the Lodge of Kilwinning—in which latter body the ceremony of initiation was of so simple a character, down at least to 1735,[9] as to be altogether destructive, in my opinion, of the construction which has been placed upon the report of the examiner deputed by the former lodge, to ascertain the masonic qualifications of the two applicants for membership. In the last-named year (1735), as I have already shown,[10] two persons who had been severally received into masonry by individual operators at a distance from the lodge, being found "in lawful possession of the *word*," were recognised as members of Mother Kilwinning "in the station of apprentices."

The custom of entering persons *to* the lodge—in the observance of which one mason could unaided make another—has been already cited as suggesting a total indifference to uniformity in imparting to novitiates the secrets of the craft.[11] The masonic ceremonial, therefore, of a lodge addicted to this practice, will not carry much weight as a faithful register of contemporary

[1] *Ante*, pp. 277, 278.

[2] §§ 1, 4, and 5. Stat. I. runs:—"Wee, Master Masons *and Entered Prentises*, all of us under subscryuers, doe here protest and vowe as hitherto *wee* have done at *our* entrie when *we* received the benefit of the Mason Word," etc. (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 423. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 428).

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 447.

[4] See *ante*, pp. 258, 277; and Chap. VIII., p. 448.

[5] Freemasons' Magazine, Oct. 2, 1869, p. 306. "Jan. 24, 1711.—Mr John Mitchelson admitted Apprentice and Fellow-Craft in common form" (*Ibid.*).

[6] Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, p. 110.

[7] Chap. VIII., p. 418; Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[8] *Ante*, p. 277; and Chap. VIII., p. 420.

[9] Chap. VIII., p. 396; Freemasons' Magazine, August 29, 1863, p. 154.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Chap. VIII., p. 454. Mr W. P. Buchan says:—"Seeing how difficult it is even now, with all the aids to help and oft-recurring meetings, to get office-bearers and brethren to work one ceremony properly, how did the old lodges get on before 1717, who only met once a year? Oh! how elaborate must the ceremony have been, when one mason could make another!" (Freemasons' Magazine, July to Dec. 1869, p. 409).

usage. For this reason, as well as for others already expressed,[1] the evidence of the Dunblane records seems to me wholly insufficient to sustain the theory for which they have served as a foundation.

In this view of the case, there will only remain the minutes of the Lodge of Haughfoot as differing in any material respect from those of other lodges of earlier date than 1736. From these we learn that in *one* Scottish lodge, in the year 1702, both *grip* and *word* were included in the ceremony. Unfortunately "the minutes commence abruptly, at page 11, in continuation of other pages now missing, which, for an evident purpose, viz., *secrecy*, have been torn out."[2] The evidence from this source is capable, as observed at an earlier page, of more than one interpretation, and to the gloss already put upon it[3] I shall add another, premising, however, that it has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend[4] rather with the view of stimulating inquiry than of attempting to definitely settle a point of so much importance. The passage then—"*of entrie as the apprentice did*"—(it is urged) implies that the candidate was *not* an apprentice, but doubtless a fellow-craft. "*Leaving out (the common judge)*[5]*—they then whisper the word as before, and the Master Mason*[6] *grips his hand in the ordinary way.*" But as the candidate (it is contended) already possessed the apprentice or mason word, this word must have been a new one. "*As before*" could hardly apply to the identity of the word, but to the manner of imparting it, *i.e.*, whispered, as in the former degree. So also the *ordinary way* must mean in the manner usual in that degree.

Of the two conjectures with regard to the singular entries in the Haughfoot minutes—which my readers now have before them—either may possibly be true; but as they stand without sufficient proof it must be granted likewise that they may both possibly be false. At least they cannot preclude any other opinion, which, advanced in like manner, will possess the same claim to credit, and may perhaps be shown by resistless evidence to be better founded.

Under any view of the facts, however, the procedure of the Lodge of Haughfoot (1702) must be regarded as being of a most abnormal type, and as it derives no corroboration whatever from that of other lodges of corresponding date, we must admit, if we do no more, the impossibility of positively determining whether both *grip* and *word* were communicated to Scottish brethren in the *seventeenth* century.[7]

The old Scottish MASON WORD is unknown.[8] It has not as yet been discovered, either what it was, or to what extent it was in general use. Neither can it be determined whether

[1] *Ante*, pp. 277, 278.

[2] Letter from Mr R. Sanderson, Prov. G. Sec., Peebles and Selkirk, dated April 21, 1884.

[3] Chap. VIII., pp. 447, 448.

[4] Mr G. W. Speth.

[5] Mr Sanderson expresses his inability to throw any light on this phrase, except that it may refer to *Cowans* or outsiders. A better solution, however, has been suggested in a recent letter from Lyon, who directs attention to the "St Clair Charters," printed in his well-known work (pp. 58-62; and see also p. 426), wherein the Laird of Roslin and his heirs are named as Patrons, Protectors, and Overseers of the Craft, owing to the dilatory procedure of the ordinary (*ordiner*) or "Common Judges." *Query*, "A prince and ruler in Israel?"

[6] In Chapter VIII., at p. 447, I have given "Master" *simpliciter*, but, as will appear from the following excerpt, the true meaning of the term was not obscured:—"Haughfoot, 14th Jan., 1704 years.—The meeting also continued John Hoppringle of yt. ilk *Master* Mason, till St John's Day next" (Freemasons' Magazine, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 222).

[7] See *ante*, pp. 258, 277; and Chap. VIII., p. 448; and compare with Chap. III., p. 147.

[8] I take the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the assistance freely rendered by the Grand Secretary of Scotland (D. M. Lyon), Mr William Officer, and Mr Robert Sanderson, throughout this inquiry.

at any given date prior to 1736, it was the same in Scotland as it was in England. Each nation, and indeed each different locality (it has been urged), *may* have had a word (or words) of its own.[1] On this point, alas, like so many others, which confront the students of our antiquities—"ingenious men may readily advance plausible arguments to support whatever theory they shall choose to maintain; but then the misfortune is, every one's hypothesis is each as good as another's, since they are all founded on conjecture."

If the use of any one word was universal, or to speak with precision, if the word in Scotland was included among the *words*, which we are justified in believing, formed a *portion* of the secrets disclosed in the early English lodges, it was something quite distinct from the familiar expressions, which at the *introduction* of *degrees*, were *imported* into Scotland.

Mr Officer writes,[2] "I have read many old Minute-Books of a date prior to 1736. The expression in them all is the WORD, or sometimes the '*Mason's Word.*' Singularly, in none of the Minute-Books is there the slightest reference to any change in the form of admission or ritual. *The change was made*, but it is dealt with as if the old system continued."[3] The same correspondent further records his belief, and herein he is in exact agreement with Lyon, that the *alteration* of the Scottish ritual was due primarily to the influence of Desaguliers. Indeed, the latter authority emphatically declares[4] that "the reorganisation and creation of offices in the old Scottish Lodges *after 1721*, show that a NEW system had been introduced."

The minutes of "Canongate Kilwinning" contain the earliest Scottish record extant, of the admission of a master mason under the modern Masonic Constitution. This occurred on March 31, 1735.[5] But it is believed by Lyon that the degree in question was first practised north of the Tweed by the "Edinburgh Kilwinning Scots Arms." This, the first speculative Scotch lodge, was established February 14, 1729, and with its erection came, so he conjectures—though I must confess that I cannot quite bring myself into the same way of thinking—"the formal introduction of the third degree, with its Jewish Legend and dramatic ceremonial."[6]

This degree is for the first time referred to in the minutes of "Mother Kilwinning" in 1736, and in those of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1738. The Lodges of Atcheson's Haven, Dunblane, Haughfoot, and Peebles were unacquainted with it in 1760, and the degree was not generally worked in Scottish lodges until the seventh decade of the last century.[7]

But as I have already had occasion to observe, the love of mystery being implanted in human nature never wholly dies out. A few believers in the great antiquity of Masonic degrees still linger in our midst. Some cherish the singular fancy that the obsolete phraseology of the Schaw Statutes,[8] reveals evidence confirmatory of their hopes, whilst others, relying on the axiom—"that in no sense is it possible to say, that a conclusion drawn from circumstantial evidence can amount to absolute certainty,"[9] find in the *alleged* silence of the Scottish records, with regard to any *alteration* of ritual—a like consolation. Both theories or speculations have been considered with some fulness,—the latter in an earlier

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 309. Vogel observes:—"A worthy old Salute-mason assures me that the masons are divided into three classes. The Letter-masons, the Salute-masons, and the Freemasons. The Freemasons are truly the richest, but, he added, they work by our word and we by theirs" (Briefe die Freimaurerei breffetend, 1785).

[2] In a letter dated June 6, 1884.

[3] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432; and *post*, pp. 313, 314.

[4] In a letter dated June 16, 1884.

[5] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 213. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 411.

[6] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 213.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[8] *Ante*, pp. 303-305, and see particularly p. 305, note 2.

[9] Taylor, Law of Evidence, 1858, p. 76.

chapter,[1] and the former in the present one. Some rays of light, however, remain to be shed on the general subject. These, I think, my readers will discern in the following extracts from the minutes of the Lodge of Kelso, which seem to me to reduce to actual demonstration, what the collateral facts or circumstances satisfactorily proved, have already warranted us in believing, viz., that the system of three degrees was gradually introduced into Scotland in the eighteenth century.

"Kelso, 18th June 1754.—The Lodge being ocationaly met and opened, a petition was presented from Brother Walter Ker, Esq. of Litledean, and the Rev. Mr Robert Monteith, minister of the Gospel at Longformacus, praying to be passed fellow-crafts, which was unanimously agreed to, and the Right Worshipful Master, *deputed Brother Samuel Brown, a visiting Brother, from Canongate, from Leith,*[2] *to officiate as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus, from same Lodge, to act as wardens on this occation, in order yt wee might see the method practiced in passing fellow crafts in their and the other Lodges in and about Edr.* [*Edinburgh*], and they accordingly passed the above Brothers Ker and Monteith, Fellow Crafts, who gave their obligation and pay'd their fees in due form. Thereafter the Lodge was regularly closed."

"*Eodem Die.*—The former Brethren met as above, continued sitting, when upon conversing about Business relating to the Craft, and the forms and Practice of this Lodge in particular, *a most essential defect of our Constitution was discovered, viz.,—that this lodge had attained only to the two Degrees of Apprentices and Fellow Crafts, and knowing nothing of the Master's part, whereas all Regular Lodges over the World are composed of at least the three Regular Degrees of Master, Fellow Craft, and Prentice. In order, therefor, to remedy this defect in our Constitution,* Brothers Samuel Brown, Alexander Palmer, John Fergus, John Henderson, Andrew Bell, and Francis Pringle, *being all Master Masons, did form themselves into a Lodge of Masters—Brother Brown to act as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus as Wardens, when they proceeded to raise Brothers James Lidderdale, William Ormiston, Robert Pringle, David Robertson, and Thomas Walker, to the rank of Masters, who qualified and were receiv'd accordingly.*"

"In the above minute," says the historian[3] of the Lodge, "*we have clearly the origin of a Master Mason's Lodge in Kelso.*" Indeed, it might be possible to go further, and to contend, that the second *degree* was also introduced at the same meeting? But without labouring this point, which the evidence adduced will enable every reader to determine in his own mind, there is one further quotation, with which I shall terminate my extracts from these records.

December 21, 1741.—"Resolved that annually att said meeting [on St John's day, in the Councill house of Kellso], there should be a *public examination* by the Master, Warden, and other members, *of the last entered apprenttces and oyrs* [others], that it thereby may appear what progress they have made under their respective Intenders, that they may be thanked or censured conform[able] to their respective Demeritts."[4]

The cumulative value of the evidence just presented, is greater than would at first sight appear. Quoting the traditionary belief of the Melrose Masons, who claim for their lodge an

[1] VIII., pp. 431, 432.

[2] Doubtless the "Canongate *and* Leith, Leith and Canongate" lodge, of which a sketch has been given in Chap. VIII., p. 415, *et seq.*

[3] W. F. Vernon, The History of the Lodge of Kelso, pp. 47, 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

antiquity coeval with the Abbey there, which was founded in 1136, Vernon considers he has at least as good authority—in the absence of documents—for dating the institution of masonry in Kelso, at the time when David I. brought over to Scotland a number of foreign operatives to assist in the building of the Abbey of Kelso (1128). "The very fact," he urges, "that the Abbey was dedicated to *St John the Evangelist* and the Virgin Mary, and that the Kelso lodge was dedicated to the same saint, would seem to bear out this idea."[1] But whatever the measure of antiquity to which St John's Lodge, Kelso, can justly lay claim, its existence is carried back by the evidence of its own records, to 1701, from which we also learn that it preserved its independence—*i.e.*, did not join the Grand Lodge of Scotland—until 1753.[2] We find, therefore, an old operative lodge, one, moreover, working by inherent right—in which rather than in those subordinate to a *new* organisation, we might naturally expect that *old* customs would remain for the longest time unmodified—testing, in 1741, the craftsmen and apprentices "according to their vocations," in strict conformity with the Schaw Statutes of 1599.[3] The continuance of this practice up to so late a period, coupled with the circumstance that the third degree—if we go no further—was *introduced* into the procedure of the lodge, *after* its acceptance of a charter, prove therefore, to demonstration, that the tests and "tryalls" enjoined by William Schaw, were *not* the preliminaries to any such ceremony (or ceremonies), as the brethren of St John's Lodge were *made acquainted with*, in 1754.[4] Thus, two facts are established. One, that the examinations which took place periodically in the old lodges of Scotland were entirely of an operative character. The other, that the *alleged* silence of the Scottish records with regard to the *introduction* of degrees, is *not* uniform and unbroken.[5]

The Kelso minutes, which have been strangely overlooked—by myself as well as others—indicate very clearly, the manner in which the English novelties must frequently have become engrafted on the masonry of Scotland, *viz.*, by radiation from the northern metropolis. No other records are equally explicit, and those of the Lodge of Edinburgh, especially, leave much to be desired. The office of clerk to this body, during the transition period of the lodge's history, was held by Mr Robert Alison, an Edinburgh writer, who, by the guarded style in which he recorded its transactions, has contributed to veil in a hitherto impenetrable secrecy, details of the most important epoch in the history of Scottish Freemasonry, of which from his position he must have been cognisant.[6] But, as I have already ventured to contend,[7] the silence

[1] Vernon, The History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 5. *Cf. ante*, p. 299.

[2] It was agreed on December 28, 1753, that the Treasurer was to pay the expense of a charter from the Grand Lodge. The charter is dated February 6, 1754 (Vernon, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

[3] §§ 6, 10, 13. *Cf. ante*, pp. 304, 305.

[4] *If* we may believe "a Right Worshipful Master, S. C." [Scotch Constitution], the Lodge of Melrose, in 1871, "was carrying on the same system that it did nearly 200 years before." He states, "I entered into conversation with an old Mason, whose father belonged to the lodge, and he *told me*, that his father *told him*, his grandfather was a member of the Melrose lodge, and their style of working was the same as at present. I made a calculation from this, and it took me back nearly 200 years"! (Freemason, Dec. 30, 1871). Without, indeed, accepting for an instant, the fanciful conjecture above quoted, it is highly probable, that the Lodge of Melrose, which has never surre[nd]ered its independence, was longer in becoming indoctrinated with the English novelties, than the other lodges—w[hich] div[ided] tance of the speculative system, as they successively joined the Grand Lodge, may be inferred from the exam[ple] [of the ri]odge of Kelso.

[5] *Cf. ante*, p. 312; and Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432.

[6] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 48.

[7] Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432.

—or, after the evidence last presented, it will be best to say, *comparative silence*—of these early records with respect to degrees, will satisfy most minds that they could have been known, if at all, but a short while before being mentioned in the minutes which have come down to us. The "Lodge of Journeymen," then composed exclusively of fellow-crafts, took part in the erection of the Grand Lodge in 1736, by which body it was recognised as a *lawful* lodge, dating from 1709. The historian of the lodge—who, by the way, expresses a well-grounded doubt, whether the *grades* of apprentice and fellow-craft, were identical with the *degrees* of the same name—informs us, that it contented itself for forty years with the two *grades* or *degrees* referred to, as no indication of its connection with the Master's degree is found until the year 1750. On St John's Day of that year, it made application to the Lodge of Edinburgh, to raise three of its members to the dignity of Master Masons. The application was cordially received, and the three journeymen were admitted to that degree "without any payment of composition, but only as a brotherly favour." For the same privilege, a fee of fourpence was imposed on two brothers in the following year; but on August 16, 1754, the Master announced, that their Mother Lodge of Mary's Chapel had made an offer to raise every member of the Journeymen Lodge at the rate of twopence per head![1]

Whether the two *grades*, into which the members of "Journeymen" and the "Kelso" Lodges were divided, were identical with the *degrees* of the same name, is quite immaterial to the actual point we are considering. *If* the *degree* of fellow-craft was incorporated with the procedure of the Kelso Lodge prior to June 18, 1754, the minute of that date sufficiently attests how imperfectly it had taken root. The secrets communicated in the "Journeymen" Lodge—at least during that portion of its history which is alone interesting to the student of our antiquities—can be gauged with even greater precision.

The "Decreet Arbitral" of 1715 has been happily termed the "Charter" of the Journeymen Lodge. By this instrument, the Incorporation of Masons are absolved from accounting to the Journeymen, "for the moneys received for giveing the *Masson Word* (as it is called), either to freemen or Journeymen," as well before the date of the Decreet Arbitral as in all time to come. Next, "for putting ane end to the contraversaries aryseing betwixt the said ffreemen and Journeymen of the said Incorporation of Massons, anent the giveing of the *Masson Word*, and the dues paid therefore," the arbiters decide that the *Incorporation* are to record in their books an Act and Allowance, allowing the Journeymen "to meet togeither by themselves as a Society for giveing the *Masson Word*, and to receive dues therefor." But "the whole meetings, actings, and writeings" of the latter, were to be confined to the collecting and distributing of their funds obtained from voluntary offerings, or from "giveing the *Masson* Word." Also, it was laid down, that all the money received by the Journeymen, either by voluntary donations or "for giveing the *Masson Word*," was to be put into a common purse, and to be employed in no other way than in relieving the poor and in burying the dead. In the third place the Journeymen were to keep a book, and to strictly account for "all moneys received for giveing the *Masson Word*" or otherwise.[2] The Deed of Submission and the Decreet Arbitral, together with the Letters of Horning, which complete the series of these interesting, though not

[1] William Hunter, History of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, No. 8, Edinburgh, 1884, pp. 68, 69.

[2] *Ibid.*, chap. iv., and Appendix No. ii. See also Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-143; *ante*, p. 310; and Chap. VIII., p. 418.

euphonious documents, are printed by Provost Hunter in the work already referred to, and with the exception of the last named and most mysterious of the three—which is rather suggestive of a popular superstition—also by Lyon in his admirable history.

It is a singular fact, that the differences thus settled by arbitration, were between the Journeymen and the *Incorporation*, not the *Lodge* of Mary's Chapel. Nor is the Lodge ever referred to in the proceedings. If, therefore, the idea is tenable that incorporations and guilds were custodians of the *Mason* Word, with the privilege or prerogative of conferring it, or of *controlling* its communication, quite a new line of thought is opened up to the masonic antiquary. The practice at Edinburgh, in 1715, may have been a survival of one more general in times still further remote from our own. The Scottish lodges may, at some period, have resembled agencies or deputations, with vicarious authority, derived in their case from the incorporations and guilds. The suggestions which have prompted these observations come unhappily too late for me to linger over them. Documentary evidence[1] that might put the whole matter in a clear light, will not reach me until these pages have passed through the press, so the further information—if such it should prove to be—must of necessity be relegated to the Appendix.

Leaving, therefore, this point an open one, we learn from the "Decreet Arbitral" of 1715, in which it is *six* times mentioned, that there was only *one* word.

The same conclusion is brought home to us by a Scottish law case reported in 1730, but I believe heard in 1729. In this, the lodge at Lanark sought to interdict the masons at Lesmahagow from giving the "*Mason Word*" to persons resident there.[2]

In each of these instances, only one word—the *Mason Word*—is alluded to. "Had there been more words than one," as the friend[3] points out, to whom I am indebted for the reference above, "that fact would have appeared on the face of the proceedings, and there being only *one word*, it necessarily follows that there was only *one degree*."

It is sufficiently apparent that the ancient formulary of the Scottish lodges consisted of the communication of the WORD, and—as already observed[4]—*all that was implied in the expression.*

Here, with one final quotation, I shall take leave of this branch of our subject, but the form of oath, and some portions of the catechism given in Sloane MS., 3329—a writing which in the opinion of some high authorities, is decisive as to the antiquity and independence of the three degrees[5]—savour so much of the Scottish idiom, that I shall introduce them. The italics are mine.

[1] Now being searched for by Mr Melville, the Registrar of Court Records, Edinburgh, at the instance of Mr W. Officer, who has obliged me with notes which have suggested the remarks in the text.

[2] June 11, 1730.—Masons of the Lodge of Lanark, *contra* Hamilton (Lord Kames, Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session, Edinburgh, vol. ii., p. 4). This case is evidently referred to in a publication of the year 1747, entitled, "Magistracy settled upon its only true and scriptural basis. An inquiry into the Associate Presbytery's answers to Mr Nairn's reasons of dissent. Published in name, and subscribed by several of those who adhere to the Rutherglen, Sanquar, and *Lanark* declarations, etc. With a protestation against the *mason-word*, by five masons, 8d." (Scots' Magazine, vol. ix., 1747, p. 404). *Cf. Ibid.*, vols. xvii., 1755, p. 132; xix., 1757, pp. 432, 583; Lawrie, *op. cit.*, p. 132, *et seq.*; and Burton, History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 343.

[3] Mr W. Officer, in a letter dated Oct. 7, 1884.

[4] *Ante*, p. 277.

[5] Notably the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford in his reprint of this MS., 1873, p. 21—*q. v.*

"THE OATH.

"*The mason word and every thing therein contained* you shall keep secrett you shall never put it in writing directly or Indirectly you shall keep all that we or your *attend*[rs] [1] shall bid you keep secret *from Man Woman or Child Stock or Stone* [2] and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons and truly observe the Charges in a y[e] Constitucion all this you promise and swere faithfully to keep and observe without any manne[r] of Equivocation or mentall resarvation directly or Indirectly so help you god and by the Contents of this book.

"So he kisses the book," etc.

The following are extracts from the catechism :—

(Q.) "What is a just and perfect or just and Lawfull Lodge ?

(A.) "A just and perfect Lodge is *two Interprintices*,[3] two fellow Craftes, and two Mast[rs], more or fewer, the more the merrier, the fewer the bett[r] chear, but if need require five will serve, that is *two Interprintices*,[4] two fellow Craftes, and one Mast[r] *on the highest hill or Lowest Valley* [5] of the World without the crow of a Cock or the bark of a Dogg.

(Q.) "What were you sworne by ?

(A.) "By God and the square." [6]

Although it is tolerably clear that degrees—as we now have them—were grafted upon *Scottish* Masonry in the eighteenth century, a puzzle in connection with their *English* derivation still awaits solution. It is this. The degrees in question—or to vary the expression, *the only degrees* comprised within the "old landmarks" [7] of Freemasonry—viz., those of Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice, bear titles which are evidently borrowed from the vocabulary of Scotland. Master Mason, it is true, was a term common in both kingdoms, but viewed in conjunction with the others, the *three* expressions may be regarded as having been taken *en bloc*, from the operative terminology of the northern kingdom. Thus, we find England furnishing Scotland with Masonic degrees, which, however, bear titles exactly corresponding with those of the *grades* of Operative Masonry in the latter country. This is of itself somewhat confusing, but more remains behind.

[1] "ATTENDER—companion, associate" (Johnson's Dictionary). *Cf. ante*, pp. 304, note 4 ; and 305, note 5.

[2] The oath of a freischöffen, *i.e.*, vehmic judge—as given by Grimm—begins, "to keep, hele, and hold the vehm from man from wife, from turf from branch, from stick and stone, from grass and herb," etc. (Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, 1828, p. 51). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XV., pp. 230, 238, 240, note 3.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 304, note 4.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Cf. ante*, pp. 231, 293 ; and Chap. VIII., pp. 428, 429. According to Grimm, "The old gericht was always held in the open ; under the sky, in the forest, under wide spreading trees, *on a hill*, by a spring—anciently, at some spot sacred in pagan times, later, at the same spot from the force of tradition. It was also held in *hollows or valleys*, and near large stones" (*op. cit.*, pp. 793, 800, 802). *Cf.* Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, pp. 264, 265.

[6] "There ought no frie mason, neither M[r] nor fellow, y[t] taketh his work by great to take any Loses [*cowans*], if he can have any frie masons or lawfull taken prentices, and if he can have none of them, he may take so many as will serve his turne, and he ought not *to let yms know ye privilege of ye compass, Square, levell and ye plum-rule*, but to sett out their plumming to them, ∴ ∴ and if there come any frie mason, he ought to displace one of ye Loses" (Melrose MS., No. 19, Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1880, p. 294). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. I., p. 23 ; III., pp. 136, 152, 166.

[7] See No. xxxix. of the "General Regulations" of 1723 (Appendix, *post*).

If the degrees so imported into Scotland, had a much earlier existence than the date of their transplantation, which is fixed by Lyon at the year 1721, but may, with greater probability, be put down at 1723 or 1724, then this difficulty occurs. Either the degrees in question existed, though without distinctive titles, or they were *re-named* during the epoch of transition, and under each of these suppositions we must suppose that the English (Free) Masons, who *were* familiar with symbolical degrees, borrowed the words to describe them from the Scottish Masons *who were not?* It is true, evidence may yet be forthcoming, showing that *degrees* under their present appellations, are referred to before the publication of the Constitutions of 1723. But we must base our conclusions upon the only evidence we possess, and the silence of all extant Masonic records of earlier date, with regard to the three symbolical grades of Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Apprentice, will be conclusive to some minds that they had then no existence. By this, however, I do not wish it to be implied, that in my own belief, degrees or grades in Speculative Masonry had their first beginning in 1723.

It is almost demonstrably certain that they did not. But they are first *referred to* in unequivocal terms in the Constitutions of that year, and the *titles* with which they were then labelled, cannot be traced (in conjunction) any higher, as speculative or non-operative terms.

The subject of *degrees*, in connection with the *Free*-masonry of the south, will be presently considered, but this phase of our inquiry will be preceded by some final references to the documentary evidence of the north, which will conclude this chapter.

In the Schaw Statutes (1598) will be found *all* the operative terms, which, so far as the evidence extends, were first turned to speculative uses by the Freemasons of the south. "Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice," *as grades of symbolical Masonry*, are not alluded to in any book or manuscript of earlier date than 1723. Indeed, with the exception of the first named, the expressions themselves do not occur—at least I have not met with them in the course of my reading—in the printed or manuscript literature preceding the publication of Dr Anderson's "Book of Constitutions" (1723). The title, "Master Mason," appears, it is true, in the Halliwell Poem,[1] and though not used in the MS. next in seniority,[2] will also be found in several versions of the "Old Charges."[3] The term or expression is also a very common one in the records of the building trades, and is occasionally met with in the Statutes of the Realm,[4] where its earliest use—in the Statute of Labourers[5] (1350)—has somewhat perplexed our historians. The words *mestre mason de franche pere* were cited by Mr Papworth as supporting his theory—"that the term *Freemason*, is clearly derived from a mason who worked free-stone, in contradistinction to the mason who was employed in rough work."[6] Upon this, and the commentary of Dr Kloss, Findel founds a conclusion that "the word Free-Mason occurs for the first time in the Statute 25, Edward III. (1350),"[7]—which is next taken up, and again amplified by Steinbrenner, who, although he leaves out the word *mason*, in his

[1] "Mayster (or Maystur) Mason" (lines 88, 206).

[2] The "Cooke," No. 2.

[3] *E.g.*, the Lansdowne (3) and the Antiquity (23) MSS. *Cf.* Hughan, The Old Charges of British Freemasons, pp. 35, 68; and *ante*, Chap. XV., p. 212.

[4] *Cf.* Chaps. VI., pp. 302, 303, 306, 307, 318; VII., pp. 338, 367; XIV., p. 146; and Mr Wyatt Papworth's Papers "On the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages" (cited in Chap. VI., p. 302, note 1), *passim*.

[5] 25 Edward III., Stat. ii., c. 8, *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 338.

[6] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62, pp. 37-60. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VI., pp. 307, 308.

[7] History of Freemasonry, p. 79. See *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 338, note 2.

quotation from the statute, attaches to "*mestre de franche-pere*" a most arbitrary and illusory signification. "Here," he says, "*Free-mason*"—how he gets at the second half of the compound word is not explained—"evidently signifies a *Free-stone-mason*—one who works in *Free-stone*, as distinguished from the *rough* mason, who merely built walls of rough unhewn stone."[1] "This latter sort of workmen," observes Mackey—who, after quoting the passages just given, in turn takes up the parable, and, it may be remarked, accords to Steinbrenner the entire merit of the research, out of which it arises—"was that class called by the Scotch Masons *Cowans*, whom the Freemasons were forbidden to work with, whence we get the modern use of that word."[2] But nowhere, except in the documents of the Scottish Craft, do we meet with the names, which have been employed from the year 1723, to describe the Freemasons of the two lower *degrees*. "Fellows" and "Apprentices"—or more commonly "Prentices"[3]—are constantly referred to, but not "Fellow-*Crafts*," or *Entered* Apprentices—titles apparently unknown, or at least not in use, in the south. "Cowans" are also alluded to by the Warden General, but English Masons were not familiarised with this expression until it was substituted by Anderson in the Constitutions of 1738,[4] for the terms *layer*,[5] *lyer*, *lowen*, *loses*, etc.,[6] where they are used in the "Old Charges" to distinguish the ordinary workman from the sworn brother.

The terms or expressions, Master Mason, Fellow Craft, Entered Apprentice, and Cowan, appear, from documentary evidence, to have been in common use in Scotland, from the year 1598 down to our own times. These operative *titles*—now conferred on the recipients of *degrees*—are named in the Schaw Statutes (1598), the records of Mary's Chapel (1601), and the laws of the Aberdeen Lodge (1670).[7] There, so to speak, they are presented *en bloc*, which make the references the more comprehensive and significant, but all three titles occur very frequently in the early minutes of Scottish lodges, though that of "Master Mason" is often curtailed to "Master."[8]

The word "Cowan" has been previously referred to,[9] but in support of my argument, that the operative vocabulary of the sister kingdom furnished many of the expressions of which we find the earliest southern use in the publications of Dr Anderson, a few additional remarks will be offered.

According to Lyon—"of all the technicalities of Operative Masons that have been pre-

[1] The Origin and Early History of Masonry, 1864, p. 111.

[2] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, 1874, *s.v.* Freemason.

[3] The Halliwell MS. (1) has, *Prentysse*, *prentys*, and *prentes*; the Cooke (2), *prentis*, *prentes*, and *prentishode*; the Lansdowne (3) gives *Prentice*, which, however, in the Antiquity Roll (23) is modernised into *apprintice*.

[4] Pp. ix., 54, 74.

[5] The use of the word *layer*—the commonest of these terms—in preference to *cowan*, in the Kilwinning (16) and Atcheson Haven (17) MSS., furnishes another argument in support of the thesis,—that "all Scottish versions of the 'Old Charges' are of English origin." *Cf. ante*, pp. 263, 299, 300, 303; and Chaps. II., p. 90; VIII., p. 433.

[6] From a collation of thirty-five versions of the "Old Charges," I find that *layer*—under varied spellings, which, however, are *idem sonantia*—occurs in Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 22a, 24, 25a, 26, 27, 32, 36, 37, 39; *lyer*, in Nos. 13, 14, 14a, 15, 28; *lowen*, in Nos. 3 and 23; *loses*, in No. 19; *strangers*, in No. 11; *rough mason* in No. 25; *rough hewer* in No. 45; and *lewis* in No. 31a. Nos. 18, 31, and 44 contain no equivalent term. See the references to *ligier* in Chaps. VI., p. 308; XIV., p. 157, note 1; and compare with note 5 above.

[7] Chap. VIII., pp. 386, 428, 429; Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 423, 425. The words in the preamble of Schaw Stat., No. 1 (1598), that they were "to be obseruit [*observed*] be all the maister maissounis [*Master Masons*] within this realm," were omitted in my summary of these regulations at Chapter VIII., *loc. cit.*

[8] *Cf. ante*, p. 311; and Chap. VIII., *passim*.

[9] Chap. VIII., p. 390.

served in the nomenclature of their speculative successors, that of 'Cowan,' *which is a purely Scotch term*, has lost least of its original meaning."[1]

By Dr Jamieson, it is described as "a word of contempt; applied to one who does the work of a mason, but has not been regularly bred"—*i.e.*, brought up in the trade.[2]

But the term is best defined in the Kilwinning Records, viz., *a mason without the word*—or, to vary the expression—an irregular or uninitiated operative mason.[3]

That it was commonly used in this sense, in the early documents of the Scottish Craft, is placed beyond doubt.

We find it so employed in the Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh—1599—of the Glasgow Incorporation of Masons—1600, 1623—of "Mother" Kilwinning—1645, 1647, 1705—and of the Lodge of Haddington—1697.[4]

Possibly, however, from the fact, that so simple and natural an explanation affords no scope for the exercise of learned credulity, there is hardly any other word, except, perhaps, "Essenes"[5] and "Mason,"[6] which has been traced to so many sources by our etymologists.

Thus, its origin has been found in the "chouans" of the French Revolution, "of which the *h* was omitted by the English, who failed to aspirate it conformably to cockney pronunciation."[7] Again, in Egypt, we are informed, *cohen* was the title of a priest or prince, and a term of honour. Bryant, speaking of the harpies, says, they were priests of the Sun, and as *cohen* was the name of a dog as well as a priest, they are termed by Apollonius, "the dogs of Jove."[8] "Now, St John cautions the Christian brethren that 'without are dogs' (κύνες), cowans or listeners (Rev. xxii. 15); and St Paul exhorts the Christians to 'beware of *dogs*, because they are evil workers' (Phil. iii. 2). Now, κύων, a dog, or evil worker, is the Masonic *Cowan*. The above priests or metaphorical dogs, were also called Cercyonians, or Cer-*cowans*, because they were lawless in their behaviour towards strangers."[9] So far Dr Oliver, whose remarks I quote, although his conclusions are diametrically opposed to my own, because they re-appear in the arguments of very learned men, by whom the derivation of *cowan* has been more recently considered.[10] Dr Carpenter, who examines and rejects the reasoning of Dr Oliver,

[1] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, 1808—25, *s.v.*

[3] Jan. 28, 1647.—"Quhilk day Robert Quhyt, massoune in Air [*Ayr*], vpoune oath declyned all working with the cowains at any tyme heirefter." Dec. 20, 1705.—"By consent of the meeting, it was agreed that no measson shall employ no cowan, *which is to say without the word*, to work" (Minutes, Lodge of Kilwinning—Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 412; and of "Mother" Kilwinning, part iii.—Freemasons' Magazine, Aug. 29, 1863).

[4] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25, 411. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 390, 394.

[5] See Chap I., p. 31.

[6] Of this word, Heckethorne observes, "Though some etymologists pretend the name to be derived from *massa*, a club, with which the door keeper was armed to drive away uninitiated intruders, we can only grant this etymology on the principal enunciated by Voltaire, that in etymology vowels go for very little, and consonants for nothing at all!" (Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries, 1875, vol. i., p. 251). See *ante*, Chap. I., p. 6; Mackey, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Mason; and for a curious reference to the word *Mase*, in connection with *Mason*, the *Grub Street Journal*, February 2, 1732; also the Rawlinson MS. (Bodleian Library), fol. 238.

[7] Oliver, Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. i., p. 142. Citing [Webb] Ritual of Freemasonry, 1835, p. 69.

[8] Oliver, *ut supra*, vol i., p. 349. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[10] See the observations of Dr W. Carpenter, Messrs E. J. Walford, W. de St Croix, and C. G. Forsyth, and Dr Viner Bedolfe, at pp. 43, 73, 121, and 441 respectively, of the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871.

thinks the meaning of the word may be found in the Anglo-Saxon *cowen*, which signifies a herd, as of kine, but which we use metaphorically, to denote a company of thoughtless people, or a rabble.[1]

By an earlier writer,[2] it has been traced to the Greek word ἀκούω, to hear, hearken, or listen to, of which the past participle ακουων, would—so thinks Dr Viner Bedolfe—signify a "listening person." In a good sense, a "disciple"—in a bad sense, an "eavesdropper." κύων, a dog, in the opinion of this writer, is also doubtless from the same root, in the sense of one who listens—as dogs do—and the two ideas combined, he believes, would probably give us the true meaning of the word.[3]

I have quoted from the three doctors at some length, and by way of justification, subjoin the following remarks, wherein, after the subject had been debated for nearly seven months in the columns of the Masonic press, Dr Carpenter[4] thus sums up the whole matter. "I think," he says, "we have got pretty well at the meaning of the word *cowan*, as it is used in the Craft. Bro. D. Murray Lyon will not take offence at my saying, that I much prefer Bro. Dr Bedolfe's conjecture to his, although the phrase 'cowans *and* eavesdroppers,' in the old Scottish ritual, shows that *cowan* was not synonymous with *listener* or *eavesdropper* there. *We* have cowans and intruders, however,—the intruder being a person who might attempt to gain admission without the 'word,' and the cowan something else. I got *listener* through the Anglo-Saxon; Bro. Dr Bedolfe, through the Greek; but we agree in the import of the word, and in its use amongst Masons."[5]

The preceding observations, in conjunction with others from the pen of the same writer, indicate, that without questioning the *use* of the word *cowan* by the Operative Fraternity in the sense of a clandestine or irregular mason, the doctor demurs to this having anything whatever to do with the *origin* and use of the word by the Speculative Society. "The *Operatives*," he says, "sometimes admitted a *Cowan*—the *Speculatives* never."[6]

In the original edition of Jamieson's Dictionary, *two* meanings only of the word are given. One I have cited on the last page, and the other is a *dry-diker*, or a person who builds dry walls. After these, and as a *third* meaning or acceptation, we find in the edition of 1879, "Cowan—one unacquainted with the secrets of Freemasonry."[7] Its derivation is thus given:—"Suio-Gothic[8]—*kujon, kughjon*, a silly fellow: hominem imbellem, et cujus capiti omnes tuto illudunt, *kujon*, appellare moris est.[9] French—*coion, coyon*, a coward, a base fellow:[10] qui fait profession de lacheté, *ignavus*,—Dict. Trev.[11] The editors of this dictionary deduce it from Latin *quietus*. But the term is evidently Gothic. It has been imported by the Franks; and is derived from *kufw-a*, supprimere, insultare." But the same etymology was given in the

[1] Freemason, *loc. cit.*

[2] "R. L.," in the Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1835, p. 428.

[3] Freemason, *loc. cit.*

[4] Author of "Freemasonry and Israelitism," of which twenty-six chapters or sections were published in the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871; "The Israelites Found in the Anglo-Saxons," etc.

[5] Freemason, vol. iv., 1871, p. 457. The italics are the doctor's. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

[7] First given in the Supplement (1825) to the original edition. In this *cowaner* is also mentioned, a word which has been allowed to "drop out" by whoever is responsible for the reprint of 1879.

[8] Or ancient language of Sweden. [9] Ihre, Lexicon Lapponicum, Holmiæ, 1780.

[10] Cotgrave, French and English Dictionary, 1650.

[11] Trevoux, Dictionaire Universelle François et Latin, 1752.

first edition of the work,[1] and in connection with the two purely operative (and only) explanations of the word. For this reason my quotations from the original dictionary, and its modern representative have been separately presented, as it seems to me, that the etymological subtleties for which the term under examination has served as a target, may be appropriately brought to a close, by citing the new uses to which the old derivation has been applied.

It is true that *Cowans* were sometimes licensed to perform masons' work, but always under certain restrictions. Their employment by Master Masons, when no regular Craftsmen could be found within fifteen miles, was allowed by the Lodge of Kilwinning in the early part of the last century. It was also the custom of Scotch Incorporations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to license *cowans*—Masters and Journeymen[2]—who were at once thatchers, wrights, and masons. Liberty to execute *hewn work*, was, however, invariably withheld. Maister Cowands were, under restrictions, admitted to membership in some Masonic Incorporations, but their reception in Lodges was strictly prohibited.[3]

Among the regulations enjoined by the Warden General, there are some upon which I must briefly dilate. The customs to which these gave rise, or assisted in perpetuating, partly re-appear in the *Free*-masonry of the South. But inasmuch as there are no *English* minutes or lodge records of earlier date than the eighteenth century, the clue, if one there be, to usages which, with slight modifications, have lasted, in some instances, to our own times, must be looked for *ex necessitate rei* in the Statutes, promulgated by William Schaw, after—we may suppose, as in the somewhat parallel case of Etienne Boileau[4]—satisfying himself by the testimony of representative craftsmen, that they were usual and customary in the trade.

A general or head meeting day was named by the "Master of Work," upon which the election of Warden was to be conducted. This, in the case of Kilwinning, and its tributary lodges,[5] was to take place on December 20, but in all other instances on the day of St John the Evangelist. The latter fact, it is true, is not attested by the actual Statutes, but that both dates of election were fixed by William Schaw, may nevertheless be regarded as having been satisfactorily proved by evidence *aliunde*.

The order of the Warden General for the election of Lodge Wardens, or what at all events is believed by the highest authority[6] to be his—except within the bounds of Kilwinning, the Nether Ward of Clydesdale, Glasgow, Ayr, and Carrick—is as follows:—"xvij Novembris, 1599. *First*, it is ordanit that the haill Wardenis salbe chosen ilk yeir preciselie at Sanct Jhoneis day, to wit the xxvij day of december."

This minute, assumed to be a memorandum of an order emanating from the Warden General, is followed by another, which I shall also quote:—

"xviij Decembris, 1599. The qlk day the dekin & maisteris of the ludge of Edr. [*Edinburgh*] electit & chesit Jhone Broun in thair Warden be monyest of thair voitis for ane zeir [*year*] to cum."[7]

[1] *I.e.*, the original text, *not* the Supplement.

[2] Some extracts from the minutes of the Ayr Squaremen Incorporation (1598, 1671, 1677, and 1688), referring to Fellow-Craft and Master Cowans, will be found in the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871, p. 409.

[3] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 24. *Cf. ante*, Chap. III., pp. 128, § LIV.; 141, § 81; and §§ G and H of the Strassburg Ordinances (*Ibid.*, p. 117, note 5). In parting with the term, I may remark that some interesting notes, entitled "The Meaning of Cowan," appeared in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. viii., 1880, pp. 113, 114.

[4] Chap. IV., p. 187. [5] Chap. VIII., p. 389. [6] *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

It may be observed, that elections frequently took place on the *twenty-eighth* instead of the *twenty-seventh* of December. The minutes of the Melrose (1674) and other early Scottish Lodges, afford examples of this apparent irregularity, though its explanation—if, indeed, not simply arising in each case from the festival of St John the Evangelist falling upon a Sunday[1]— may be found in an old guild-custom. Every guild had its appointed day or days of meeting. At these, called morn-speeches (in the various forms of the word), or "dayes of Spekyngges tokedere [*together*] for here [*their*] comune profyte," much business was done, such as the choice of officers, admittance of new brethren, making up accounts, reading over the ordinances, and the like. One day, where several were held in the year, being fixed as the "general day."[2]

The word "morning-speech" (*morgen-spœc*) is as old as Anglo-Saxon times. "Morgen" signified both "morning" and "morrow;" and the origin of the term would seem to be that the meeting was held either in the morning of the same day, or on the morning (the morrow) of the day *after* that on which the guild held its feast and accompanying ceremonies.[3]

However this may have been, the custom of meeting annually upon the day of St John the Evangelist, in conformity with the order of the Warden General, with the exception of Mother Kilwinning (December 20) appears to have been observed with commendable fidelity by such of the early lodges whose minutes have come down to us. It was the case at Edinburgh—1599; Aberdeen—1670; Melrose—1674; Dunblane—1696; and Atcheson Haven—1700. In each instance I quote the earliest reference to the practice, afforded by the documents of the lodge.[4] The usage continued, and survives at this day, but of the celebration of *St John the Baptist's* day—or St John's day "in Harvest,"[5] as distinguished from St John's day "in Christmas"—by any fraternity exclusively masonic, we have the earliest evidence in the York minute of June 24, 1713.[6] Both days, it is true, were observed by the Gateshead sodality of 1671;[7] but though the Freemasons were the leading craft of this somewhat mixed corporation, there is nothing to show, or from which we might infer, that the custom of meeting on Midsummer day, had its origin in a usage of the *lodge*, rather than in one of the *guild*. Indeed, the reverse of this supposition is the more credible of the two.

The objects of all guilds alike have been well defined by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims,

[1] January 29, 1675.—"We .·. consent .·. to meit yeirly on Saint John's Day, which is ye 27 of December (if it be not on ye Sabbath Day) *in yt case we ar to keipe ye next day following* .·. and also yt no prentises shal be entered recivit in but on ye forsd day" (Mutuall Agriement Betwixt the Maisones of the Lodge of Melros;—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., p. 365). It is singular that both sets of the Schaw Statutes are dated December 28.

[2] Lucy Toulmin Smith, *ut supra*, Introduction to Smith, English Gilds, p. xxxiii. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] See, however, Fort, *op cit.*, pp. 113, 195; and compare with *ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 449, 450.

[5] The following is from the regulations of the "fraternite of Taillors of *Seint John de baptist* in the Citee of Exceter:—"Also hyt ys ordened, that alle the ffeleshyppe of the Bachelerys schall hollen ther feste at *Synte John-ys day in harwaste*" (Smith, English Gilds, pp. 313, 325). The same expression will be found in the Ordinances of the Guild of St John Baptist, West Lynn (*post*, p. 324, note 5).

[6] *Ante*, p. 271. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 262, note 1, 264, 266. Although it is comparatively unimportant on what day the Swalwell brethren held their annual election, either in 1730, 1725, or, indeed, at any period *after* the publication of the Book of Constitutions—the fact that the General head-meeting day of the Alnwick "Company and Fellowship," from 1704 onwards, as we learn from the *earliest English Lodge Records* that have come down to us, was the festival of St John the *Evangelist*, is worthy of our attention.

Ante, p. 151.

in one of his Capitularies.[1] He says, "in omni obsequio religionis conjungantur"—they shall unite in every exercise of religion. By this was meant, before all things, the associations for the veneration of certain religious mysteries, and in honour of saints. Such guilds were everywhere under the patronage of the Holy Trinity, or of certain saints, or of the Holy Cross, or of the Holy Sacrament, or of some other religious mystery. In honour of these patrons they placed candles on their altars, and before their images, whilst in some statutes this even appears as the only object of the guild.[2]

But the definition given above must not be restricted to the social or religious guilds. It applies equally well to the town-guilds or guilds-merchant, and the trade-guilds or guilds of crafts. None of the London trades appear to have formed fraternities without ranging themselves under the banner of some saint, and, if possible, they chose one who bore a fancied relation to their trade.[3] Thus the fishmongers adopted St Peter; the drapers chose the Virgin Mary, mother of the "Holy Lamb" or fleece, as the emblem of that trade. The goldsmiths' patron was St Dunstan, reputed to have been a brother artisan. The merchant tailors, another branch of the draping business, marked their connection with it by selecting *St John the Baptist*, who was the harbinger of the Holy Lamb so adopted by the drapers. In other cases, the companies denominated themselves fraternities of the particular saint in whose church or chapel they assembled, and had their altar.[4]

Eleven or more of the guilds, whose ordinances are given us by Mr Toulmin Smith, had John the Baptist as their patron saint, and several of these, whilst keeping June 24 as their head day, also assembled on December 27, the corresponding feast of the Evangelist.[5] Among the documents brought to light by this zealous antiquary, there are, unfortunately, none relating directly to the Masons,[6] though it is somewhat curious that he cites the records of a guild, which, it is possible, may have comprised members of that trade,[7] as affording almost a solitary instance of the absence of a patron saint. The guild referred to is that of the smiths (*ffabrorum*) of Chesterfield.[8]

An explanation of this apparent anomaly is furnished by Brentano;[9] but leaving the point

[1] *Cf.* Wilda, Das Gildewesen im Mittelalter, 1831, pp. 22, 35, 41.

[2] Brentano, *ut supra*, p. 19. *Cf.* Smith, English Gilds, pp. 27, 40; and *ante*, Chap. IV., p. 193, *et seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Chap X., pp. 482, 483; and Fort, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 103, 176.

[4] Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., 1837, p. 67. *Cf. ante*, Chap. III., p. 170.

[5] "And yis gilde schal haue foure mornspeches be ye [year]. The first schal ben after ye drynkynge; the secunde schal ben vp-on ye seynt Jhon day in heruyst [*harvest*]; the thryde schal ben vp-on seynt Jon day in Cristemesse; the fourte schal ben vp-on seynt Jhon day in May" (Ordinances, Gild of St John Baptist, West Lynn—Smith, English Gilds, p. 100). *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 27, 58, 71, 119, 122, 146, 161, 258, 310; and *ante*, p. 323, note 5.

[6] According to Mr Coote—"At the beginning of the present century (perhaps at the end of the last), through extraneous influences, a hierarchical system was introduced into Freemasonry, and all the independent lodges (or guilds) submitted themselves to one lodge in London as their chief, at the same time surrendering to the latter their royal charters (or licences) and their ordinances. *These were probably all destroyed* by the central authority at the time of the surrender!" (Transactions, London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iv., 1871, p. 2). The story of the manuscripts sacrificed by "scrupulous brethren" (1720) will here occur to the mind of the reflective reader. *Cf. ante*, p. 281.

[7] *Cf.* Chaps. I., pp. 38, 44; III., pp. 169, 170; XIV., p. 157.

[8] Mr Smith observes: "This gild seems to have had no patron saint. Among the records of at least six hundred early English gilds that have come under my careful review, I have very rarely found this absence, save in some of the Gilds-Merchant" (English Gilds, p. 168).

[9] On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 19. As the edition I quote from is the *reprint* of 1870, it will be

an open one, whether in the case before us Mr Smith or his commentator has the best title to our confidence, it may be remarked that the guild of the joiners and carpenters at Worcester also appears not to have been under any saintly patronage; yet, on the other hand, we find the carpenters' guild of Norwich dedicated to the Holy Trinity, whilst the "brotherhood" of barbers in the same town, and the "fraternity" of tailors at Exeter, were each under the patronage of St John the Baptist.[1]

The general head-meeting day of the Alnwick Lodge, in 1701, was the "Feast of St Michael," but this, however, we find shortly afterwards changed to that of St John the Evangelist.[2]

The records of Mary's Chapel and Kilwinning are sufficiently conclusive of the fact, that the holding of lodge assemblies on the day of St John the Baptist was never a custom of the Scottish fraternity until after the erection of their Grand Lodge. By the original regulations of this body, the election of a Grand Master was to take place on St Andrew's Day *for the first time*, and "ever thereafter" upon that of St John the Baptist. In accordance therewith, William St Clair of Roslin was elected the first Grand Master on November 30, 1736, which day, in preference to December 27, was fixed for the annual election of officers by resolution of the Grand Lodge, April 13, 1737, as being the birthday of St Andrew, the tutelar saint of Scotland.[3]

Of all the meetings of the Lodge of Edinburgh that were held between the years 1599 and 1756, only some half-a-dozen happened to fall on June 24; and the first mention of the lodge celebrating the festival of St John the Baptist, is in 1757.[4]

It will be quite unnecessary, in these days, to lay stress on the circumstance, that the connection of the Saints John with the Masonic Institution, is of a symbolic and not of an historical character.[5] The custom of assembling on the days of these saints is, apparently, a relic of sun-worship, combined with other features of the heathen Paganalia. The Pagan rites of the festival at the summer Solstice may be regarded as a counterpart of those used at the winter Solstice at Yule-tide. There is one thing which proves this beyond the possibility of a doubt. In the old Runic Fasti a wheel was used to denote the festival of Christmas. This wheel is common to both festivities.[6]

necessary to add lxiv. to this pagination to arrive at corresponding portions of the "essay" originally prefixed to Smith's "English Gilds." Thus xix. + lxiv. = lxxxiii., which is identical with p. 19 of the *reprint*.

[1] Smith, English Gilds, pp. 27, 40, 209, 310.

[2] *Ante*, p. 264.

[3] Lyon observes: "In the minute in which this is recorded, it is taken for granted that the 24th of June was originally fixed as the date of the grand Annual Communication and Election; 'because it had long been customary among the fraternity to hold their principal assemblies on St John the Baptist's Day,' and upon this assumption the fabulous story of the craft's ancient connection with St John the Baptist has ever since been perpetuated" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 170. See, however, pp. 235, 236).

[4] *Ibid.* See further, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 15; and *post*, p. 332, note 1.

[5] Dr Oliver, however, in what is one of the least valuable, though withal the most pretentious of his numerous works, after stating that these saints "were perfect parallels in Christianity as well as Masonry," observes: "We are challenged by our opponents to prove that St John [the Evangelist] was a Freemason. The thing is incapable of *direct* proof. Calmet positively asserts that he was an Essene, which was the secret society of the day, that conveyed moral truths under symbolical figures, *and may therefore be termed Freemasonry*, retaining the same form, *but practised under another name!*" (Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. i., p. 167).

[6] Brand, Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, edit. by W. C. Hazlitt, 1870, vol. i., p. 169.

In the words of a recent authority, "the great prehistoric midsummer festival to the sun-god has diverged into the two Church feasts, Eucharist and St John's Day;" whilst "the term *Yule* was the name given to the festival of the winter Solstice by our northern invaders, and means *the Festival of the Sun.*"[1]

Sir Isaac Newton tells us, that the heathens were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those ceremonies; therefore Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the saints and martyrs. Hence the keeping of Christmas with ivy, feasting, plays, and sports came in the room of the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia; the celebrating May Day with flowers, in the room of the Floralia; and the festivals to the Virgin Mary, *John the Baptist*, and divers of the Apostles, in the room of the solemnities at the entrance of the Sun into the Signs of the Zodiac in the old Julian Calendar.[2]

In the same way, at the conversion of the Saxons by Austin the monk, the heathen Paganalia were continued among the converts, with some regulations, by an order of Gregory I. to Mellitus the Abbot, who accompanied Austin in his mission to this island. His words are to this effect: On the Day of Dedication, or the Birth Day of the Holy Martyrs, whose relics are there placed,[3] let the people make to themselves booths of the boughs of trees, round about those very churches which had been the temples of idols, and in a religious way to observe a feast. "Such," remarks Brand,[4] after quoting from Bede,[5] as above, "are the foundations of the Country Wake." But I cite his observations, not so much to record this curious circumstance, as to point out that the festival enjoined by the Pope may have become, for a time at least, associated with the memory of the Quatuor Coronati or Four Crowned Martyrs—the earliest legendary saints of the Masons.

This will depend upon the meaning which should be attached to the word "martyrium." Dr Giles, in his edition of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," gives us under the year 619—"The *Church* of the Four Crowned Martyrs (*martyrium* beatorum quatuor coronati) was in the place where the fire raged most."

The fire alluded to, laid waste a great part of the city of Canterbury, and was suddenly arrested on its reaching the "martyrium" of the Crowned Martyrs, owing, we are led to suppose, partly to the influence of their relics, and in a greater measure to the prayers of Bishop Mellitus. Now, Bede's account of the circumstance has been held by a learned writer to demonstrate one of two facts—either the "martyrium" contained the bodies of the saints, or the martyrdoms had taken place upon the spot where the church was afterwards built.[6] In a certain sense, the former of these suppositions will exactly meet the case. According to

[1] James Napier, Folk Lore; or, Superstitious Beliefs in the West of Scotland within this Century, 1879, pp. 149, 175.

[2] Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St John, 1733, pt. i., chap. xiv., pp. 204 205. *Cf.* Chap. XV., pp. 233, 236.

[3] Mrs Jamieson, describing "the passion for relics" which prevailed from the third to the fourteenth centuries, says: "The remains of those who had perished nobly for an oppressed faith were first buried with reverential tears, and then guarded with reverential care. Periodical feasts were celebrated on their tombs—the love-feasts (*agapæ*) of the ancient Christians: subsequently, their remains were transferred to places of worship, and deposited under the table or altar from which the sacrament was distributed. Such places of worship were supposed, of course, to derive an especial sanctity, and thence an especial celebrity, from the possession of the relics of martyrs highly and universally honoured" (Sacred and Legendary Art, 7th edit., 1874, vol. ii., p. 655).

[4] Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 2.

[5] Ecclesiastical History, chap. xxx.

[6] H. C. Coote, The Romans of Britain, 1878, p. 420. See *ante*, Chap. X., p. 484, note 2.

canon xiv. of the 19th Council of Carthage, no church could be built for martyrs except there were on the spot either the body *or some certain relics*,[1] or where the origin of some habitation or possession, or passion of the martyr had been transmitted from a most trustworthy source.[2]

Martyrium, which is derived from the Greek μαρτύριον, as used in the context, would seem to mean *a church where some martyr's relics are;* and if we adopt this signification, the instructions given by Pope Gregory I. to Mellitus, and the words in which the latter is associated by Bede, with the miraculous stoppage of the fire at Canterbury, A.D. 619, are more easily comprehended.

"The chief festivals of the Stone-masons," says Findel, "were on St John the Baptist's Day, and the one designated the Day of the Four Crowned Martyrs—the principal patron saints of the Stone-masons."[3] Yet although the "Quatuor Coronati" are specially invoked in the Strassburg[4] (1459) and Torgau (1462) Ordinances,[5] in neither of these, or in the later code—the Brother-Book of 1563[6]—do we meet with any reference to St John.

On the other hand, there existed in 1430, at Cologne, a guild of stonemasons *and carpenters*, called the Fraternity of St John the Baptist; but although the records from which this fact is gleaned, extend from 1396 to the seventeenth century, the Four Martyrs are not once named.[7]

The claims of John the Baptist to be considered the earliest patron saint of the German masons are minutely set forth by Krause in his "Kunsturkunden,"[8] to which learned work, I must refer such of my readers, as are desirous of pursuing the subject at greater length than the limit of these pages will allow.

Before, however, parting with the Saints John, there is one further aspect under which their assumed patronage of guilds and fraternities may be regarded. This we find in the heathen practice of "Minne-drinking," that is, of honouring an absent or deceased one, by making mention of him at the assembly or banquet, and draining a goblet to his memory. Among the names applied to the goblet was *minnisveig*—hence *swig* or *draught*. The usage survived the conversion—and is far from being extinct under Christianity—but instead of Thor, Odin, and the rest, the *minne* was drank of Christ, Mary, and the saints.[9] During the Middle Ages the two saints most often toasted were John the Evangelist and Gertrude. *Both* St Johns were, however, frequently complimented in this way. Luitprand, by the words "potas in amore beati *Johannis* præcursoris," evidently referring to the Baptist, whilst in

[1] According to Dr Dyer, "during the reign of Paul [I., 757-767], many cartloads of corpses were disinterred from the Catacombs, and escorted into the city by processions of monks, and amid the singing of hymns, in order to be again buried under the churches; while ambassadors were constantly arriving from the *Anglo-Saxons*, Franks, and Germans, to beg the gift of some of these highly-prized relics." The same author adds—"It seems to have been assumed, as a matter of course, that all the bones found in the Catacombs belonged not only to Christians, but to martyred Christians" (History of the City of Rome; Its Structures and Monuments, 1865, p. 365).

[2] Sir Isaac Newton, *op. cit.*, pt. i., p. 230; Coote, The Romans of Britain, 1878, p. 419.

[3] History of Freemasonry, p. 63. [4] Chap. III., p. 117, note 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 185. It is noteworthy that by these regulations four special masses are to be said on certain saints' days, viz., on the days of St Peter, of the Holy Trinity, of the Virgin Mary, and of the Four Crowned Martyrs. The St Johns—Baptist and Evangelist—are not included in the list. See, however, p. 141, § 89.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 119. The laws known under the above title were enacted at two meetings held on St Bartholomew's and St Michael's days respectively.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170. [8] Die drei Aeltesten Kunsturkunden, pp. 295-305.

Cf. Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii.

numerous other cases cited by Grimm—from whom I quote—the allusion is as distinctly to the Evangelist. "Minne-drinking," even as a religious rite, apparently exists at this day in some parts of Germany. At Otbergen, a village of Hildesheim, on December 27 every year, a chalice of wine is hallowed by the priest, and handed to the congregation in the church to drink as *Johannis segen* (blessing).[1]

Among the remaining customs, the observance of which was strictly enjoined by the Schaw Statutes, there are some that must not be passed over without further notice. These I shall proceed to examine, and for the same reason as in the parallel case of the celebration of *a* Saint John's day by the Scottish craft, it being evident, that usages which we first meet with in the Masonic system of one country, will be more satisfactorily considered in connection therewith, than by postponing their examination until they reappear in that of another country.

It is, indeed, in the highest degree probable, that most of the regulations ordained by the Warden General were based on English originals, though not exclusively of a Masonic character. Clauses 20 and 21 of the earlier code (1598) are clearly based on corresponding passages in the "Old Charges."[2] The examination of journeymen before their "admission" as masters, *may* have been suggested by a custom with which we are made familiar by the Cooke MS. (2);[3] and clause 10 of the same code is, strange to say, almost identical in phraseology with the *tenth* ordinance of the Guild of Joiners and Carpenters, Worcester, enacted in 1692, but doubtless a survival of a more ancient law. It imposes "a penalty of £5 for takeing an apprentice, to sell him again to ano^{r} of the same trade."[4]

But the task immediately before us is, not so much to speculate upon the supposed origin of customs, which we first meet with in Masonry in the sixteenth century, as to realise with sufficient distinctness the actual circumstances of the early Scottish craft, before proceeding with the comparison for which we have been preparing.

The Schaw Statutes mention two classes of office-bearers, which were wholly unknown, or at least are not mentioned, in any Masonic records of the South. These are quartermasters and intenders.[5] The latter were represented in the majority of Scottish lodges, but the former, though for a century holding a place among the Kilwinning fraternity, were never introduced into the Lodge of Edinburgh, nor have I any recollection of their being alluded to (at first-hand)[6] elsewhere than in the "Items" of the Warden General and the minutes of "Mother Kilwinning." Whether either or both were survivals of *English* terms, which lapsed into desuetude, I shall not attempt to decide, though it, at least, merits our passing attention, that "Attendant," "Attender," and "Intendant," though shown as *English* words by Dr Johnson,

[1] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, translated from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. i., 1880, pp. 59-62.

[2] *Cf.* The Buchanan MS. (15), §§ xiv., xvi. (*ante*, Chap. II., p. 96).

[3] Lines 711-719. "And .·. at such congregations, they that be made masters, should be *examined* of the articles after written, and be ransacked whether they be able and cunning to the profit of the lords, [having] them to serve, and to the honour of the aforesaid art" (Cooke, History and Articles of Masonry, pp. 103, 104). See *ante*, pp. 304, note 6; 305, note 2.

[4] An editorial note says: "Of course this does not mean, as its literal sense would imply, to sell the body of the apprentice, but to sell the master's interest in the Articles of Apprenticeship" (Smith, English Gilds, p. 209).

[5] Stats. II., § 8; I., § 13. *Cf. ante*, pp. 304, 305, 313; and Chap. VIII., pp. 400, 420, 429.

[6] *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

do not occur in the etymological dictionary of the Scottish language by Dr Jamieson. *Intender* is not given by either of these lexicographers.[1] From the same source—the Schaw *codices*—we learn that oaths were administered; one, the "great oath,"[2] apparently at *entry*—and the other, the "oath of fidelity,"[3] at yearly intervals. The administration of an oath, the reception of fellows, the presentation of gloves, the custom of banqueting, and the election of *a* warden,[4] as features of the Scottish system, demand our attention, because, with the exception of the one referring to the choice of a warden—which officer, however, was present, *teste* Ashmole at the Warrington Lodge in 1646[5]—all of them reappear in the Masonic customs of the Staffordshire "moorelands," so graphically depicted by Dr Plot.[6]

The references in the Schaw Statutes to gloves, banquets, and the election of wardens, invite a few observations, with which I shall bring to a close my review of the early Masonry of Scotland.

A high authority has laid down that the use of the gloves in Masonry is a symbolical idea, borrowed from the ancient and universal language of symbolism, and was intended, like the apron, to denote the necessity of purity of life.[7]

"The builders," says Mackey, "who associated in companies, who traversed Europe, and were engaged in the construction of palaces and cathedrals,[8] have left to us, as their descendants, their name, their technical language, and the apron, that distinctive piece of clothing by which they protected their garments from the pollutions of their laborious employment." He adds, "did they also bequeath to us their gloves?"[9]

This is a question which the following extracts and references—culled from many sources—may enable us to solve. Gloves are spoken of by Homer as worn by Laertes, and from a remark in the "Cyropædia" of Xenophon, that on one occasion Cyrus went without them, there is reason to believe that they were used by the ancient Persians. According to Favyn, the custom of throwing down the glove or gauntlet was derived from the Oriental mode of sealing a contract or the like, by giving the purchaser a glove by way of delivery or investiture, and to this effect he quotes Ruth iv. 7, and Psalms cviii. 9—passages where the word commonly translated "shoe" is by some rendered "glove."[10] In the life of St Columbanus,

[1] *Cf.* The form of oath cited, *ante*, p. 317.

[2] Stat. No. I., § 21. "And wee command all our successores in this meason trade, be [*by*] the oath that the make at ther *entrie*," etc. (8th Statute of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670—Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 426; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 430. See also Chap. II., p. 96, § xiv.).

[3] Stat. No. II., § 12.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 304, 305; Chap. VIII., pp. 385, 389—Schaw Stats. I., §§ 1, 13; II., §§ 1, 9, 10, 11.

[5] Chap. XIV., p. 140.

[6] Chap. XIV., p. 164.

[7] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* gloves.

[8] In one of the papers to which I have frequently referred (Chap. VI., p. 302, note), Mr Wyatt Papworth observes: "Probably some will have expected an account of those 'travelling bodies of Freemasons,' who are said to have erected all the great buildings of Europe; nothing more, however, is to be here noted than that *I believe they never existed*?"

Mr Street also remarks: "The common belief in a race of clerical architects and in ubiquitous bodies of Freemasons, seems to me to be altogether erroneous" (Gothic Architecture in Spain, 1865, p. 464). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. VI., p. 256, *et seq.*; VII., pp. 32, 34; but see Fort, A Critical Inquiry into the Condition of the Conventual Builders, 1884, *passim*.

[9] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[10] Le Théâtre d'honneur, Paris, 1628.

written in the seventh century,[1] gloves, as a protection during manual labour, are alluded to and A.D. 749 (*circa*), Felix, in his Anglo-Saxon "Life of St Guthlac, Hermit of Crowland" (chap. xi.), mentions their use as a covering for the hand.

According to Brand, the giving of gloves at marriages is a custom of remote antiquity; but it was not less common, so we are told by his latest editor, at funerals than at weddings.[2] A pair of gloves are mentioned in the will of Bishop Riculfus, who died A.D. 915; and Matthew Paris relates that Henry II. (1189) was buried with gloves on his hands.

A.D. 1302.—In the Year Book of Edward I. it is laid down, that in cases of acquittal of a charge of manslaughter, the prisoner was obliged to pay a fee to the justices' clerk in the form of *a pair of gloves*, besides the fee to the marshal.

1321.—The Bishop of Bath and Wells received from the dean and chapter a pair of gloves with a gold knot.[3]

In the Middle Ages, gloves of white linen—or of silk beautifully embroidered and jewelled—were worn by bishops or priests when in the performance of ecclesiastical functions.[4]

1557.—Tusser, in his "Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry," informs us, that it was customary to give the reapers gloves when the wheat was thistly,[5] and Hilman in his "Tusser Redevivus," 1710, observes, that the largess, which seems to have been usual in the old writer's time, was still a matter of course, of which the reapers did not require to be reminded.[6]

1598.—A passage in Hall's "Virgidemarium" seems to imply that a Hen was a usual present at Shrove-tide; also a *pair of Gloves* at Easter.[7]

According to Dr Pegge, the Monastery of Bury allowed its servants two pence a piece for *glove-silver* in Autumn, but though he duly quotes his authority, the date of its publication is not given.

The allusions, so far, bear but indirectly upon our immediate subject, but I shall now adduce some others of a purely Masonic character, which, for convenience sake, are grouped together in a chronological series of their own.

13th Century.—An engraving copied from the painted glass of a window in the Cathedral of Chartres, is given by M. Didron in his "Annales Archéologiques." It represents a number

[1] By the abbot of Bobbio. In this, gloves are described as "tegumenta manuum quæ Galli *wantos* vocant." One of the articles in Ducange is headed "Chirotheca seu *Wanti*." Another word—obviously of Teutonic derivation—used for a glove in mediæval Latin is *gantus*. It is remarkable that no gloves are visible in the Bayeux Tapestry. In the Liber Albus of the City of London (Rolls Series, pp. 600, 737), the trade of glover is thus referred to:—1338-58, "combustio falsarum ciroticarum," and "articuli ciroticariorum;" 1376-99, "ordinacio ciroticariorum."

[2] Vol. ii., p. 77. In Arnold's Chronicle (1502), among "the artycles vpon whiche is to inquyre in the visitacyons of ordynaryes of chyrches," we read: "Item, whether the curat refuse to do the solemnysacyon of lawfull matrymonye before he have gyfte of money, hoses, or *gloves*" (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

[3] H. E. Reynolds, Statutes of Wells Cathedral, p. 147.

[4] Planché, Cyclopædia of Costume, *s.v.*

[5] Reprinted in the British Bibliographer, 1810-14, vol. iii.

[6] Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 12.

[7] er gloves, or for a Shroft-tide Hen,
Which bought to give, he takes to sell again."
—*Book* iv., Sat. 5, p. 42.

Curalia Miscellanea, 1818, citing History of Hawsted, p. 190. For a quantity of curious information, relating to the use and presentation of gloves, the reader is referred to Dr Pegge's work, pp. 305-331; the "Venetian History," 1860, chap. xxv.; and Ducange, Glossarium, *s.v.* Chirotheca.

of operative masons at work. All of them wear gloves.[1] Further evidence of this custom will be found in the "Life of King Offa," written by Matthew Paris, where a similar scene is depicted.[2]

1355.—According to the records of York Cathedral, it was usual to find tunics [gowns], aprons, gloves, and clogs, and to give occasional potation and remuneration for extra work. Gloves were also given to the carpenters.[3] From the same source of information we learn that aprons and gloves were given to the masons in 1371; and the latter, in the same year, to the carpenters, and in 1403 to the setters. The last-named workmen received both aprons and gloves (*naprons et cirotecis*) in 1404. Further entries elucidatory of the same custom appear under the years 1421-22, 1432-33, and 1498-99,[4] ending with the following in 1507:—For approns and glovys for settyng to the masons, 16*d.*[5]

1372.—The Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral inform us that in this year six pairs of gloves were bought for the carpenters for raising the timber, 12*d.*[6]

1381.—The châtelain of Villaines en Duemois, bought a considerable quantity of gloves to be given to the workmen, in order, as it is said, "to shield their hands from the stone and lime."[7]

1383.—Three dozen pairs of gloves were bought and distributed to the masons when they commenced the buildings at the Chartreuse of Dijon.[8]

1432.—A lavatory was erected in the cloisters at Durham, and the accounts show that three pairs of gloves at 1½d. each, were given to the workmen.[9]

1486, 7.—Twenty-two pairs of gloves were given to the masons and stone-cutters who were engaged in work at the city of Amiens.[10]

The custom existed as late as 1629, under which year, we find in the accounts of Nicoll Udwart, the treasurer of Heriot's Hospital,—"Item, for sex pair of gloves to the Maissones at the founding of the Eist Quarter, xx*s.*"[11]

Gloves are mentioned by William Schaw in 1599,[12] and here we enter upon a new phase of the inquiry. Hitherto, as will be seen above, they were given *to* and not *by* the masons, or any one or more of their number. The practice, of which we see the earliest account in the code of 1599, became—if it did not previously exist—a customary one in the old court of operative masonry, the proceedings of which, perhaps more than those of any other body of the same kind, the statutes in question were designed to regulate. Early in the seventeenth century it was a rule of the Lodge of Kilwinning that *intrants* should present so many pairs

[1] Journal, British Archæological Association, vol. i., 1845, p. 23.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. VI., p. 318, note 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 302, 303.

[4] 1499.—"Pro ij *limatibus* et ij paribus cirothecarum pro cementariis pro les settyng." The *limas* was a kind of apron used by masons.

[5] The Fabric Rolls of York Minster (Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. xxxv.).

[6] G. Oliver, Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and a History of the Cathedral, 1861, p. 385.

[7] Journal, British Archæological Association, *loc. cit.* [8] *Ibid.*

[9] J. Raine, A Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, 1833, p. 91.

[10] Journal, British Archæological Association, *loc. cit.*

[11] Transactions, Archæological Institute of Scotland, vol. ii., 1852, pp. 34-40.

[12] Statutes No. II., § 10; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390.

of gloves on their admission, but as the *membership*[1] increased there was such an inconvenient accumulation of this article of dress that "glove-money" came to be accepted in its stead.[2]

Gloves were required from fellow-crafts at their passing, and from apprentices at their entry, in the Scoon and Perth (1658) and the Aberdeen (1670) Lodges respectively; but whether the custom extended to those who were *entered* in the former lodge or *passed* in the latter it is difficult to decide.[3] The largess expected was, however, more liberal in one case than in the other, for, according to the Aberdeen Statutes, intrants—except the eldest sons and those married to the eldest daughters of the fellow-crafts and masters by whom they were framed—were obliged to present not only a "pair of good gloves," but an apron also, to every member of the lodge.

A regulation not unlike the above was enacted by the Melrose fraternity in 1675, requiring a "prentice" at his "entrie," and also when "mad frie masson,"[4] to pay a certain number of "pund Scots & suficient gloves." In the former case, as we learn from a subsequent minute (1695), the gloves were valued at four shillings, and in the latter at five shillings a pair.[5] A similar usage prevailed in the Lodge of Kelso, as we learn by the minute for St John's Day,[6] 1701.

This codifies the existing laws, and we find that the brethren, who as entered apprentices were mulct in the sum of "eight pound Scots with their gloves," were further required, in the higher station of "master *and* fellow of the craft," to pay five shillings sterling to the company's stock, and "neu gloves to the members."[7]

The obligation imposed upon intrants of "clothing the lodge"—a phrase by which the custom of exacting from them gloves, and in some instances aprons, was commonly described, was not abolished in the Lodge of Kelso until about 1755. The material point, however, for our consideration is, that the practice, in Scottish lodges, overlapped that portion of English masonic history termed by me the "epoch of transition," since, from the point of view we are surveying these ancient customs, it matters very little how common they became *after* they were "digested" by Dr Anderson in his "Book of Constitutions." In this we find,

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 303, *et seq.*—Probably the glove tax was imposed on the apprentices (or intrants) when the Lodge of Kilwinning departed from the strict letter of the Schaw Statutes and admitted them to full membership?

[2] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 47. The same inconvenience was experienced at Kelso in 1745, when the Lodge found that, owing to members who were deficient in their entry and passing money not being entitled to gloves, there was a great number left on hand. So it was resolved that "whoever next enters apprentice or passes Fellow, shall be obliged to take out those gloves at the Lodge's Price of Sevenpence per pair, and, till the gloves of the Lodge be disposed of, such Intrants or Passers shall not be allowed to buy elsewhere" (Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 81).

[3] "ffourthlie, That all ffelow crafts that are past in this Lodge pay to the Master Warden and ffelow crafts of the samene, the sowme of Sixteine Pund Scottis money, besyde the Gloves and dews therof .·. .·. And yt everie entered prenties shall pay twentie merkis money, with ffourtie shilling, at ther first incomeing to the Lodge, *besyde the dews thereof*" (Charter of Scoon and Perth Lodge, A.D.|1658—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1879-80, p. 134). *Cf.* the 5th Statute of the Lodge of Aberdeen (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 425).

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 306; 317, note 6.

[5] W. F. Vernon, The Records of an Ancient Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1880, pp. 366, 367).

[6] Vernon remarks—"While the lodge was most particular about the observance of 'Holy Saint John's day' on the 27th of December, their 'Summer Saint John's' was held near, *but never upon*, the day dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. *At a later date*, however, this Saint's day was also held" (*Op. cit.*, p. 15). *Cf. ante*, pp. 323, 325.

[7] Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 16.

as No. VII. of the "General Regulations"—"Every *new* Brother at his making is decently to cloath the *Lodge*—that is, all the Brethren present," etc.[1]

Here, it would seem, as in so many other instances, the Doctor must have had in his mind the masonic usages of his native country, though we should not lose sight of the fact that the presentation of gloves by "candidates" to Freemasons and their wives was a custom which prevailed in the Staffordshire lodges in 1686.[2]

But whatever were the authorities upon which Anderson relied—and by the suggestion that the leading features of Scottish Masonry were not absent from his thoughts whilst fulfilling the mandate he received from the Grand Lodge of England, it is not meant to imply that he closed his eyes to evidence proceeding from any other quarter—it is certain that the old masonic custom, which in 1723 had become a law, came down from antiquity in two distinct channels. This it is necessary to bear in mind, because whilst in the one case (Scotland) we must admit that the speculative masons have received from their operative predecessors the gloves as well as the apron, in the other case (England) this by no means follows as a matter of course, since among the Freemasons of 1686 were "persons of the most eminent quality,"[3] from whose speculative—not operative—predecessors the custom which Plot attests may have been derived. Indeed, passing over the circumstance that until the sixteenth century—at least so far as there is evidence to guide us—gloves were presented *to* rather than *by* the operative masons, the stream of authority tends to prove that the usage itself was one of great antiquity, and there is absolutely nothing which should induce the conviction that its origin must be looked for in a custom of the building trades.

Indeed, the probability is rather the other way. The giving of gloves at weddings was common in early times, as we have already seen.[4] Lovers also presented them to their mistresses,[5] and the very common notion that if a woman surprises a man sleeping, and can steal a kiss without waking him, she has a right to demand a pair of gloves—has come down to us with a very respectable flavour of antiquity. Thus, Gay, in the sixth pastoral of his "Shepherd's Week," published in 1714, has:—

> "*Cic'ly* brisk Maid, steps forth before the Rout,
> And kiss'd with smacking Lip the snoring Lout:
> For Custom says, *who'er this venture proves,*
> *For such a kiss demands a pair of Gloves.*"

And it might be plausibly contended, that the origin of the practice thus mentioned by Gay in 1714, must be looked for at a period of time, at least equally remote, with that of the Masonic usage, on which Dr Anderson based the Seventh General Regulation of 1723.

Although "banquets" are not among the customs or regulations, ratified or ordained by the Warden General in 1598, they are mentioned in no less than three clauses of the Statutes of 1599.[6] This, of itself, would go far to prove, that the practice of closing the formal pro-

[1] The Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 60.

[2] Chap. XIV., p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 163. [4] *Ante*, pp. 329, 330. *Cf.* Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 76.

[5] Shakespeare, Much Ado about Nothing, Act iii., sc. 4; J. O. Halliwell, Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales, 1849, p. 250.

[6] §§ 9, 10, 11.

ceedings of a meeting, with a feast or carousal, was then of old standing. But a minute of Mary's Chapel,[1] preceding by ten days the date of Schaw's second code,[2] shows, at all events, that the banquet was a well-established institution at the time when the latter was promulgated.

In the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670)[3] both initiation (or entry) and passing, were followed by feasting and revelry, at the expense of the apprentice and fellow respectively. Nor did the exemption with regard to gloves and aprons, which, as we have seen, prevailed in the case of sons and sons-in-law of the "Authoires" and "Subscryuers" of the "Book," hold good as to banquets. From each and all a "speacking pynt," a "dinner," and a "pynt of wyne," were rigorously exacted.

The festival of St John the Evangelist was especially set apart by the Aberdeen brethren, as a day of feasting and rejoicing. A similar usage prevailed at Melrose, from at least 1670, and in all probability from times still more remote. The records of the old lodge there, first allude to the "feast of the good Saint John," in 1685, when for "meat and drink, and making it ready," was expended £11, 0s. 10d. Entries of the same character appear under later years, of which the following will suffice: "1687—for Meat & Drink & tobacco, £7, 17*s.* 6*d.* 1698—for ale, white bread, two legs of mutton, a pound of tobacco and pipes, and a capful of salt, £11, 5*s.* 7*d.*"[4]

A dinner on St John's day, at the expense of the box, was indulged in by the brethren of Atcheson's Haven and Peebles, at the beginning of the last century, and a like custom obtained in the Lodge of Edinburgh down to 1734, in which year, though the members resolved to meet as usual on the festival of the Evangelist, they decided that in future, those attending should pay half-a-crown towards the cost of the entertainment.[5]

It has been observed with truth, that during a great part of the eighteenth century, hard drinking and other convivial excesses were carried among the upper classes in Scotland, to an extent considerably greater than in England, and not less than in Ireland.[6] Of this evil, the case of Dr Archibald Pitcairne,[7] affords a good illustration. He was a man of great and varied, but ill-directed ability. Burton styles him the type of a class, not numerous but influential from rank and education;[8] and we learn from Wodrow that "he got a vast income, but spent it upon drinking, *and was twice drunk every day.*"[9] Yet it is doubtful whether these habits had any real root among the poorer and middle classes. Indeed, it has been said that the general standard of external decorum was so far higher

[1] "xviij Decembris, 1599.—The qlk day the dekin & maisteris of the brut. of Edr. .·. .·. ordanis the sd Jhone Watt to be enterit prenteiss, and to mak his bancat [*banquet*] wtin xviij dayis nexttocum" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 39).

[2] December 28, 1599. The proceedings, however, were *begun* on St John's day (Dec. 27). *Cf. ante*, p. 323; and Chap. VIII., p. 391.

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 422, *et seq.*

[4] Made up from the following items, viz., £6, 13s. 3d.; £2, 5s. 6d.; £2, 3s. 10d.; and 3s. respectively—Scottish money (Records of the Melrose Lodge—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., pp. 324, 325, 369).

[5] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[6] Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 89.

[7] An eminent physician, born at Edinburgh, December 25, 1652; died October 20, 1713. Author of "Disputationes Medicæ," "Elementa Medicinæ Physico-mathematica," and other works.

[8] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 559.

[9] Analecta, vol. ii., p. 255.

than in England, that a blind man travelling southwards would know when he passed the frontier by the increasing number of blasphemies he heard.[1]

Here I pass to the election of Wardens, for, though the subject of banqueting or feasting is far from being exhausted, the observations with which I shall take leave of this custom, will be more appropriately introduced in the next chapter. It forms, however, a leading feature of the early Masonry practised in North Britain, and as such has been briefly noticed in connection with other characteristics of the Scottish Craft, which reappear in the more elaborate system afterwards devised—or found to be in existence—in the South. The Schaw Statutes enjoin, as we have already seen, that a Warden—who was to be chosen annually—should "have the charge over every lodge."[2] This regulation was complied with by the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1598, but in the following year the Deacon sat as president, with the Warden as treasurer. This was in accordance with the ordinary usage which prevailed in the early Scottish lodges, that when there was a Deacon as well as a Warden, the latter acted as treasurer or box-master.[3] Frequently, however, both offices were held by the same person, who we find designated in the minutes of Mary's Chapel as "Deacon of the Masons and Warden of the Lodge."[4]

We meet with the same titles—Deacon and Warden—in the records of the Kilwinning (1643), the Atcheson Haven (1700), and the Peebles (1716) Lodges, though they are there used disjunctively and apart.[5] In each of these instances the Deacon was the chief official. Such was also the case in the Haddington Lodge in 1697, where, apparently, there was no Warden; whilst, on the other hand, the Lodge of Glasgow, in 1613, was ruled by a Warden, and there was no such officer as Deacon. The wording of the Schaw Statutes may have led to this diversity of usage, as the two codes are slightly at variance in the regulations they respectively contain with regard to the functions of Wardens and Deacons—the earlier set implying that the titles denoted separate offices,[6] while in the later one the same expressions may be understood in precisely an opposite sense.[7]

According to Herbert, the Alderman was the chief officer, whilst the trade fraternities of London were called guilds. Eschevins, Elders, and other names succeeded, and were in some instances contemporaneous. The merchant tailors were *unique* in styling their principal, "Pilgrim," on account of his travelling for them. Bailiffs, Masters, Wardens, Purveyors, and other names, became usual designations when they were chartered. From Richard II. to Henry VII. their chief officers are styled Wardens of the Craft, Wardens of the said Mystery,

[1] Lecky, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 89.

[2] Chap. VIII., pp. 386, 389; and see *ante*, pp. 322, 329.

[3] Hunter, History of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, p. 67. According to Lyon, the Warden of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century, was custodier of the *lodge* funds and the dispenser of its charities—the corresponding duties in the incorporation being discharged by the box-master (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 41). In both the Aberdeen (1670) and Melrose (1675) Lodges, however, the three principal officers were the Master (or Master Mason), the Warden, *and* Box-master.

[4] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[5] Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning—Freemasons' Magazine, Aug. 8, 1863, p. 95; and History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 179, 418.

[6] Schaw Statutes, No. I. (1598), §§ 2, 4, 8, 9, 17, 22.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. II. (1599), §§ 2, 7, 8.

proportion as certainty vanishes, verbosity abounds, I must freely confess that of the two evils I should prefer to be styled unduly prolix, rather than unsatisfactorily concise. It demands both industry and patience to wade through the records of the craft, and though in such a task one's judgment is displayed, not so much by the information given, as by that which is withheld, nevertheless, in writing, or attempting to write, a popular history of Freemasonry, it is, before all things, essential to recollect that each subject will only be generally understood, to the extent that it is elucidated within the compass of reading afforded by the work itself.

I have brought up the history of English Freemasonry to the year 1723, and in the next chapter shall proceed with that of the Grand Lodge of England, basing my narrative of occurrences upon its actual minutes. The scanty evidence relating to the Masonry of the South during the pre-historic period has been given in full detail. To the possible objection that undue space has been accorded to this branch of our inquiry, I reply, the existence of a living Freemasonry in England before the time of Randle Holme (1688) rests on two sources of authority—the diary of Elias Ashmole, and the "Natural History" of Dr Plot. If the former of these antiquaries had not kept a journal—and which, unlike most journals, was printed—and if the latter had not undertaken the task of describing the phenomena of Staffordshire, we should have known absolutely nothing of the existence of Freemasons' lodges at Warrington in 1646, at London in 1682, or in the "moorelands" of Staffordshire, and, indeed, throughout England, in 1686. Now, judging by what light we have, is it credible for an instant that the attractions which drew Ashmole into the Society—and had not lost their hold upon his mind after a lapse of thirty-five years—comprised nothing more than the "benefit of the MASON WORD," which in Scotland alone distinguished the lodge-mason from the cowan? The same remark will hold good with regard to Sir William Wise and the others in 1682, as well as to the persons of distinction who, according to Plot, were members of the craft in 1686.

At the period referred to, English *Free*masonry must have been something different, if not distinct, from Scottish *Masonry*. Under the latter system, the brethren were masons, but not (in the English sense) *Free*masons. The latter title, to quote a few representative cases, was unknown—or, at least, not in use—in the lodges of Edinburgh, Kilwinning, and Kelso, until the years 1725, 1735, and 1741 respectively. It has therefore been essential to examine with minuteness, the scanty evidence that has been preserved of English Masonic customs during the seventeenth century, and although the darkness which overspreads this portion of our annals may not be wholly removed, I trust that some light at least has been shed upon it. Yet, as Dr Johnson has finely observed:—"One generation of ignorance effaces the whole series of unwritten history. Books are faithful repositories, which may be a while neglected or forgotten, but, when they are opened again, will again impart their instruction: memory, once interrupted, is not to be recalled. Written learning is a fixed luminary, which, after the cloud that had hidden it has passed away, is again bright in its proper station. Tradition is but a meteor, which, if once it falls, cannot be rekindled."

CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1723-60.

HAVING brought the history of English Freemasonry to a point from which our further progress will be greatly facilitated by the use of official documents, it is necessary, before commencing a summary of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England from June 24, 1723, to consider a little more closely a few important matters as yet only passed briefly in review.

The year 1723 was a memorable one in the annals of English Masonry, and it affords a convenient halting-place for the discussion of many points of interest which cannot be properly assigned either to an earlier or a later period. The great event of that year was the publication of the first "Book of Constitutions." I shall print the "General Regulations" in the Appendix, but the entire work deserves perusal; and from this, together with a glance at the names of the members of Lodges in 1724 and 1725—also appended—may be gained a very good *outside view* of the Freemasonry existing at the termination of the epoch of transition. To see it from any other aspect, I must ask my readers to give me their attention, whilst I place before them, to some extent, a retrospect of our past inquiries, and at the same time do my best to read and understand the old evidence by the light of the new.

The narrative of events in the last chapter broke off at April 25, 1723. The story of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England has been briefly told, but the history of that body would be incomplete without some further allusion to the "Four Old Lodges" by whose exertions it was called into existence. I number them in the order in which they are shown by Dr Anderson, to have assented—through their representatives—to the Constitutions of 1723.

ORIGINAL No. 1 met at the Goose and Gridiron, in St Paul's Churchyard, from 1717 until 1729, and removed in the latter year to the King's (or Queen's) Arms, in the same locality, where it remained for a long period. In 1760 it assumed the title of the "West India and American Lodge," which ten years later was altered to that of the "Lodge of Antiquity." In 1794 it absorbed the Harodim Lodge, No. 467,[1] a mushroom creation of the year 1790. At the

[1] Among the members were Thomas Harper, "silversmith, London," and William Preston. Harper—D.G.M. of the "*Atholl*" Grand Lodge at the time of the Union—was also a member of the Lodge of Antiquity from 1792, and served as Grand Steward in 1796. He was for some time Secretary to the "Chapter of Harodim." *Cf.* the memoir of Preston in Chap. XVIII.; Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 355; and Freemasons' Magazine, January to June, 1861, p. 449.

Union, in 1813, the first position in the new roll having devolved by lot upon No. 1 of the "Atholl" Lodges, it became, and has since remained, No. 2.

According to the Engraved List of 1729, this Lodge was originally constituted in 1691. Thomas Morris[1] and Josias Villeneau, both in their time Grand Wardens, were among the members—the former being the Master in 1723, and the latter in 1725. Benjamin Cole, the engraver, belonged to the Lodge in 1730; but with these three exceptions, the names, so far as they are given in the official records,[2] do not invite any remark until *after* Preston's election to the chair, when the members *suddenly* awoke to a sense of the dignity of the senior English Lodge, and became *gradually* impressed with the importance of its traditions.[3] The subsequent history of the Lodge has been incorporated with the memoir of William Preston, and will be found in the next chapter. But I may briefly mention that, from Preston's time down to our own, the Lodge of Antiquity has maintained a high degree of pre-eminence, as well for its seniority of constitution, as for the celebrity of the names which have graced its roll of members. The Duke of Sussex was its Master for many years; and the lamented Duke of Albany in more recent days filled the chair throughout several elections.

ORIGINAL No. 2 met at the Crown, Parker's Lane, in 1717, and was established at the Queen's Head, Turnstile, Holborn, in 1723 or earlier. Thence it moved in succession to the Green Lettice, Rose and Rummer, and Rose and Buffloe. In 1730 it met at the Bull and Gate, Holborn; and, appearing for the last time in the Engraved List for 1736, was struck off the roll at the renumbering in 1740. An application for its restoration was made in 1752, but, on the ground that none of the petitioners had ever been members of the Lodge, it was rejected.[4] According to the Engraved List for 1729, the Lodge was constituted in 1712.

ORIGINAL No. 3, which met at the Apple Tree Tavern in Charles Street, Covent Garden, in 1717, moved to the Queen's Head, Knave's Acre, in 1723 or earlier; and after several intermediate changes—including a stay of many years at the Fish and Bell, Charles Street, Soho Square—appears to have settled down, under the title of the Lodge of Fortitude, at the Roebuck, Oxford Street, from 1768 until 1793. In 1818 it amalgamated with the Old Cumberland Lodge—constituted 1753—and is now the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, No. 12.

Dr Anderson informs us that, after the removal of this Lodge to the Queen's Head, "upon some difference, the members that met there came under a New Constitution [in 1723] *tho' they wanted it not;*"[5] and accordingly, when the Lodges were arranged in order of seniority in 1729, Original No. 3, instead of being placed as one of the Four at the head of the roll, found itself relegated by the Committee of Precedence to the eleventh number on the list. This appears to have taken the members by surprise—as well it might, considering that the last time the Four were all represented at Grand Lodge—April 19, 1727—before the scale of precedence was adjusted in conformity with the New Regulation enacted for that purpose, their respective

[1] Received five guineas from the General Charity, December 15, 1730.

[2] I do not know, of course, what further light might be thrown upon the history of this Lodge, were the present members to lay bare its archives to public inspection. Why, indeed, there should be such a rooted objection to the publication of old Masonic documents, it is hard to conjecture, unless, as Johnson observes, "He that possesses a valuable manuscript, hopes to raise its esteem by concealment, and delights in the distinction which he imagines himself to obtain, by keeping the key of a treasure which he neither uses or imparts" (The Idler, No. 65, July 14, 1759).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XII., pp. 38, 46. [4] G. L. Minutes, March 16, 1752. [5] Constitutions, 1738, p. 185.

Masters and Wardens answered to their names in the same order of seniority as we find to have prevailed when the "Book of Constitutions" was approved by the representatives of Lodges in 1723.[1] But although the officers of No. 11 "represented that their Lodge was misplaced in the printed book, whereby they lost their Rank, and humbly prayed that the said *mistake* might be regulated,"—"the said complaint was dismiss'd."[2] It is probable that this petition would have experienced a very different fate had the three senior Lodges been represented on the Committee of Precedence.

As Original No. 2—also so numbered in 1729—"dropt out" about 1736, the Lodges immediately below it each went up a step in 1740; and Original No. 3 moved from the *eleventh* to the *tenth* place on the list. If the minutes of the Committee of Charity covering that period were extant, we should find, I think, a renewed protest by the subject of this sketch against its supercession, for one was certainly made at the next renumbering in 1756—and not altogether without success, as will be seen by the following extract from the minute book of one of the lodges above it on the list:

July 22, 1755.—"Letter being [read] from the Grand Sec^{y}: Citing us to appear att the Committee of Charity to answer the Fish and Bell Lodge [No. 10] to their demand of being plac'd prior to us, viz. in No. 3. Whereon our R^{t} Wors^{l} Mas^{r} attended & the Question being propos'd was answer'd against [it] by him with Spirit and Resolution well worthy the Charector he assum'd, and being put to Ballot was carr^{d} in favour of us. Report being made this night of the said proceedings thanks was Return'd him & his health drank with hearty Zeal by the Lodge present."[3]

But although defeated in this instance, the officers of No. 10 appear to have satisfied the committee that their Lodge was entitled to a higher number than would fall to it in the ordinary course, from two of its seniors having "dropt out" since the revision of 1740. Instead, therefore, of becoming No. 8, we find that it passed over the heads of the two Lodges immediately above it, and appeared in the *sixth* place on the list for 1756; whilst the Lodges thus superseded by the No. 10 of 1755, themselves changed their relative positions in the list for 1756, with the result that Nos. 8, 9, and 10 in the former list severally became 8,[4] 7,[5] and 6[6] in the latter—or, to express it in another way, Nos. 8 and 10 of 1755 change places in 1756.

Elsewhere I have observed: "The supercession of Original No. 3 by *eight* junior Lodges in 1729, together with its partial restoration of rank in 1756, has introduced so much confusion

[1] See *post* the proceedings of Grand Lodge under the year 1727. [2] G. L. Minutes, July 11, 1729.

[3] Minutes of the George Lodge, No. 4—then meeting at the George and Dragon, Grafton Street, St Ann's. In 1767, when removed to the "Sun and Punch Bowl," its warrant was "sold, or otherwise illegally disposed of," to certain brethren, who christened it the "Friendship," which name it still retains (*now* No. 6). Among the offenders were the Duke of Beaufort and Thomas French, shortly afterwards Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively of the Grand Lodge of England.

[4] Constituted May 1722. In April 1823 yielded its warrant and position to the Alpha—a Lodge of Grand Officers—established shortly after the Union, which had assumed the rank of a dormant lodge, the No. 28 of 1792-1813. *Now* the Royal Alpha Lodge, No. 16.

[5] Constituted November 25, 1722; erased March 25, 1745, and January 23, 1764; restored March 7, 1747, and April 23, 1764, respectively. Absorbed the Lodge of St Mary-la-Bonne, No. 108, March 25, 1791. *Now* the Tuscan Lodge, No. 14.

[6] Original No. 3, *now* Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, No. 12.

into the history of this Lodge, that *for upwards of a century* its identity with the 'old Lodge,' which met at the Apple Tree Tavern in 1717, appears to have been wholly lost sight of." [1]

The age of this lodge cannot be even approximately determined. It occupied the *second* place in the Engraved Lists for 1723 and 1725, and probably continued to do so until 1728. The position of the lodge in 1729 must have been wholly determined by the date of its warrant, and therefore affords no clue to its actual seniority. It is quite impossible to say whether it was established earlier or later than original No. 2 (1712), nor *pace* Preston can we be altogether sure—if we assume the precedency in such matters to be regulated by dates of formation—that the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, would be justified in yielding the *pas*, even to the Lodge of Antiquity itself.

Alluding to the meeting at the Goose and Gridiron Ale-house, on St John the Baptist's day, 1717, Findel observes, "This day is celebrated by all German Lodges as the day of the anniversary of the Society of Freemasons. It is the high-noon of the year, the day of light and roses, and it ought to be celebrated everywhere." [2]

It seems to me, however, that not only is this remarkable incident in the history of the Lodge of Antiquity worthy of annual commemoration, but that the services of the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, in connection with what may be termed *the most momentous event in the history of the Craft*, are at least entitled to a similar distinction. The first Grand Master, it is true, was elected and installed at the Goose and Gridiron, under the banner of the Old Lodge there, but the first Grand Lodge was formed and constituted at the Apple Tree, under similar auspices. Also, we must not forget, that the lodge at the latter tavern supplied the Grand Master—Sayer—who was elected and installed in the former.

ORIGINAL No. 4 met at the Rummer and Grapes Tavern, in Channel Row, Westminster, in 1717, and its representatives—George Payne, Master, Stephen Hall and Francis Sorell, Wardens—joined with those of nineteen other lodges, in subscribing the "Approbation" of the Constitutions in January 1723. The date of its removal to the tavern with which it became so long associated, and whose name it adopted, is uncertain. It is shown at the "Horn" in the earliest of the Engraved Lists, ostensibly of the year 1723, but there are grounds for believing that this appeared towards the close of the period embraced by the Grand Mastership of the Earl of Dalkeith, which would render it of later date than the following extract from a newspaper of the period:—

"There was a great Lodge of the ancient Society of the Free Masons held last week at the Horn Tavern, in Palace Yard: at which were present the Earl of Dalkeith, their Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master, the Duke of Richmond, and several other persons of quality, at which time, the Lord Carmichael, Col. Carpenter, Sir Thomas Prendergast, Col. Paget, and Col. Saunderson, were accepted Free Masons, and went home in their Leather Aprons and Gloves." [3]

The names of these five initiates, two of whom were afterwards Grand Wardens, are shown in the earliest list of members furnished by the Lodge at the "Horn"—in conformity with the order of Grand Lodge.[4] From this we learn that in 1724 the Duke of Richmond was the

[1] The Four Old Lodges, p. 42.

[2] History of Freemasonry, p. 137.

[3] The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, March 28, 1724.

[4] February 19, 1724.

Master, and George Payne the Deputy Master, whilst Alexander Hardine and Alexander Choke[1] were the Wardens. The character of the lodge has been already glanced at,[2] but the names of its members during the years 1724 and 1725, will be given in full in the Appendix, to which therefore it will be unnecessary to do more than refer. Among the private members were Desaguliers and Anderson, neither of whom in the years 1724-25 held office in the lodge. Unfortunately, the page allotted to Original No. 4—or No. 3 as it became from 1729—in the Grand Lodge Register for 1730, is a blank, and after that year there is no list to consult for nearly half a century, when we again meet with one in the official records, where the names of the then members are headed by that of Thomas Dunckerley "a member from 1768."

Alexander Hardine was the Master in 1725, the office becoming vacant by the Duke of Richmond's election as Grand Master. There is little doubt, however—to use the quaint language of "Old Regulation XVII."[3]—by virtue of which the Duke was debarred from continuing in the chair of the "Horn Lodge," whilst at the head of the Craft—that "as soon as he had honourably discharg'd his *Grand Office*, he returned to that Post or Station in his particular *Lodge*, from which he was call'd to officiate above." At all events he was back there in 1729, for on July 11 of that year, the Deputy Grand Master (Blackerly) informed Grand Lodge, by desire of the "Duke of Richmond, Master of the Horn Lodge," as an excuse for the members not having brought charity, like those of the other lodges, that they "were, for the most part, persons of Quality, and Members of Parliament," and therefore out of town at that season of the year. The Duke was very attentive to his duties in the lodge. He was in the chair at the initiation of the Earl of Sunderland, on January 2, 1730, on which occasion there were present the Grand Master, Lord Kingston, the Grand Master elect, the Duke of Norfolk, together with the Duke of Montagu, Lords Dalkeith, Delvin, Inchiquin, and other persons of distinction.[4]

Later in the same year, he presided over another important meeting, when many foreign noblemen, and also William Cowper (D.G.M., 1726), were admitted members, and was supported by the Grand Master (Duke of Norfolk), the Deputy (Blackerly), Lord Mordaunt, and the Marquesses of Beaumont and Du Quesne.[5] The Duke of Richmond resigned the Mastership in April 1738, and Nathaniel Blackerly was unanimously chosen to fill his place.[6] Original No. 4 was given the *third* place in the Engraved List for 1729, and in 1740 became No. 2—which number it retained till the Union.

On April 3, 1747, it was erased from the list, for non-attendance at the Quarterly Communications, but was restored to its place September 4, 1751. According to the official records —"Bro. Lediard informed the Brethren that the Right Worshipful Bro^r. Payne,[7] L.G.M., and several other members of the Lodge lately held at the Horn, Palace Yard, Westminster, had

[1] S.G.W., 1726; D.G.M., 1727.

[2] *Ante*, p. 46. For 1723, however, *read* 1724.

[3] As already stated, the "Old Regulations" will be found in the Appendix.

[4] The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, January 3, 1730.

[5] Rawlinson MS., fol. 229 (Bodl. Lib., Oxford). See, however, *post*, p. 373.

[6] The London Daily Post, April 22, 1738. At this period, the new Master of the "Horn Lodge"—who had been S.G.W., 1727; and D.G.M., 1728-30—was a justice of the peace, and chairman of the sessions of the city and liberties of Westminster.

[7] Payne was present on the occasion

been very successful in their endeavors to serve the said Lodge, and that they were ready to pay 2 guineas to the use of the Grand Charity, and therefore moved that out of respect to Bro. Payne and the several other L.G.M. [*late Grand Masters*] who were members thereof, the Said Lodge might be restored and have its former rank and Place in the List of Lodges—which was ordered accordingly." Earl Ferrers was master of the "Horn Lodge" when elected Grand Master of the Society in 1762.

On February 16, 1766, at an "Occasional" Lodge, held at the Horn Tavern, the Grand Master, Lord Blayney, presiding, His Royal Highness, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, "was made an entered apprentice, passed a fellow craft, and raised to the degree of a Master Mason."[1]

This Prince, and his two brothers, the Dukes of York[2] and Cumberland, eventually became members of the "New Lodge at the Horn," No. 313, the name of which, out of compliment to them, was changed to that of the "Royal Lodge." At the period, however, of the Duke of Gloucester's admission into the Society (1766), there were two lodges meeting at the Horn Tavern. The "Old" Lodge, the subject of the present sketch, and the "New" Lodge, No. 313,[3] constituted April 4, 1764. The Duke was initiated in neither, but in an "Occasional" Lodge, at which, for all we know to the contrary, members of *both* may have been present. But at whatever date the decadence of the "Old Horn Lodge" may be said to have first set in, whether directly after the formation of a new lodge at the same tavern, or later, it reached its culminating point about the time when the Duke of Cumberland, following the example of his two brothers, became an honorary member of No. 313. This occurred March 4, 1767, and on April 1 of the same year, the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland attended a meeting of the junior Lodge, and the latter was installed its W.M., an office he also held in later years.[4]

The Engraved List for 1767 shows the "Old Horn Lodge" to have removed from the tavern of that name, to the Fleece, Tothill Street, Westminster. Thence, in 1772, it migrated to the King's Arms, also in Westminster, and on January 10, 1774, "finding themselves in a declining state, the members agreed to incorporate with a new and flourishing lodge, entitled the Somerset House Lodge, which immediately assumed their rank."[5] So far Preston, in the editions of his famous "Illustrations," published *after* the schism was healed, of which the privileges of the Lodge of Antiquity had been the origin. But in those published whilst the schism lasted (1779-89), he tells us, that "the members of this Lodge tacitly agreed to a renunciation of their rights as one of the four original Lodges, by openly avowing a declaration of their Master in Grand Lodge. They put themselves entirely under the authority of Grand Lodge; claimed no distinct privilege, by virtue of an Immemorial Constitution, but precedency

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes.

[2] Initiated abroad. He was present at the Duke of Gloucester's admission, and the two brothers were elected honorary members of No. 313, on March 5, 1766 (Minutes of the Royal Lodge, No. 210, published by C. Goodwyn, in the *Freemason*, April 8, 1871). It was numbered 210 at the Union, and died out before 1832.

[3] It became No. 251 at the change of numbers in 1770, and is thus described in the Engraved List for that year—"Royal Lodge, Thatched House, St James Street, late the New Lodge at the Horn."

[4] The Duke of Cumberland—Grand Master of the Society, 1783-90—received the three degrees of Masonry, February 9, 1767, in an "Occasional" Lodge, held at the Thatched House Tavern (Grand Lodge Minutes). The minutes of the "Royal" Lodge call it a "Grand" Lodge, which is incorrect.

[5] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 255.

of rank,[1] and considered themselves subject to every law or regulation of the Grand Lodge, over whom they could admit of no control, and to whose determination they and every lodge were bound to submit."

The value, indeed, of this evidence, is much impaired—and must appear so, even to those by whom Preston's veracity is regarded as beyond suspicion—by the necessity of reconciling with it the remarks of the same writer *after* 1790, when he speaks of the *two* old lodges then extant, acting by immemorial constitution.[2]

But the *status* of the junior of these lodges stood in no need of restoration at the hands of Preston, or of any other person or body. In all the official lists, published after its amalgamation[3] with a lodge lower down on the roll, from 1775 to the present year, the words "Time Immemorial" in lieu of a date, are placed opposite its printed title. Nor is there any entry in the minutes of Grand Lodge, which will bear out the assertion that at the fusion of the two lodges, there was any sacrifice of independence on the part of the senior. The junior of the parties to this alliance—in 1774, the Somerset House Lodge, No. 219—was originally constituted May 22, 1762, and is described in the Engraved List for 1763 as "On Board H.M. Ship the 'Prince,' at Plymouth;"[4] in 1764-66 as "On Board H.M. Ship the 'Guadaloupe;'" and in 1667-73 as "the Sommerset House Lodge (No. 219 on the numeration of 1770-80) at ye King's Arms, New Bond Street."

Thomas Dunckerley (of whom more hereafter), a natural son of George II., was initiated into Masonry, January 10, 1754, whilst in the naval service, in which he attained the rank of gunner; and his duties afloat seem to have come to an end at about the same date on which the old "Sea Lodge" in the "Prince," and lastly in the "Guadaloupe," was removed to London and christened the "Somerset House," most probably by way of compliment to Dunckerley himself, being the name of the place of residence where quarters were first of all assigned to him on his coming to the Metropolis. In 1767 the king ordered him a pension of £100 a year, which was afterwards increased to £800, with a suite of apartments in Hampton Court Palace.

The official records merely inform us that Dunckerley was a member of the Somerset House Lodge after the fusion, and that he *had* been a member of one or both of them from 1768,[5] beyond which year the Grand Lodge Register does not extend, except *longo intervallo*, viz., at the returns for 1730, a gap already noticed, and which it is as impossible to bridge over from one end as the other.

After Dunckerley's, we meet with the names of Lord Gormanstone, Sir Joseph Bankes, Viscount Hampden, Rowland Berkeley, James Heseltine, and Rowland Holt, and later still of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Deputy Grand Master. In 1828 the Lodge again resorted to

[1] There is nothing to show—except Preston's word, which goes for very little—that the "Four Old Lodges" (until his own time) ever carried their claims any higher.

[2] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, and subsequent editions.

[3] Some observations on the amalgamation of Lodges will be found in my "Four Old Lodges," pp. 44, 45.

[4] The "Sea and Field Lodges," enumerated in "Multa Paucis" (1763-64), consist of two of the former, "on board" the "Vanguard" and "Prince" respectively—and one in "Captain Bell's Troop of Dragoons"—in Lord Ancrum's Regiment, *now* the 11th Hussars.

[5] The regulation made November 19, 1773, requiring Lodges to furnish lists of their members to the Grand Secretary, only applied to persons who were initiated *after* October 1768.

amalgamation, and absorbed the "Royal Inverness" Lodge, No. 648. The latter was virtually a military Lodge, having been formed by the officers of the Royal North British Volunteer Corps, of which the Duke of Sussex (Earl of Inverness) was the commander. Among the members of the "Royal Inverness" Lodge were Sir Augustus D'Este, son of the Duke of Sussex; Lord William Pitt Lennox; Charles Matthews the elder, "comedian;" Laurence Thompson, "painter," the noted preceptor: and in the Grand Lodge Register, under the date of May 5, 1825, is the following entry,—"Charles James Matthews, Architect, Ivy Cottage, aged 24."

The "old Lodge at the Horn," which we have traced through so many vicissitudes—for reasons already given in the sketch of the Lodge of Antiquity—dropped from the second to the fourth place on the roll at the Union; and in 1828 assumed the title of the "Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge," by which it is still described in the list. It is a subject for regret that no history of this renowned Lodge has been compiled. The early minutes, I am informed, are missing, but the materials for a descriptive account of a Lodge associated with such brilliant memories still exist, although there may be some slight trouble in searching for them. Among the Masonic jottings in the early newspapers, and the waifs and strays at Freemasons' Hall, will be found a great many allusions to this ancient Lodge. Of these, examples are afforded in the sketch now brought to a close, which is mainly based on those sources of information.

Of the three Grand Officers, whose names have alone come down to us in connection with the great event of 1717, there is very little said in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, over whose deliberations it was their lot to preside for the first year of its existence. Captain Elliot drops completely out of sight; and Jacob Lamball almost so, though he reappears on the scene in 1735, on March 31 of which year he sat as Grand Warden, in the place of Sir Edward Mansell; not having been present, so far as can be determined from the official records, at any earlier period over which they extend.[1] He subsequently attended very frequently, and in the absence of a Grand Warden, usually filled the vacant chair. Anderson includes his name among those of the "few brethren" by whom he was "kindly encouraged" whilst the Constitutions of 1738 were in the press; and if, as there seems ground for believing, the doctor was not himself present at the Grand Election of 1717, it is probable that he derived his account of it from the brother who was chosen Grand Senior Warden on that occasion. Lamball, it is sad to relate, in his latter years fell into decay and poverty, and at a Quarterly Communication, held April 8, 1756, was a petitioner for relief, when the sum of ten guineas was voted to him from the Fund of Charity, "with liberty to apply again." Even of Sayer himself there occurs but a passing mention, but from which we are justified in inferring that his influence and authority in the councils of the Craft did not long survive his term of office as Grand Master. It is probable that poverty and misfortunes so weighed him down as to forbid his associating on equal terms with the only two commoners—Payne and Desaguliers—who, besides himself, had filled the Masonic throne; but there is also evidence to show that he did not scruple to infringe the laws and regulations, which it became him, perhaps more than any other man, to set the fashion of diligently obeying. He was one of the Grand Wardens under

[1] *I.e.*, between June 24, 1723, and March 31, 1735.

Desaguliers in 1719, and a Warden of his private Lodge, Original No. 3, in January 1723, but held no office in the latter at the close of the same year or in 1725, though he continued a member until 1730, and possibly later;[1] but from the last-named date until some way into the second half of the eighteenth century, there is unfortunately no register of the members of Lodges. After 1730 Sayer virtually disappears from the scene. In that year we first meet with his name, as having walked last in a procession—arranged in order of juniority—of past Grand Masters, at the installation of the Duke of Norfolk. He next appears as a petitioner for relief, and finally in the character of an offender against the laws of the Society. Of these incidents in his career two are elsewhere recorded; but with regard to his pecuniary circumstances, the minutes of Grand Lodge show that he was a petitioner—presumably for charity—on November 21, 1724; but whether he was then relieved or not from the General Fund, the records do not disclose. A second application was attended with the following result:

April 21, 1730.—"Then the Petition of Brother Anthony Sayer, formerly Grand Master, was read, setting forth his misfortunes and great poverty, and praying Relief. The Grand Lodge took the same into their consideration, and it was proposed that he should have £20 out of the money received on acc^{t} of the general charity; others proposed £10, and others £15.

The Question being put, it was agreed that he should have £15, on acc^{t} of his having been Grand Master."[2]

He appears to have received a further sum of two guineas from the same source on April 17, 1741, after which date I can find no allusion in the records, or elsewhere, to the first "Grand Master of Masons."

George Payne is generally described as a "learned antiquarian," though I imagine on no other foundation of authority than the paragraph[3] into which Dr Anderson has compressed the leading events of his Grand Mastership. It is possible that the archæological tastes of a namesake who died in 1739[4] have been ascribed to him; but however this may be, his name is not to be found among those of the fellows or members of the Society of Antiquaries, an association established, or, to speak more correctly, *revived*, at about the same date as the Grand Lodge of England.[5] Some years ago I met with a newspaper entry of 1731, to the effect that Mr Payne, the apothecary, had presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury two Greek MSS of great antiquity and curiosity.[6] This seemed to promise well, so I wrote to the Society of Apothecaries, but was informed that its records contained no mention of a *George* Payne during the whole of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately there is very little to be gleaned concerning Payne's private life. His will is dated December 8, 1755, and was proved March 9, 1757, by his wife,

[1] Thomas Morris and James Paggett, both members of the Mason's Company, belonged, the former to Original No. 1, and the latter to Original No. 3, in 1723 and also in 1725. From this we may infer, that such *Masons* as became *Freemasons* had no predilection for any particular Lodge.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes. On the same evening, Joshua Timson was voted £14 "on account of his having served as a Grand Warden."

[3] *Ante*, p. 281.

[4] "Deaths—Sept. At Ghent, George Payne, of Northumberland, Esq., F.R.S., Member of the Royal Academy at Berlin, of the Noble Institute of Bologna," etc. (Scots Magazine, vol. i., 1739, p. 423).

[5] *Cf.* Archæologia, vol. i., Introduction, p. xxxiii.; Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 3, *et seq.*

[6] Read's Journal, May 29, 1731.

the sole executrix, the testator having died on January 23 in the same year. He is described as of the parish of St Margaret, Westminster, and appears to have been a man of good worldly substance. Among the various bequests are legacies of £200 each to his nieces, Frances, Countess of Northampton, and Catherine, Lady Francis Seymour. Payne died at his house in New Palace Yard, Westminster, being at the time Secretary to the Tax Office.[1] How long he had resided there it is now impossible to say; but it is curious, to say the least, that when we first hear of the Lodge to which both Payne and Desaguliers belonged, it met at Channel Row, where the latter lived; also that it was afterwards removed to New Palace Yard, where the former died.

Payne, I apprehend, was the earlier member of the two, and the date of his joining the Lodge may, in my judgment, be set down at some period *after* St John the Baptist's Day, 1717, and *before* the corresponding festival of 1718. He was greatly respected both by the brethren of the "old Lodge at the Horn," and the craft at large, and the esteem in which he was held by the latter, stood the former in good stead in 1751, when at his intercession the lodge in question, which had been erased from the list in 1747, was restored to its former rank and place.

During his second term of office as Grand Master, Payne compiled the General Regulations, which were afterwards finally arranged and published by Dr Anderson in 1723. He continued an active member of Grand Lodge until 1754, on April 27 of which year he was appointed a member of the committee to revise the "Constitutions" (afterwards brought out by Entick in 1756). According to the Minutes of Grand Lodge, he was present there for the last time in the following November.

John Theophilus Desaguliers, the son of a French Protestant clergyman, born at Rochelle, March 12, 1683, was brought to England by his father when about two years of age, owing to the persecution which was engendered by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A., and entered into deacon's orders in 1710. The same year he succeeded Dr Keill as lecturer on Experimental Philosophy at Hart Hall. In 1712 he married Joanna, daughter of Mr William Pudsey, and proceeded to the degree of M.A. The following year he removed to the metropolis and settled in Channel Row, Westminster, where he continued his lectures. On July 29, 1714, he was elected F.R.S., but was excused from paying the subscription, on account of the number of experiments which he showed at the meetings. Subsequently he was elected to the office of curator, and communicated a vast number of curious and valuable papers between the years 1714 and 1743, which are printed in the *Transactions*. He also published several works of his own, particularly his large "Course of Experimental Philosophy," being the substance of his public lectures, and abounding with descriptions of the most useful machines and philosophical instruments. He acted as curator to within a year of his decease, and appears to have received no fixed salary, being remunerated according to the number of experiments and communications which he made to the Society, sometimes receiving a donation of £10, and occasionally £30, £40, or £50.

His lectures were delivered before George I. at Hampton Court in 1717, and also before George II., and other members of the Royal Family, at a later period.

[1] *Ante*, p. 279, note 3; Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxvii., 1757, p. 98.



RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MOUNT EDGCUMBE

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF CORNWALL

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh.

There is some confusion with regard to the church preferment which fell in the doctor's way. According to Lysons, he was appointed by the Duke of Chandos to the benefice of Whitchurch—otherwise termed Stanmore Parva—in 1714,[1] but Nichols says he was presented by the same patron, in the same year, to the living of Edgeware.[2]

It is not easy to reconcile the discrepancy, and the description of a lodge—warranted April 25, 1722—in the Engraved Lists for 1723, 1725, and 1729, viz., The Duke of Chandos's Arms, at Edge*worth*, tends to increase rather than diminish the difficulty of the task.

In 1718 he accumulated the degrees of bachelor and doctor of Laws, and about the same period was presented—through the influence of the Earl of Sunderland—to a small living in Norfolk, the revenue of which, however, only amounted to £70 per annum. This benefice he afterwards exchanged for a crown living in Essex, to which he was nominated by George II. He was likewise appointed chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales, an office which he had already held in the household of the Duke of Chandos, and was destined to fill still later (1738) in Bowles (now the 12th) Regiment of Dragoons.

When Channel Row, where he had lived for some years,[3] was taken down to make way for the new bridge at Westminster, Dr Desaguliers removed to lodgings over the Great Piazza in Covent Garden, where he carried on his lectures till his death, which took place on February 29, 1744.[4] He was buried March 6 in the Chapel Royal of the Savoy. In personal attractions the doctor was singularly deficient, being short and thick-set, his figure ill-shaped, his features irregular, and extremely near-sighted. In the early part of his life he lived very abstemiously, but in his later years was censured for an indulgence in eating to excess, both in the quantity and quality of his diet. The following anecdote is recorded of his respect for the clerical character.

Being invited to an illustrious company, one of whom, an officer, addicted to swearing in his discourse, at the period of every oath asked Dr Desaguliers' pardon; the doctor bore this levity for some time with great patience, but at length silenced the swearer with the following rebuke: "Sir, you have taken some pains to render me ridiculous, if possible, by your pointed apologies; now, sir, I am to tell you, that if God Almighty does not hear you, I assure you I will never tell him."[5]

He left three sons—Alexander, the eldest, who was bred to the Church and had a living in Norfolk, where he died in 1751; John Theophilus, to whom the doctor bequeathed all that he died possessed of; and Thomas, also named in the testator's will as "being sufficiently provided for"—for a time equerry to George III.—who attained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and died March 1, 1780, aged seventy-seven.

Lieutenant-General Desaguliers served in the Royal Artillery—in which regiment his memory is still fondly cherished as that of one of its brightest ornaments—for a period of

[1] The Environs of London, 1800-11, vol. iii., p. 674.

[2] Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 81.

[3] It is given as his address in a scarce pamphlet cited by Mr Weld in his "History of the Royal Society," 1848 (vol. i., p. 424), entitled, "A List of the Royal Society of London, with the places of Abode of most of its Members, etc., London, 1718." *Cf. ante*, p. 279, note 3.

[4] "London, March 1.—Yesterday died at his lodgings in the Bedford Coffee House in Covent Garden, Dr Desaguliers, a gentleman universally known and esteem'd" (General Evening Post, No. 1630, from Tuesday, February 28, to Thursday, March 1, 1744).

[5] Literary Anecdotes, *loc. cit.*

fifty-seven years, during which he was employed on many active and arduous services, including the battle of Fontenoy and the sieges of Louisbourg and Belleisle.[1] The last named is the only one of Desaguliers' sons whom we know to have been a Freemason. He was probably a member of the Lodge at the "Horn," and as we learn from the "Constitutions" of 1738, was —like Jacob Lamball—among the "few brethren" by whom the author of that work "was kindly encouraged while the Book was in the Press."[2]

In the pamphlet from which I have already quoted,[3] Dr Desaguliers is mentioned as being (in 1718) specially learned in natural philosophy, mathematics, geometry, and optics, but the bent of his genius must have been subsequently applied to the science of gunnery, for in the same work which is so eulogistic of the son, we find the father thus referred to, in connection with a visit paid to Woolwich by George III. and his consort during the peace of 1763-71. "It was on this occasion that their Majesties saw many curious firings; among the rest a large iron cannon, fired by a lock like a common gun; a heavy 12-pounder fired twenty-three times a minute, and spunged every time by a new and wonderful contrivance, said to be the invention of Dr Desaguliers, with other astonishing improvements of the like kind."[4] It is possible that the extraordinary prevalence of Masonic lodges in the Royal Artillery, during the last half of the eighteenth century, may have been due, in some degree, to the influence and example of the younger Desaguliers, but considerations of this nature lie beyond the scope of our immediate subject, which is restricted to a brief memoir of his father.

The latter days of Dr Desaguliers are said to have been clouded with sorrow and poverty. De Feller, in the "Biographie Universelle," says that he attired himself sometimes as a harlequin, and sometimes as a clown, and that in one of these fits of insanity he died—whilst Cawthorne, in a poem entitled "The Vanity of Human Enjoyments," laments his fate in these lines:—

> "—— permit the weeping muse to tell
> How poor neglected DESAGULIERS fell!
> How he who taught two gracious kings to view
> All Boyle ennobled, and all Bacon knew,
> Died in a cell, without a friend to save,
> Without a guinea, and without a grave."

But as Mackey justly observes,[5] the accounts of the French biographer and the English poet are most probably both apocryphal, or, at least, much exaggerated. Desaguliers was present in Grand Lodge on February 8, 1742, and his will—apparently dictated by himself—is dated November 29, 1743.[6] He certainly did not die "in a cell," but in the Bedford Coffee House.

[1] At the former he had the honour of supporting the gallant General Wolfe, and of the latter Captain Duncan observes: "It was suitable that the man who commanded the siege-train on this occasion, should be one eminent afterwards in the scientific as well as the military world: a Fellow of the Royal Society, as well as a practical soldier: a fit predecessor to the many who have since distinguished the Regiment by their learning—Brigadier Desaguliers" (History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, vol. i., 1872, p. 228).

[2] P. 229. [3] *Ante*, p. 349, note 3. [4] Duncan, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 244.

[5] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, p. 216. Mackey, however, who relies on Nichols (Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 81), is inaccurate in his statement that the latter was personally acquainted with Desaguliers, Nichols having been born in 1745, whereas Desaguliers died in 1744.

[6] Proved March 1, 1744, by his son John Theophilus, the sole executor.

His interment in the Savoy also negatives the supposition that he was "without a grave," whilst the terms of his will, which express a desire to "settle what it has pleased God to bless him with, before he departs," are altogether inconsistent with the idea of his having been reduced to such a state of abject penury, as Cawthorne's poem would lead us to believe. Moreover, passing over John Theophilus, of whose circumstances we know nothing, is it conceivable that either Alexander, the eldest son, then a beneficed clergyman, or Thomas, then a captain in the artillery, would have left their father to starve in his lodgings, and have even grudged the expense of laying him in the grave?

These inaccuracies, however, are of slight consequence, as compared with those in which the historians of the Craft have freely indulged. Mackey styles Desaguliers "the Father of Modern Speculative Masonry," and expresses a belief "that to him, perhaps, more than to any other man, are we indebted for the present existence of Freemasonry as a living institution." It was Desaguliers, he considers, "who, by his energy and enthusiasm, infused a spirit of zeal into his contemporaries, which culminated in the Revival of the year 1717." Findel and others express themselves in very similar terms, and to the origin of this hallucination of our *literati*, which has been already noticed, it will be unnecessary to do more than refer.[1]

The more the testimonies are multiplied, the stronger is always the conviction, though it frequently happens that the original evidence is of a very slender character, and that writers have only copied one from another, or, what is worse, have added to the original without any new authority. Thus, Dr Oliver, in his "Revelations of a Square," which in one part of his Encyclopædia[2] Mackey describes as "a sort of Masonic romance, detailing in a fictitious form many of the usages of the last centuries, with anecdotes of the principal Masons of that period"—in another, he diligently transcribes from, as affording a description of Desaguliers' Masonic and personal character, derived from "tradition."[3]

If time brings new materials to light, if facts and dates confute the historians of the Craft, we may, indeed, lose our history; but it is impossible to adhere to our historians—that is, unless we believe that antiquity consecrates darkness, and that a lie becomes venerable from its age.

There is no evidence to justify a belief that Desaguliers took any active part in, or was even initiated into Freemasonry, prior to the year 1719, when, as the narrative of Dr Anderson informs us, he was elected Grand Master, with Anthony Sayer as his Senior Grand Warden.

In 1723, or possibly 1722—for the events which occurred about this period are very unsatisfactorily attested—he was appointed Deputy Grand Master by the Duke of Wharton, and reappointed to the same office six months later by the Earl of Dalkeith; also again by Lord Paisley in 1725.

According to the Register of Grand Lodge, Desaguliers was a member of the Lodge at the "Horn," Westminster (Original No. 4), in 1725; but his name is not shown as a *member* of any Lodge in 1723. Still, there can hardly be a doubt that he hailed from the Lodge in question in both of these years. The earliest minute book of the Grand Lodge of England

[1] *Ante*, p. 287. [2] P. 546. [3] P. 216.

commences: "This Manuscript was begun the 25th November 1723. The R^t^ Hon^ble^ Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, Grand Ma^t^; B^r^ John Theophilus Desaguliers, Deputy Grand Ma^t^.

Francis Sorell, Esq^r^., } Grand Wardens."
M^r^ John Senex, }

Next follows "A List of the Regular Constituted Lodges, together with the names of the Masters, Wardens, and Members of each Lodge."

Now, in January 1723, the "New Constitutions" were ratified by the Masters and Wardens of twenty Lodges. Among the subscribers were the Earl of Dalkeith, Master, No. XI.; Francis Sorell, Warden, No. IV.; and John Senex, Warden, No. XV. In the list of Lodges given in the minute book of Grand Lodge, these *numbers*, XI., IV., and XV., are represented by the Lodges meeting at the Rummer, Charing Cross; the Horn, Westminster; and the Greyhound, Fleet Street, respectively. But though the names of the members appear in all three cases, Lord Dalkeith no longer appears on the roll of No. XI. (Rummer); and the same remark holds good with regard to the connection between Sorell and Senex with Nos. IV. (Horn) and XV. (Greyhound) respectively. Sorell's name, it may be added, as well as that of Desaguliers, appears in the Grand Lodge Register, under the year 1725, as a member of the Horn.

It would seem, therefore, that in 1723 the names of the four Grand Officers were entered in a separate list of their own, at the head of the roll. "Past rank," or membership of and precedence in Grand Lodge, by virtue of having held office therein, it must be recollected, was yet unknown, which will account for the names of Payne and Sayer—former Grand Masters—appearing in the ordinary lists.

Desaguliers, it is certain, must have belonged to some Lodge or other in 1723; and there seems no room for doubt that the entry of 1725, which shows him to have then been a member of Original No. 4, merely *replaced* his name on the roll, from which it was temporarily omitted during his tenure of office as Deputy. Happily the lists of 1725 were enrolled in the Register of Grand Lodge, from returns furnished at a Quarterly Communication, held November 27, 1725; otherwise the omission might have been repeated,—as Desaguliers, who vacated the Deputy's chair on St John's Day (in harvest) 1724, resumed it by appointment of Lord Paisley on St John's Day (in Christmas) 1725. Subsequently he became a member of other Lodges, whose places of meeting were at Solomon's Temple, Hemming's Row (1725-30),—James Anderson being also a member; The Bear and Harrow, in the Butcher's Row (No. 63, 1732),—the Earl of Strathmore being the Master, whilst the Grand Master (Lord Montague), the Deputy, and the Grand Wardens of the year were among the members; and of the University Lodge, No. 74 (1730-32).[1]

The following summary completes the Masonic record of the learned natural philosopher, which I am enabled to place before my readers.

In 1719, whilst Grand Master, he "reviv'd the old regular and peculiar Toasts or Healths of the *Free Masons*." In 1721, at the annual feast, he "made an eloquent Oration about *Masons* and *Masonry*;" and in the same year visited the Lodge of Edinburgh. The preface to the Constitutions of 1723 was from his pen. On November 26, 1728, he "proposed that, in order to have the [Great Feast] conducted in the best manner, a certain number of Stewards should

[1] *Cf.* Gould, Four Old Lodges, 1879, pp. 49, 50.

be chosen, who should have the intire care and direction of the said ffeast, together with the Grand Wardens," which was agreed to. Twelve brethren at once signed their names as consenting to act as Stewards in the following December;[1] and the same number, with occasional intermissions, were nominated on later occasions until the Union, when it was increased to eighteen. On the same evening, the "twelve" "propos'd Dr Desaguliers' Health for reviving the office of Stewards (which appeared to be agreeable to the Lodge in general); and the same was drank accordingly."[2] In 1731, at the Hague, he acted as Master of the Lodge in which Francis, Duke of Lorraine—afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany[3]—was "made an *Enter'd Prentice* and *Fellow Craft*."[4] In 1735 he was present with the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Waldegrave (British Ambassador), President Montesquieu, Lord Dursley, and a numerous company, at the opening of a Lodge in the Hotel Bussy, Rue de Bussy, Paris, where the Duke of Kingston, Lord Chewton, the Count de St Florentin (Secretary of State), and others, were admitted into the Society.[5] Two years later—namely, on November 5, 1737—he again sat as Master at the initiation of a royal personage; on which occasion, Frederick, Prince of Wales,[6] received the first two degrees, which, however, were shortly afterwards followed by that of Master Mason, conferred at another "Occasional" Lodge, composed of the same members as the previous one.[7] In the same year—also in 1738, and later—he was a frequent visitor at the Lodge then held at the Bear Inn, Bath—now the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41—from the minutes of which we learn that he frequently sat as Master, and discharged the ceremonial duties incidental to that office.[8] The Constitutions of 1738 were submitted in manuscript to the perusal of Desaguliers and Payne;[9] and the last entry in my notes with regard to his active participation in the duties of Masonry, records his farewell visit to the Grand Lodge, which took place, as already stated, on February 8, 1742.

It is highly probable that Desaguliers became a member of the Lodge at the RUMMER and GRAPES, in *Channel Row, Westminster*, because its meetings were held in the vicinity of his dwelling. We first meet with his name, in the records of Masonry, in 1719, and there is nothing which should lead us to infer that he had then been for any long period a member of

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes. It is somewhat curious that only one of the twelve—"Thomas Alford, of the Rose and Rummer, in Holbourn," or Original No. 2—was a member of either of the Four Old Lodges.

[2] *Ibid.* The only one of the twelve who did not act was Mr Cæsar Collys, of the "Rose, Mary Le Bone" (No. 43 in 1729), his place being taken by Mr Edwin Ward.

[3] He married the famous Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., at the death of whose immediate successor—Charles VII.—he himself ascended the Imperial throne, September 1745.

[4] Constitutions, 1738, p. 129.

[5] Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford; St James' Evening Post, September 20, 1735 (the latter cited by Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*, February 1877).

[6] Frederick died in 1751. Three of his sons became members of the Craft. The Dukes of York and Gloucester were initiated in 1766—the former abroad, and the latter at the Horn Tavern. The Duke of Cumberland joined the Society in the following year. *Cf.* the sketch of Original No. 4, *ante*; and G. W. Speth, "Royal Freemasons," where the initiation of every *brother* of royal blood is carefully recorded, so far at least as it has been found possible to do so, by one of the most accurate and diligent of Masonic students.

[7] Constitutions, 1738, p. 87. *Cf. ante*, p. 288, note 1.

[8] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, 1873, p. 26. I here avail myself of the opportunity of thanking Dr H. Hopkins for a series of extracts from the minutes of No. 41, which not only bear out the statement in the text, but have been of very great assistance to me in other ways.

[9] Constitutions, 1738, p. 199.

the Society. On the contrary, the evidence points in quite the opposite direction. Two meetings only of the Grand Lodge (after its "*pro tempore*" constitution in 1716) appear to have been held before the "Assembly," on St John the Baptist's Day, 1719, at which Desaguliers was elected Grand Master, viz.: those in 1717 and 1718, whereat Anthony Sayer and George Payne were severally chosen to fill the same high office. It seems to me very unlikely that either Payne or Desaguliers were present at the "Assembly" of 1717. Had such been the case, Anderson would hardly have failed to record the circumstance; nor can I bring my mind round to the belief that, if the name of one or the other had been included in the "List of proper Candidates" for the Masonic throne, proposed by the "oldest Master Mason" on the occasion in question—as must have happened, had either of them been present—the choice of the Lodges and brethren would have fallen on Sayer.

If, again, Desaguliers was a Freemason in 1718, I think he would have been elected a Grand Warden, or at least that his name would have been mentioned by Anderson in connection with the "Assembly" of that year. Payne's election as Grand Master scarcely bears upon the point at issue, it not being unreasonable to conclude that he possessed a greater hold over the electorate than Desaguliers, otherwise the latter would have been continued as Grand Master in 1720, instead of having to give place to his predecessor of 1718.

The precise date when the lodge, Original No. 4, was removed from the RUMMER and GRAPES, in *Channel Row*, to the HORN—also in Westminster—cannot be determined. Its meetings were held at the former of these taverns in 1717, and at the latter in 1723. Beyond this the existing records are silent. Desaguliers, it may be supposed, was induced to become a Freemason, owing to the propinquity of a lodge, and his love of good fellowship. In all probability he joined the "Club of Masons" at the RUMMER and GRAPES, just as he might have joined any other club, meeting at the tavern where, following the custom of those days, he may have spent his evenings. If we compare, then, his Masonic record with those of Payne or Anderson, it will be seen that whilst the former of the two worthies with whose memories his own has been so closely linked, compiled the "General Regulations," afterwards "compar'd" and "digested" together with the "Gothic Constitutions" by the latter—the fame of Desaguliers as a member of our Society rests in the main upon his having introduced two customs, which bid fair to retain their popularity, though, to some minds, their observance is only calculated to detract from the utility of Masonic labour, and to mar the enjoyment of the period devoted to refreshment.[1] These are Masonic orations and after-dinner speeches.

A short biography of Anderson has been already given,[2] to which the following information derived as this volume is passing through the press, must be regarded as supplementary.

The lists of "Artium Magistri" at Kings College, Aberdeen, exist for the years 1675-84,

[1] With regard to the oration delivered by Dr Desaguliers in 1721, I may be permitted to quote from an article written by me four years ago. "Findel says: 'It is greatly to be regretted that this important lecture is unknown;' I am unable to agree with him. It is, of course, quite possible that Masonic orations may please some *hearers*, but I am aware of none that are calculated to afford either pleasure or instruction to *readers*. Unless the 'oration' of 1721 was very far superior to the preface or dedication which Desaguliers wrote for the Constitutions of 1723, the recovery of the missing 'discourse' would neither add to our knowledge, or justify our including its author within the category of *learned* Freemasons" (Freemason, February 26, 1881).

[2] *Ante*, p. 291.

1686-88, 1693-95, 1697, 1700-01, 1706, 1710-23, and it appears that a "Jacobus Anderson" graduated there:—

1°. June 21, 1694,	*promotore*	Gul. Black.
2°. May 2, 1711,	„	Gul. Black.
3°. 1717,	„	Richd. Gordon.

The entry under the year 1711 probably refers to James Anderson the Freemason, though, as the records from which the above extracts are taken are merely copies, there are unfortunately no actual signatures that might assist in the identification.[1]

Anderson took no part in the deliberations of Grand Lodge, nor was he present at any of its meetings between St John's day (in harvest), 1724, and the recurrence of that festival in 1731. On the last-named date his attendance is recorded in the minutes, and the words appended to his name—"Author of the Book of Constitutions"—show that his arduous labours in previous years had by no means faded from recollection. In 1734, as will be more fully noticed hereafter, he was ordered to prepare a second edition of the "Constitutions," and was present in Grand Lodge—supported by his old friends Payne, Desaguliers, and Lamball—on January 25, 1738, when its publication was "approved of." At the succeeding Quarterly Communication (April 6), he attended for the last time, and sat in his old place as Junior Grand Warden. Before, however, the veteran passed away to his rest, one pleasing event occurred, which has been hitherto passed over by his biographers. Four months before his death[2] he was introduced, by the Marquess of Carnarvon, Grand Master, at a private audience, to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and "in the name of the whole Fraternity, humbly presented the New Book of Constitutions, dedicated to his Royal Highness, by whom it was graciously received."[3]

Professor Robison speaks of Anderson and Desaguliers—the one, it should be remembered, a doctor of Divinity, and the other a doctor of laws and a Fellow of the Royal Society—as "two persons of little education and of low manners, who had aimed at little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting."[4]

Here we have the old story of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, being due to the combined efforts of these two men, but the imputation which is cast upon their learning is not a little remarkable, as showing the manner in which one eminent natural philosopher permits himself to speak of another.[5] Good wine needs no bush, and the attainments of Desaguliers require no eulogy at the hands of his biographers. Upon those of Anderson it is difficult to pass judgment, but perhaps we shall be safe in concluding, that without possessing

[1] The records of both Marischal and Kings College have been diligently searched by Mr Robert Walker, to whom I express my grateful acknowledgments, also to Dr Beveridge, Prov. G. M. of Aberdeen City, who kindly set on foot the inquiry for me.

[2] Anderson died May 28, 1739, and there is no copy of his will at Somerset House, up to the year 1744 inclusive; of course it may have been proved later, or out of London, but further investigation has been beyond my power, nor, indeed, do I believe that his will, if discovered, would add materially to our stock of knowledge respecting the man.

[3] Read's Weekly Journal, January 20, 1739.

[4] Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, etc., 3d edit. 1798, p. 71.

[5] Dr Robison was elected to the chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh in 1773.

the stock of learning so loosely ascribed to him by Masonic writers, he was equally far removed from the state of crass ignorance to which the verdict of Dr Robison would reduce him. If, indeed, he actually wrote the "Defence of Masonry," already referred to,[1]—and upon which I conceive the belief in his extensive reading and great literary ability mainly rests—then I readily admit that the view expressed by me of his talent and acquirements cannot stand. The authorship of the pamphlet alluded to is one of those subsidiary puzzles so constantly met with in Masonic investigation, and is worthy of more minute examination by the "curious reader"—if such there be—but the critical inquiry it invites would far transcend the limits of the present work.[2]

It is certain that upon Anderson, rather than either Payne and Desaguliers, devolved the leading *rôle* in the consolidation of the Grand Lodge of England. His "Book of Constitutions" has been often referred to, but I have not yet called attention to the circumstance that the General Regulations of 1723 were only designed "for the use of Lodges in and about London and Westminster."[3] The Grand Lodge, however, both in authority and reputation, soon outgrew the modest expectations of its founders. Here, I am tempted to digress, but a full consideration of the many points of interest, which crowd upon the mind, in connection with the dawn of accredited Masonic history, would require not one—but a series of dissertations. I must, therefore, hasten on with my task, which is to lay before my readers a history of Freemasonry in England, derived from official records. To summarise these, however briefly, more space will be required than was originally estimated, but as the value of an historical work generally bears some sort of proportion to that of the sources of authority upon which it is based—I shall venture to hope—subject to my own shortcomings as an annalist—that a narrative of events, beginning in 1723, and brought down to the present time, founded on accredited documents, many of which have not been perused by any other living person, will be more instructive than any number of digressions or disquisitions.

A pause, however, has to be made, before the minute book of the Grand Lodge of England is placed under requisition. The history of that body was brought down to the beginning of 1723, in the last chapter, and it becomes essential to ascertain, as nearly as we can, the character of the Freemasonry existing in England at the date of publication of the first "Book of Constitutions." In the same year there appeared the earliest copy, now extant, of the "Mason's Examination" or "Catechism."[4] This—together with (if possible) Sloane MS.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 234, 237.

[2] I may be permitted to refer to letters in the *Keystone* (Philadelphia), published in that journal on July 19, September 6 and 13, 1884, in which I contend—1. That neither Anderson nor Desaguliers wrote the pamphlet in question. 2. That its real title was "A Defence of Masonry, occasioned by a Pamphlet called Masonry Dissected, *Published A.D. 1730*"—the words in italics referring to the latter and *not* to the former. And 3. That there is ground for supposing the "Defence" to have been the composition of Bishop Warburton, who was chaplain to the Prince of Wales at the time the Constitutions of 1738 were dedicated to His Royal Highness.

[3] Constitutions, 1723, p. 58. The work was approved by Grand Lodge, "with the Consent of the Brethren and Fellows in and about the Cities of London and Westminster" (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

[4] From the Flying Post or Post Master, No. 4712—from April 11 to April 13, 1723. A similar "Examination" must have been published about the same time in the *Post Boy*, and the two are plainly referred to in the Swordbearer's song, given by Anderson in the Constitutions, 1738, p. 212.

"The *mighty* SECRET's gain'd, they boast,
From *Post-Boy* and from *Flying-Boy*" [*Post f*].

3329,[1] "The Grand Mystery of Freemasons Discovered," [2] and "A Mason's Confession," [3]—I shall print in the Appendix, where the leading references to all the so-called "Exposures" of a similar kind will be found collected. The Constitutions of 1723, the Catechisms last referred to, the Briscoe MS.,[4] and Additional MS. 23,202,[5] constitute the stock of evidence, upon which alone we can formulate our conclusions. The first and last of these authorities are all that I can attempt to examine with any minuteness in this chapter, but the remainder can be studied at leisure by those of my readers who are interested in this branch of research. They will experience, however, two great difficulties, one to reconcile their discrepancies, the other, to approximate at all closely the period at which they were compiled. Without, therefore, concerning myself any further than may be absolutely necessary with the evidence of manuscripts of uncertain date, I shall endeavour to show what may be positively determined from those sources of authority upon which we may confidently rely. The Constitutions of 1723 inform us that the brethren of that period were divided into three classes—Apprentices, Fellow Crafts, and Masters.

The intrant, at his admission, became an apprentice[6] and brother, "then a fellow craft in due time," and if properly qualified, might "arrive to the honour of being the Warden, and then the Master of the Lodge."[7] "The third degree," says Lyon, "could hardly have been present to the mind of Dr Anderson, when in 1723 he superintended the printing of his 'Book of Constitutions,' for it is therein stated[8] that the 'Key of a Fellow Craft,' is that by which the secrets communicated in the Ancient Lodges could be unravelled."[9]

[1] *Ante*, pp. 279, 317. In the opinion of Mr E. A. Bond, this MS. dates from the *beginning* of the eighteenth century; but according to Woodford, "though the character of the handwriting is probably not earlier than 1710, the matter is of a much earlier date," which he fixes—on the authority of the late Mr Wallbran—at not later than 1640. On the other hand commentators are not wanting, who dispute the correctness of any estimate which places the age of the MS. *before* 1717, and consider that as Sir Hans Sloane only died in 1753, folio 142 of the volume numbered 3329 in the collection bearing his name, might very possibly have been written upon, after 1717. The *coryphæus* of this school, Mr W. P. Buchan, attacked the *alleged* antiquity of the manuscript, in a series of articles, which will repay perusal (*Cf.* Freemason, vol. iv., 1871, p. 600; and Freemasons' Chronicle, vol. ii., 1875, p. 132). My own opinion, in a question of handwriting, I should express with diffidence, were it not confirmed by that of an expert in manuscript literature—Mr W. H. Rylands—in whose company I examined the document. The conclusion to which I am led is, that the manuscript was written not earlier than 1707, or later than 1720.

[2] "London: Printed for T. Payne, near Stationers'-Hall, 1724 (Price Six Pence)." A second edition, which I have not seen, containing an account of the Gormogons, was published October 28, 1724 (Daily Journal, No. 1177).

[3] Scots Magazine, vol. xvii., 1755, pp. 133-137. Of this Catechism—to which the date of 1727 has been *assigned*—Mr Yarker, who apparently possesses a MS. copy, observes, "a comparison with the Rev. Bro. Woodford's Sloane MS. 3329, is most interesting, as they confirm each other" (*Cf.* Freemasons' Chronicle, vol. i., 1875, pp. 359, 374). The resemblance is certainly great. To give one example, "Danty tassley," of which the use, as a jewel of the Lodge, is incomprehensible in the Sloane MS., reads "Dinted Ashlar" in the printed Catechism.

[4] Chap. II., pp. 75, 76.

[5] See *post*, narrative of the Proceedings of Grand Lodge—under the year 1725.

[6] The term "Enter'd Prentice" (or *Apprentice*) only occurs twice in the first "Book of Constitutions" (*ante*, pp. 268, 293, note 4).

[7] The Charges of a Freemason, No. IV. (Constitutions, 1723). The same charge (IV.) in the Constitutions of 1738, reads, that a "perfect youth . . . may become an Enter'd Prentice, or a Free-Mason of the lowest degree, and upon his due Improvements a Fellow-Craft and a Master-Mason." No such words appear in the Charges as printed in 1723, and if at that time the distinction of the three degrees had been as well defined as in 1738, it is only reasonable to suppose that Anderson would have used the same language in the first edition of his work.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[9] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 211.

We are also told that "the most expert of the Fellow Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed *the Master*, or Overseer of the Lord's Work, who is to be called Master by those that work under him."[1]

The references to the *status* of a Fellow Craft are equally unambiguous in the General Regulations,[2] one of which directs that when *private* wardens—*i.e.*, wardens of private Lodges — are required to act as the Grand Wardens, their places "*are to* [not *may*] be supply'd by two Fellow-Craft of the same Lodge" (XV.). Another (XXXVII.), that "the Grand Master shall allow *any Brother*, Fellow Craft, or Apprentice, to Speak."

Also, in "the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge," the expression occurs—"The Candidates, or the new Master and Wardens, *being yet among the Fellow Craft;*[3] and a little lower down we read, "the Candidate," having signified his submission to the charges of a Master, "the Grand Master shall, by certain significant Ceremonies and ancient Usages, install him." It is in the highest degree improbable—not to say impossible—that any *secrets* were communicated on such an occasion.[4]

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, and indeed considerably later,[5] it was a common practice in lodges to elect their officers quarterly; and, apart from the fact that the minutes of such lodges are silent on this point, it is hardly conceivable that a three months' tenure of office was preceded by a secret reception. But there is stronger evidence still to negative any such conclusion, for it was not until 1811[6] that the Masters, even of London lodges —under the Grand Lodge, whose procedure we are considering—were installed as "Rulers of the Craft" in the manner with which many readers of these pages will be familiar.

We find, therefore, that the Freemasons of England, at the period under examination, were classified by the Constitutions of the Society under *three* titles, though apparently not more than *two* degrees[7] were then *recognised* by the governing body. On this point, however, the language of the General Regulations, *in one place*,[8] is not free from obscurity. Apprentices were only to be made "*Masters* and *Fellow-Craft*" *in* Grand Lodge, and the expression may be construed in no less than three different ways. It has usually been held to point to what is now the third degree in Masonry, which I deem to be incorrect, not that I am arguing against the existence in 1723 of a "Master's Part," though, I believe, *unrecognised* at that time as a degree—for were I to do so I should presently be confuted out of my own mouth—but because it would be repugnant to common sense, to believe in an interpretation of *one* out of *thirty-nine* Regulations, which would be wholly at variance with the context of the remainder.[9]

[1] The Charges of a Freemason, No. V. (Constitutions, 1723).

[2] XIII., XV., XVIII., XXV., XXXVII.

[3] Constitutions, 1723, postscript.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 239, 242.

[5] June 25, 1741 [the previous election having taken place on March 26].—"This being election Night, brother Barnshaw, the Senior Warden, was declared Master. Br. Ray was declared Sen. Warden, and Br. Andrews was ballotted for Jun. Warden" (Minutes of No. 163, 1729-39, now extinct). "December 15, 1757 .·.—Being Election Night, Bro. Glazier Recd. the honours of the Chair as Masr. for the Ensuing Quart." (Minutes of the George Lodge, *now* Friendship, No. 6). Quarterly elections took place in the Imperial George Lodge, *now* No. 78, so late as 1761.

[6] Minutes, Lodge of Promulgation, February 4, 1811.

[7] A degree or grade is, as the word implies, a single step; but I shall distinguish the former from the latter by using *degree* in its present Masonic sense, as representing a rank secretly conferred.

[8] "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only here [*i.e.*, in the Grand Lodge] unless by a Dispensation" (Constitutions, 1723, Reg. XIII. *Cf. ante*, p. 282, note 6; and *post*, p. 382).

E.g., that of Regulation XXXVII., directing that the Grand Master "shall allow any *Brother*, Fellow Craft, *or*

Lastly, how can we reconcile Dr Anderson's allusion to "the key of a Fellow Craft" with the possibility of there then being a higher or superior degree? There remain, then, two solutions of the difficulty. The "Masters" mentioned in Clause XIII. may have been Masters of Lodges, or the term may have crept in through the carelessness of Dr Anderson. It must be recollected that the General Regulations are of very uncertain date.[1] The proviso in question *may* have appeared in the code originally drawn up by George Payne in 1720, or, on the other hand, it may have formed one of the additions made by Anderson between September 29, 1721, and March 25, 1722.[2] If the earlier date be accepted, by "Masters" we may—with less improbability—understand "Masters of Lodges," and the clause or article (XIII.) would then be in agreement with its fellows.

But let us examine the language of the Regulation a little more closely. "Apprentices," it says, "must be *admitted* Masters and Fellow Craft"—not Fellow Craft and Masters—"only here." Now, in the first place, apprentices were not eligible for the chair; and in every other instance where their preferment is mentioned, they are taken from step to step by regular gradations.[3] But if we get over this objection, another presents itself. Neither an apprentice or a Fellow Craft would be *admitted*, but would be *installed*, a Master of a Lodge. Next, let us scan the wording of the resolution which repealed the Regulation in question. The officers of Lodges are empowered to "make Masters at their discretion." That this licence enabled them to confer the rank of Master of a Lodge *ad libitum* is a downright impossibility.

As regards the alternative solution, I have expressed my belief that Anderson only joined the *English* craft in 1721;[4] but whatever the period may have been, his opportunities of grafting the nomenclature of one Masonic system upon that of another only commenced in the latter part of that year, and lasted for barely six months, as his manuscript Constitutions were ordered to be printed March 25, 1722. He was therefore debarred from borrowing as largely as he must have wished—judging from his fuller work of 1738—from the operative phraseology of the Northern Kingdom; and it is quite possible that, subject to some trifling alterations, the first edition of the Constitutions was compiled between September 29 and December 27, 1721, as his "manuscript" was ready for examination on the latter of these dates.[5] If, then, any further explanation is sought of the two titles which appear, so to speak, in juxtaposition in Regulation XIII., it would seem most reasonable to look for it in the Masonic records of that country, to which—so placed—they were indigenous. At Aberdeen, in 1670, Fellow Craft and Master Mason were used as convertible terms,[6] and the same may be said of other Scottish towns in which there were "Mason lodges."[7] Anderson appears to have been a native of Aberdeen,[8] but whether or not this was actually the case, he was certainly a Scotsman, and the inference is irresistible that to him was due the introduction of so many Scottish words into the Masonic vocabulary of the South.[9]

Apprentice to speak." This clearly means, that within the scope of the Regulation, *all* brethren were permitted to express their views in the Grand Lodge—a privilege which the Masters and Wardens of Lodges would therefore derive, not alone from the *offices* they held, but also from the *degree* of Fellow Craft to which they had been admitted.

[1] *Ante*, p. 282, note 6.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 283, 288.

[3] See The Charges of a Free-Mason, No. IV., "of Masters, Wardens, Fellows, and Apprentices" (Constitutions, 1723); and compare with the resolution passed November 27, 1725 (*post*, p. 382).

[4] *Ante*, p. 284, note 1.

[5] *Ante*, p. 283.

[6] Chap. VIII., p. 435.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 407, 408.

[8] *Ante*, pp. 293, 355.

[9] *Ante*, pp. 317, 333.

It may be taken, I think, that a third degree was not *recognised* as a part of the Masonic system up to the date of publication of the "Book of Constitutions" in January 1723. Mackey says: "The division of the Masonic system into three degrees must have grown up between 1717 and 1730, but in so gradual and imperceptible a manner, that we are unable to fix the precise date of the introduction of each degree."[1] In this view I concur, with the reservation that there is no evidence from which we can arrive at any certainty with regard to the *exact* dates, either of the commencement or the close of the epoch of transition;[2] and I also agree with the same writer, that the second and third degrees were not perfected for many years. As a matter of fact, we are only made acquainted with the circumstance that there were degrees in Masonry, by a publication of 1723,[3] from which, together with the scanty evidence yet brought to light of slightly later date, we can alone determine with precision that a system of two degrees was well established in 1723, and that a *third* ceremony, which eventually developed into a degree,[4] had come into use in 1724. Modifications continued to be made however, for some time—at least such is my reading of the evidence,[5]—and there is no absolute proof that these evolutionary changes were not in operation until about 1728-29.

That a third, or additional, ceremony was worked in 1724, there is evidence to show, for three persons were "Regularly pass'd Masters" in a London Lodge, *before* February 18, 1725, and it is unreasonable to suppose that this was the first example of the kind.[6] Here we meet with the word *pass*, and it is curious to learn from the same source of authority, that before the Society was founded (February 18, 1725), the minutes of which it records, "a Lodge was held, consisting of *Masters* sufficient for that purpose, In order to *pass* Charles Cotton, Esq., Mr Papitton Ball, and Mr Thomas Marshall, Fellow Crafts."[7] It might be argued from these expressions, that Master, even then, was merely another name for Fellow Craft, or why should a lodge be formed, consisting of brethren of the higher title, to pass a candidate for the lower? But some entries in the same records, of a few months' later date, draw a clearer distinction between the two degrees. These, indeed, are not quite free from ambiguity, if taken alone, but all doubt as to their meaning is dispelled, by collating them with an earlier portion of the same manuscript.

The minutes of May 12, 1725, inform us, that two persons were "regularly passed Masters,"—one "passed Fellow Craft and Master," and another "passed Fellow Craft" only. Happily the names are given, and as Charles Cotton and Papitton Ball were the two who were "passed Masters," it is evident that, in the "Master's Part," something further must have been communicated to them than had been already imparted. It is doubtful if the "Part" in question had at that time assumed the form and dimensions of a degree. In all probability this happened later, and indeed the way may only have been paved for it at the close of the same year, by the removal of the restriction, which, as we have seen, did not

[1] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* Degrees.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 258, 259.

[3] The Book of Constitutions.

[4] By this I mean that the exact period of its recognition by the Grand Lodge as a part of its Masonic system, which could alone bring it within the category of degrees, cannot be positively settled.

[5] It is impossible to discuss the ἀπόρρητα of Freemasonry with the same freedom as one would the technicalities of a right of way in a law court. Any one doing so would appear in the eyes of his brother Masons like a man walking into the Mosque of Omar *with his shoes on*.

[6] Addl. MS., 23,202.

[7] *Ibid.*

altogether prevent private Lodges, from infringing upon what ought at least to have been considered the especial province of the Grand Lodge.

It is barely possible that the "Master's Part" was incorporated with those of the Apprentice and Fellow Craft,[1] and became, in the parlance of Grand Lodge, *a degree* on November 27, 1725. By a new Regulation of that date—which is given in full under its proper year [2]—the members of private lodges were empowered to "make Masters at discretion." This, Dr Anderson expands into "Masters *and Fellows*," [3] the terms being apparently regarded by him as possessing the same meaning. But it seems to me that there is too much ambiguity in the order of Grand Lodge, to warrant our founding upon it any definite conclusion. The Constitutions of 1738 help us very little. Still we must do our best to understand what Anderson means in one book, by comparing the passages we fail to comprehend, with his utterances on the same points in a later publication.

In general terms, it may be said that "Master-Mason" is for the most part substituted for "Fellow Craft" in the second edition of the Constitutions.[4] There is, however, one notable exception. In "The Manner of Constituting a Lodge," as printed in 1738, the "New Master and Wardens" are taken, as before, from the Fellow Crafts, but the Master, "in chusing his Wardens," was to call "forth two Fellow-Crafts (Master-Masons)." With this should be contrasted an explanation by Anderson in the body of his work, that the old term "Master Mason" represented in 1738 the Master of a Lodge.[5]

It is probable that Regulation XIII., of the code of 1723, was a survival or an imitation of the old operative custom, under which the apprentice, at a certain period, was declared free of the craft, and "admitted or accepted into the fellowship," [6] at a general meeting.

On taking up his freedom, the English apprentice became a "fellow" and master in his trade. This usage must have prevailed from very ancient times. Gibbon observes: "The use of academical degrees, as old as the thirteenth century, is visibly borrowed from the mechanic corporations; in which an apprentice, after serving his time, obtains a testimonial of his skill, and a licence to practise his trade and mystery." [7]

So long as the governing body refrained from warranting lodges in the country, there could have been no particular hardship in requiring newly-made brethren to be passed or admitted "Fellows" in Grand Lodge. In 1724, however, no less than nine provincial lodges were constituted, and it must have become necessary, if for no other reason, to modify in part a series of regulations, drafted, in the first instance, to meet the wants of the Masons of the metropolis.

It is unlikely that the number of "Fellow Crafts"—as we must call them from 1723—was

[1] The three chapters into which "Masonry Dissected" (1730) is divided, are headed "Enter'd Prentice's, Fellow Craft's," and "the Master's" Degrees respectively; whilst, after each of the three catechisms, we find in the same way, "The End of the Enter'd Prentice's," "of the Fellow Craft's," and "of the Master's Parts." This mode of describing the three degrees continued in vogue for many years. *Cf. post*, p. 368, note 3.

[2] *Post*, p. 382, *q.v.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Old* and *New* Regulations, Nos. XIII., XV., XVIII., XXV., XXXVII.

[5] *Ante*, p. 280; Constitutions, 1738, p. 109. [6] *Ante*, p. 263, note 2.

[7] Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, edit. by Lord Sheffield, vol. i., p. 49. *Cf. ante*, p. 328, note 3. The German Guilds succeeded in getting a decree in 1821, that no one could be a Master in the building trades except he passed an examination. This seems to have been repealed at some time, for in 1882 the Union of Master Builders—numbering 4200 members—petitioned the German Government for a re-introduction of the test examination for Masters (*Globe*, Sept. 13, 1882).

very large, that is to say, in November 1725, the date when the law relating to the advancement of apprentices was repealed. Out of twenty-seven lodges in the London district, which are shown by the Engraved List of 1729 to have been constituted up to the end of 1724, only eleven were in existence in 1723, when the restriction was imposed.[1] Sixteen lodges, therefore —and doubtless many others, if we could trace them—besides the nine country ones, must have been comparatively unfamiliar with the ceremonial of the second degree; and it becomes, indeed, rather a matter of surprise how in each case the Master and Wardens could have qualified as Fellow Crafts.

Some confusion must, I think, have been engendered at this time by the promiscuous use of the term "Master," which was alike employed to describe a Fellow Craft and a Master of a Lodge, and also gave its name—"Master's Part"—to a ceremony then growing very fashionable. It is probable that about this period the existing degrees were remodelled, and the titles of Fellow Craft and Master disjoined—the latter becoming the degree of Master Mason, and the former virtually denoting a new *degree*, though its essentials were merely composed of a severed portion of the ceremonial hitherto observed at the entry of an apprentice.

These alterations—if I am right in my supposition—were not effected in a day. Indeed, it is possible that a taste for "meddling with the ritual," having been acquired, lasted longer than has been commonly supposed; and the "variations made in the established forms,"[2] which was one of the articles in the heavy indictment drawn up by the Seceding against the Regular Masons, may have been but a further manifestation of the passion for innovation which was evinced by the Grand Lodge of England during the first decade of its existence.

The *Flying Post* from April 11 to April 13, 1723,[3] introduces us to a picture of the Freemasonry at that period, which, corroborated from similar sources, as well as by the "Book of Constitutions," amply warrant the belief that at that date, and for some time preceding it, Apprentice, Fellow, and Master were well established titles—though whether the two latter were distinct or convertible terms, may afford matter for argument[4]—that there was a "Master's Part,"[5] also that there were signs and tokens, and points of fellowship. I cite the printed catechism of 1723, because its date is assured, and the question we have next to consider is, how far can the reading it presents be carried back? Here the method of textual criticism, of which an outline has been given in an earlier chapter, might yield good results; but I must leave this point, like, alas, so many others, to the determination

[1] Dates of Constitution are not given in the earlier lists of 1723 and 1725.

[2] See *post*, p. 398; and the Memoir of William Preston in Chap. XVIII.

[3] *Ante*, p. 356. Isaac Taylor observes: "Facts remote from our personal observation may be as certainly proved by evidence that is fallible *in its kind*, as by that which is not open to the possibility of error;" and he goes on to explain (the italics throughout being his) that "by *certain* proof is here meant, not merely such as may be presented to the senses, or such as cannot be rendered obscure even for a moment by a perverse disputant;—but such as, when once understood, *leaves no room for doubt in a sound mind*" (History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 179).

[4] An expression in Sloane MS. 3329—"the mast[rs]. *or* fellow's grip," would suggest that they were synonymous. This view is borne out by the other catechisms, but compare *ante*, Chap. II., p. 99, lines 5, 6.

[5] "A Fellow I was sworn most rare,
And know the Astler, Diamond, and Squarc:
I know the *Master's Part* full well,
As honest Maughbin will you tell" (Mason's Examination, 1723).

of that class of readers, fitted by nature and inclination to follow up all such promising lines of inquiry.

It will suffice for my purpose to assume, that the catechism of 1723 contains a reading which is several years older than the printed copy; or, in other words, that the customs it attests must have reached back to a more remote date. What that date was, I shall not pretend to decide, but we must carefully bear in mind that its whole tenor betrays an *operative*[1] origin, and therefore, if composed or manufactured between 1717 and 1723, its fabricators must not be sought for among the *speculatives* of that period; but, on the contrary, it will become essential to believe that this obsolete catechism—including the metrical dialogue, which, of itself, is suggestive of antiquity—was compiled a few years at most, before its publication in the *Flying Post*, by one or more operative Masons!

The circumstances of the case—at least in my judgment—will not admit of such a modern date being assigned to the text of this catechism. I am of opinion that, conjointly with the other evidence—and the undoubted fact of the "examination" in question having been actually printed in 1723, invests Sloane MS. 3329 with a reflected authority that dissipates many difficulties arising out of the comparative uncertainty of its date—the extract from the *Flying Post* settles many important points with regard to which much difference of opinion has hitherto existed. First of all, it lends colour to the statement in the "Praise of Drunkenness,"[2] that Masonic catechisms, available to all readers, had already made their appearance in 1721 or 1722.[3] Next it establishes that there were then two degrees[4]—those of Apprentice and Fellow or Master, the latter being only honorary distinctions proper to one and the same degree. It also suggests that in England, under the purely operative *regime*, the apprentice was not a member of the lodge, and that he only became so, and also a *Freemason*,[5] on his admission—after a prescribed period of servitude—to the degree of Fellow or Master.

It is impossible to define the period of time during which these characteristics of a Masonic system endured. Two obligations, and not one only, as in the Sloane MS. and the Old Charges, are plainly to be inferred;[6] and as the latter are undoubtedly the most ancient records we possess, to the extent that the "Mason's Examination" is at variance with these documents, it must be pronounced the evolutionary product of an "epoch of transition," beginning at some unknown date, and drawing to a close about 1724. Upon the whole, if we

[1] According to Seward, "John Evelyn, at the time of his death, had made collections for a very great and a very useful work, which was intended to be called 'A General History of all Trades'" (Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, 4th edit., vol. iii., p. 219). It is probable that this would have told us more about the working Masons than we are now ever likely to know.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. XIII., p. 128. [3] See the letter written to the *Flying Post*, enclosing the "Examination."

[4] According to Stock, the Smiths had two separate degrees for the journeymen—first, *junger*, then *gesell*. The latter they could only obtain after their travels (Grundzüge der Verfassung, p. 29). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. III., p. 152; and XIV., p. 201.

[5] *Ante*, pp. 151, 263, 304, 306. The parallel drawn at p. 213 (*ibid.*) between the readings of MSS. Nos. 3 and 23, may induce some readers to examine the subject more minutely. The "Trew Mason" in the older document gives place, as I have shown, to that of "Freemason" in the later one. See, however, *ibid.*, p. 159.

[6] According to the "Mason's Confession," to which the year 1727 has been very arbitrarily assigned, though only written in 1751, and not printed until 1755, the apprentice took an oath at entry, and a year afterwards, "when admitted a degree higher," swore the oath again, or declared his approval of it (Scots Magazine, vol. xvii., 1755, p. 133). *Cf. ante*, pp. 6, 165, 183, 240, 271, 317; and Chap. II., p. 100.

pass over the circumstance that there were two forms of reception in vogue about 1723, and for a period of time before that year, which can only be the subject of conjecture, as there are no solid proofs to rest on, the evidence just passed in review is strikingly in accord with the inferences deducible from Steele's essay in the *Tatler*, from the wording of Harleian MS. 2054, from Dr Plot's account of the Society, and from the diary of John Aubrey.

In the first of these references, we are told of "Signs and Tokens like Freemasons;"[1] in the second, of the "Seurall Words & Signes of a Freemason;"[2] in the third, of "Secret Signes;"[3] and in the last, of "Signes and Watch-words," also that "the manner of Adoption is very formall, and with an Oath of Secrecy."[4]

There is therefore nothing to induce the supposition, that the secrets of Freemasonry, as disclosed to Elias Ashmole in 1646—in aught but the manner of imparting them—differed materially, if at all, from those which passed into the guardianship of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717.[5] In all cases, I think, up to about the year 1724, and possibly later, there was a marked simplicity of ceremonial, as contrasted with the procedure of a subsequent date. Ashmole and Randle Holme, like the brethren of York, were in all probability "sworn and admitted,"[6] whilst the "manner of Adoption"—to quote the words of John Aubrey—was doubtless "very formall" in all three cases, and quite as elaborate as any ceremony known in Masonry, before the introduction of a *third* degree.

To those, indeed, who are apt to fancy that a chain is broken, because they cannot see every one of its links, it may be replied,—that facts remote from our personal knowledge are not necessarily more or less certain, in proportion to the length of time that has elapsed since they took place. Also, that the strength of evidence is not proportioned to its simplicity or perspicuity, or to the ease with which it may be apprehended by all persons.[7] The strength of our convictions, in matters of fact remote in time or place, must bear proportion to the extent and exactness of our knowledge, and to the consequent fulness and vividness of our ideas of that class of objects to which the question relates.[8]

By a clear perception of our literate, symbolical, and oral traditions,[9] and by an extensive acquaintance with the printed and manuscript literature of the Craft, the imagination of the student bears him back to distant times, with a reasonable consciousness of the reality of what is unfolded to his view.

Comparatively few persons, however, possess either the time, the opportunities, or the inclination, which are requisite for the prosecution of this study, and therefore the conclusions of Masonic "experts," so far as they harmonise with one another, must be taken in most cases—as in so many other departments of knowledge—by the generality of readers, on faith.[10] How far my own will stand this ordeal the future must decide, but I can at least assure all those under whose eyes these pages may chance to pass, that no portion of my task has

[1] *Ante*, p. 276. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 183. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 164. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[5] It will be seen as we proceed, that the existence of *regular* Masons in 1691, *i.e.*, of brethren initiated according to the practice of Grand Lodge, was admitted by that body in 1732.

[6] *Ante*, pp. 271-274. See also the later entries from the York records, in Chapter XVIII., particularly the Laws of the Grand Lodge there, in 1725, and the Minutes of 1729. *Degrees* appear to have made their way very slowly into the York Masonic system.

[7] Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 193.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 195. [9] *Cf. ante*, p. 232. [10] *Cf. ante*, Chap. I., p. 2, note 1.

imposed a heavier labour upon me, than those in which I have attempted a comparison between Scottish and English Masonry, and have sought to remove the veil from the obscure question of degrees.

There is no *proof* that more than a single degree, by which I mean a secret form of reception, was known to the Freemasons of the seventeenth century. Ashmole was "made a Freemason," according to his diary, in 1646,[1] and he speaks of six gentlemen having been "admitted into the *Fellowship* of Free Masons" in 1682, also of being on that occasion "the Senior *Fellow* among them," it having been "35 years since he was *admitted*."[2] Randle Holme's statement is less precise,[3] but from the entry in Harleian MS. 2054, relating to William Wade,[4] it is unlikely that the Chester ceremonial differed from that of Warrington.

It may well have been, however, that the practice in lodges, consisting exclusively of Operative Masons, was dissimilar, but as the solution of this problem cannot be effected by inference and conjecture, I shall content myself, having spread out the evidence before my readers, with leaving them to draw their own conclusions with regard to a point which there is at present no possibility of determining.

I am inclined to believe, that when the *second* degree became the *third*, the ceremonial was re-arranged, and the traditionary history enlarged. This view will be borne out by a collation of Dr Anderson's two editions of the Constitutions. In both, the splendour of the Temple of Solomon is much extolled, but a number of details with regard to the manner of its erection are given in 1738, which we do not meet with in the work of 1723. Thus we learn that after "the *Cape-stone* was celebrated by the *Fraternity* .·. their joy was soon interrupted by the sudden Death of their dear Master, HIRAM ABBIFF, whom they decently interr'd in the *Lodge* near the *Temple*, according to antient Usage."[5]

When the legend of Hiram's death was first incorporated with our older traditions, it is not easy to decide, but in my judgment it must have taken place between 1723 and 1729, and I should be inclined to name 1725 as the most likely year for its introduction to have taken place.

For reasons already expressed,[6] I conceive the prominence of Hiram in our traditionary history or legends, in 1723, or earlier, to be wholly inconsistent with the silence of the Old Charges, the various catechisms, and the first "Book of Constitutions," on a point of so much importance.[7] In some of these he is, indeed, mentioned, but always as a subordinate figure,

[1] Chap. XIV., p. 140. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 143. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 181. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[5] Constitutions, 1738, p. 14. The italics and capitals are Dr Anderson's. As Hiram was certainly alive at the completion of the Temple (2 Chron. iv. 11) it has been contended, that the above allusion in the Constitutions is not to him, but to Adoniram (or Adoram), a tax receiver under David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, who was stoned to death by the people (1 Kings xii. 18). According to J. L. Laurens, the death of *Hiram* is mentioned in the Talmud (Essais sur la Franche Maçonnerie, 2d edit., 1806, p. 102); whilst for an account of the murder of *Adonhiram*, C. C. F. W. von Nettlebladt refers us to what is probably the same source of authority, viz., the "Gemara of the Jews, a commentary on the Mischna or Talmud" (Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, 1879—written *circa* 1826—p. 746). Both statements can hardly be true, but in default of information which I hoped to have received, I can throw light on neither. *Cf.* Mackey, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Hiram and Adonhiram.

[6] *Ante*, p. 243.

[7] It is also impossible to reconcile it with the traditionary belief that the Society had its origin in the time of Henry III. (*ante*, pp. 6, 17, 219).

and I am aware of no evidence to justify a belief, that the circumstances of his decease, as narrated by Anderson, were in any shape or form, a tradition of the Craft, before the year 1723. Had they been, we should not, I think, have had occasion to complain that what I may almost venture to term, though not in strict propriety, the apotheosis of Hiram, has not been advanced by a due gradation of preparatory incidents. The legendary characters who live in our written, and speak through our oral, traditions, are in a certain sense our companions. We take more kindly to them, if, occasionally looking behind, we are prepared for their approach, or looking onwards espy them on the road before us. As a learned writer has observed, "it is not well for the personages of the historical drama to rise on the stage through the trap-doors. They should first appear entering in between the side scenes. Their play will be better understood then. We are puzzled when a king, or count, suddenly lands upon our historical ground, like a collier winched up through a shaft." [1]

We are told by Fort, that "the traditions of the Northern Deity, Baldur, seemingly furnished the substantial foundation for the introduction of the legend of Hiram." [2]

Baldur, who is the lord of light, is slain by the wintry sun, and the incidents of the myth show that it cannot have been developed in the countries of northern Europe. "It may be rash," says Sir George Cox, "to assign them dogmatically to central Asia, but indubitably they sprung up in a country where the winter is of very short duration." [3]

Other conceptions of the myth show that in the earliest times, the year had fallen into *halves*. Summer and Winter were at war with one another, exactly like Day and Night. Day and Summer gladden, as Night and Winter vex the world. Valiant Summer is found, fetched, and wakened from his sleep. Vanquished Winter is rolled in the dust, thrown into chains, beaten with staves, blinded, and banished. In some parts Death has stept into Winter's place; we might say, because in winter nature slumbers and seems dead.[4]

Usually a *puppet*, a figure of *straw* or *wood*, was carried about, and thrown into *water*, into a *bog*, or else *burnt*. If the figure was female, it was carried by a boy; if male, by a girl.[5]

Much more remarkable is the Italian and Spanish custom of tying together at Mid Lent, on the Dominica Lætare, a puppet to represent the *oldest woman* in the village, which is carried out by the people, especially children, and *sawn through the middle*. This is called *Segare la Vecchia*.[6]

The same custom is found among the South Slavs. In Lent time the Croats tell their children, that at the hour of noon *an old woman* is *sawn in pieces*, outside the gates. In Carniola it is at Mid Lent again, that the old wife is led out of the village and sawn through

[1] Palgrave, History of Normandy and of England, vol. i., p. 351.

[2] Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 407.

[3] The Mythology of the Aryan Nations, 1882, p. 336. Bunsen observes, "the tragedy of the Solar Year, of the murdered and risen God, is familiar to us from the days of ancient Egypt; must it not be of equally primeval origin here?" (*i.e.*, in Teutonic tradition—Baron Bunsen, God in History, 1868-70, vol. ii., p. 458).

[4] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. ii., 1883, pp. 762, 766, 767. *Cf.* Brand, Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, 1870, vol. i., pp. 120, 143; and *ante*, p. 224, *et seq.*

[5] "The Indian Kâlî, on the 7th day after the March new-moon, was solemnly carried about, and then thrown into the Ganges. On May 13, the Roman Vestals bore *puppets, plaited of rushes*, to the Pons Sublicius, and then dropt them in the Tiber" (Grimm, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 773; Ov. Fast., v. 620).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 781. The day for carrying Death out was the quarta dominica quadragesimæ, *i.e.*, Lætare Sunday or Mid Lent.

the middle.[1] Now, the sawing and burning of the old wife—as of the devil[2]—seems identical with the carrying out and drowning of Death (or Winter). The Scottish Highlanders throw the "Auld Wife" into the fire at Christmas.[3]

Of the Hiramic legend—which is purely allegorical—it has been said, that it will bear a two-fold interpretation, cosmological and astronomical. Into this I shall not enter, but for the sake of those who wish to canvass the subject, I indicate below[4] some leading references that will facilitate their inquiry.

For many reasons, I am disposed to link the introduction of the legend in question, with the creation of a third degree. At the time this occurred—assuming I am right in my supposition that a degree was so added—the number of fellow-crafts could not have been very large, and consequently there must have been fewer prejudices to conciliate,[5] than would have been the case at a later date. Indeed, it is quite probable, that very much in the same manner as the Royal Arch made its way into favour, under the title of a *fourth* degree, when taken up by the officers of Grand Lodge,[6] so the amplified ceremonial of 1725, under the name of a *third* degree, was readily accepted—or perhaps it will be safer to say, was not demurred to—by brethren of that era, under similar auspices.

The progress of the degree is to a great extent veiled in obscurity, and the by-laws of a *London* Lodge of about 1730-31,[7] can be read, either as indicating that the system of two degrees had not gone out of date, or that the Apprentice was "entered" in the *old way*, which made him a fellow craft under the *new* practice, and therefore eligible for the "Superiour" or third degree. But some entries in the minutes of a *Country* Lodge, on the occasion of its being constituted as a *regular* Lodge—May 18, 1733—are even more difficult to interpret, though the particulars they afford, are as diffuse as those in the previous instance are the contrary. The presence is recorded, besides that of the Master and Wardens, of three fellow

[1] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. ii., 1883, p. 782.

[2] "In Appenzell the country children still have a game of *rubbing* a rope against a stick *till it catches fire*. This they call 'de tüfel häle,' unmanning the devil, despoiling him of his strength" (*Ibid.*, p. 600).

[3] Stewart, Popular Superstitions, p. 236.

[4] Lyon observes, "the fact that this step abounds with archaisms, is also pointed to as a proof of its antiquity. But it is no breach of charity to suppose that its fabricators knew their mission too well to frame the ritual in language that would point to its modern origin; hence the antique garb in which it is marked" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 211); and see further, Oliver, Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, vol. ii., p. 151; Masonic Treasury, lectures xlv., xlvi.; W. Sandys, A Short View of the History of Freemasonry, 1829, pp. 14, 15; Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxv.; Constitutions, 1738, p. 216, *et seq.*; and Gustave Schlegel, Thian ti hwui; The Hung League, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India, Batavia, 1866, p. xxxii.

[5] See, however, the account of the Gormogons, *post*, p. 377. The Operative Masons at about this date, showed themselves to be extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs under the Speculative *regime*. It is possible that the objections to "alterations in the established forms," had their origin in 1724-25, and subsequently lapsed into a tradition?

[6] *I.e.*, the *Regular* or *Constitutional* Grand Lodge, established in 1717.

[7] 3d By-Law of Lodge No. 71, held at the Bricklayers' Arms, in the Barbican.—"That no Person shall be Initiated as a Mason in this Lodge, without the Unanimous consent of all then present, & for the better Regulation of this, 'tis Order'd that all Persons proposed be Ballotted for, & if one Negative appear, then the said Person to be Refused, but if all Affirmatives the Person to pay two Pounds seven Shillings at his Making, & receive Double Cloathing, Also when this Lodge shall think Convenient, to confer the Superiour Degree, of masonry upon him, he shall pay five Shillings more; & 'tis further Order'd that if any Regular & worthy Brother, desires to be a Member of this Lodge, the same Order shall be observed as to the Ballot, & he shall pay half a Guinea at his Entrance & receive single Cloathing" (Rawlinson MSS., C. 126, p. 205).

crafts, six Masters, and four "Pass'd Masters."[1] The distinction here drawn between the two sets of Masters, it is by no means easy to explain, but it appears to point to an epoch of confusion, when the old names had not yet been succeeded by the new, at least in the country Lodges. The first meeting of this Lodge, of which a record is preserved, took place, December 28, 1732. Present, the Master and Wardens, and seven "members." No other titles are used. Among the "members" were George Rainsford and Johnson Robinson, the former of whom is described as "Master," and the latter as "Pass'd Master," in the minutes of May 18, 1733. It is possible, to put it no higher, that these distinctive terms were employed because some of the members had graduated under the Grand Lodge system, whilst others had been "admitted" or "passed" to their degrees, according to the more homely usage which preceded it.[2] The degree seems, however, to have become fairly well established by 1738, as the Constitutions of that year inform us that there were then eleven Masters' Lodges in the metropolis.[3] These seem to have been at that time, in London—although it may have been different in the country—part and parcel of the Lodges, to which the way they are ordinarily described, would have us to believe that they were merely attached. The use of the term *raise* in lieu of *pass*, had also then crept into use, as may be seen in the note below, though the latter was not entirely superseded by the former, until much later.[4]

The possible influence of the Companionage upon English Freemasonry must be dismissed in a few words, though I shall return to the subject if the dimensions of the Appendix are adequate to the strain which will be put upon it.

It must be freely conceded that our old manuscript Constitutions show evident traces of a Gallic influence, and also that some indications are afforded in the work of a French historian —whose writings command general respect—of a ceremony performed at the reception of a French stoneworker, strongly pointing to a ritual not unlike our own.[5] But the difficulty I experience in recognising in the legend of Hiram the builder, a common feature of the Companionage and the Freemasonry of more early times, is two-fold.

In the case of the former, we may go the length of admitting that there is a strong presumption in favour of the legend having existed in 1717, but, unfortunately, the most material evidence to be adduced in its support—that of Perdiguier, showing that there was a Solomonic or Hiramic legend at all[6]—is more than a century later than the date of the event[7] to

[1] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, 1873, p. 22.

[2] *Cf.* Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884, p. 25; and *ante*, pp. 261, 263 (note 5). According to Woodford, the "Penal" and other "Orders" of the Swalwell Lodge, were written about the year 1725 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, p. 82). But from whatever date it speaks, 1725, 1730, or later, the 8th Penal Order (*Ibid.*, p. 84; *ante*, p. 263, note 5) shows, *that when it was enacted*, either *three* degrees, or the *two* previously known, were worked in an Operative Lodge.

[3] One of these is described by Anderson as, "Black—Posts in Maiden Lane, where there is also a Masters Lodge." This was No. 163 on the General List, constituted Sept. 21, 1737. Its minutes, which commence Feb. 9, 1737, and therefore show the Lodge to have worked by inherent right before accepting a charter, contain the following entries:—Dec. 17, 1738.—"'Twas agreed thatt all Debates and Business shall be between the E.A. and F.C.s Part." Feb. 5, 1740.—The Petition of a brother was rejected, "but unanimously agreed to Raise him a Master gratis." Sept. 2, 1742.—"If a Brother entring is a fellow craft, he shall be oblidge to be raised master in 3 Months, or be fin'd 5s."

[4] A great deal of information respecting "Master Lodges," and the Third Degree generally, will be found collected in Hughan's "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," 1884; Chap. II., *q.v.*

[5] Monteil, Histoire des Français des Divers États, 1853, vol. i., p. 294; *ante*, Chap. IV., p. 191.

[6] Chap. V., pp. 216-219. See, however, p. 240.

[7] *I.e.*, that a similar legend existed in 1717.

which it has been held to refer. In cases of this kind, to adopt the words of Voltaire, the existence of a festival, or of a monument, proves indeed the belief which men entertain, but by no means proves the reality of the occurrence concerning which the belief is held.[1]

Here, indeed, there is not quite so much to rely on, for Perdiguier expressly disclaims his belief in the antiquity of the legend he recounts;[2] but passing this over, and assuming that in 1841 the Companions, as a body, devoutly cherished it as an article of faith, this will by no means justify *us* in regarding it as a matter of conviction.

As to the Freemasons, the legend—according to my view of the evidence—made its appearance too late to be at all traceable to the influence of the Companionage, though with regard to the tradition which renders Charles Martel a patron of our Society, it may be otherwise. Charles Martel is said, by many writers, to have sent Stonemasons to England at the request of certain Anglo-Saxon kings. This he may possibly have done, especially as he lived at a time when the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were in a most flourishing condition.[3] But he certainly was not a great church builder, inasmuch as he secularised a large portion of the Church's property to provide for the sustenance of those troops, whom he was forced to raise to defend the Frankish monarchy against the Saracens and others. For this he was severely punished in the next world, or at least it was so proclaimed at a national council held at Kiersi in 858, where a vision of St Eucharius, Bishop of Orleans, was related, in which he saw Charles Martel in the deepest abyss of hell.[4] Though, indeed, if we concede the possibility of a person being seen in hell, it has been suggested "that Charles Martel would have had a better chance of beholding the holy bishop in that place, since his reverence died three years before him"[5]—but I shall leave the story as an interesting problem for modern psychologists.

Mr Ellis follows Leyden, an author, he says, "of much research and information," in adopting the view of the Abbé Velley, that Charles Martel was an Armorican Chieftain, whose "four sons performed various exploits in the forest of Ardennes against the four sons of *Aymon*."[6] Here we seem to meet with an old acquaintance,[7] and it is unfortunate, to say the least, that the critical Panizzi, whilst styling the three writers "very good authorities," yet goes on to say, "we cannot implicitly rely on the judgment of these gentlemen."[8]

But at whatever period the name of Charles Martel found its way into the Legend of the Craft, there can be no doubt that it reaches back many centuries, and probably to the era of the Plantagenets[9]—1154-1399—when the greater part of France was subject to our sway, including the south, which appears to have been the cradle of the Companionage.

[1] Essai sur les Mœurs, Œuvres, tome xv., p. 109.

[2] Chap. V., p. 241, *et seq.* With this should be read the allusions to Hiram and Adonhiram at p. 217.

[3] With regard to the habit of generalising names, see Panizzi, *op. cit.*, p. 113; and Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, vol. i., p. 297. One single Charles may have been made of *Charles* Martel, *Charles* the Great, *Charles* the Bald, *Charles* the Fat, and *Charles* the Simple, especially as their surnames were conferred (I believe) in each instance after death.

[4] *Cf.* Chap. II., p. 80.

[5] Antonio Panizzi, Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians, 1830, p. 90.

[6] G. Ellis, Specimens of Early English Romances (Bohn, 1848), p. 344.

[7] Chaps. II., p. 96, § xix.; XV., p. 243.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

[9] The first member of this dynasty, Henry II., possessed, either by marriage or inheritance, besides England, at least one-third of modern France. The name of another member—Henry III.—was given by Dugdale to Aubrey, as

A friendly critic complains of my having "taken no notice of the astonishing irruption of Dutch and German artists,—painters, architects, masons,—also of Italians, from Geneva, Florence, and other cities, not only in the time of Edward III. (1327-1377), but especially from the reign of Henry VI. (1422-1461) and later Henries, which may have greatly influenced the working of the British Masons in practice and theory and tradition."[1] It is also true that great numbers of foreign workmen settled in this country before and during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, bringing with them the trade traditions and usages of the German, Flemish, and Dutch provinces;[2] and Mr Papworth, in the masterly essay to which I have so frequently referred, suggests that these workmen, joining some of the friendly societies they found existing, may have formed the foundations for the lodge-meetings recorded by Ashmole and Plot, or for those of the Four Old Lodges before 1717.[3]

With the exception of France, however, there appears to me no continental source from which it is at all probable that the English Masons borrowed either their customs or their traditions. Had they done so from Germany, our Masonic vocabulary would bear traces of it, and we must not forget how easily German words become incorporated with our language. But it is impossible to find in our ritual, or in the names of the emblems of our art, the slightest symptom of Teutonic influence.[4]

By the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and by the savage persecution which immediately preceded and followed it, France probably lost upwards of a quarter of a million of her most industrious citizens.[5] In consequence, at the early part of the eighteenth century, every considerable town in England, Holland, and Protestant Germany, contained a colony of Frenchmen who had been thus driven from their homes.[6] Now, if at the time of this phenomenal incursion of Frenchmen, the English Masonic customs received a Gallic tinge, is it not reasonable to suppose that the same process would have been at work in other Protestant countries, to say nothing of Ireland, where the influx of these refugees was so great that there were no less than three French congregations established in Dublin?[7]

On the whole, therefore, it seems to me not unreasonable to conclude, that if the English borrowed from the French Masons in any other respect than claiming Charles Martel as their patron, the debt was contracted about the same time that the name of the "Hammer-bearer" first figured in our oral or written traditions.[8]

One of the legendary characters who figures in Masonic history, and may be said to be the most remarkable of them all—Naymus Grecus[9]—deserves a few parting words. The longevity of this worthy mason is tame and insignificant when compared with what is preserved in the literature of India. The most remarkable case is that of a personage who was the first king,

that of the monarch in whose reign a Papal Bull was granted to the wandering Italians, from whom were derived the Freemasons (*ante*, pp. 6, 19, 219).

[1] Mr Wyatt Papworth in the *Builder*, March 3, 1883. [2] *Cf.* Chap. VII., p. 272.

[3] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, *loc. cit.*

[4] If it were otherwise, *Hütte* would certainly fill the place now occupied by *Lodge*, and we might also expect to meet with *parlirer* (or *pallirer*) if Fallou and Winzer were the witnesses of truth.

[5] Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i., p. 188. The estimates vary. Voltaire put the number as high as 600,000.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 269. [7] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 344. [8] *Cf.* Chap. IV., pp. 200, 201.

[9] Chap. VI., p. 301, note 1. See further, Chaps. II., p. 97; and V., p. 248.

first anchoret, and first saint. This eminent man lived in a pure and virtuous age, and his days were indeed long in the land; since, when he was made king, he was two million years old. He then reigned 6,300,000 years, having done which, he resigned his empire, and lingered on for 100,000 years more![1]

I shall pass over, without further notice, many ancient usages, including the habit of feasting or banqueting at a common table, but there is one upon which a few words must be said. Among the Teutonic nations we find a great variety of oaths, devised for the purpose of impressing the conscience of the party, accompanied by strange and singular ceremonies, whose forms indicate the highest antiquity. In the "Lodthings" of Holstein, as among the ancient Bavarians, the soldier swore on the edge or blade of the sword. The Alemannic widow appealed to her bosom or her hair. The pagan Danes swore by the holy bracelet.[2] In the earliest times the necessity was felt of making as conspicuous as possible, in the most varied but always telling ways, the penalties which would be incurred by a breach of oath or promise.[3] The Christian practice in the matter of oaths was founded in great measure on the Jewish. Thus the oath on the Gospels was an imitation of the Jewish practice of placing the hands on the book of the Law.[4] To raise the right hand, as though in a challenge to heaven, was so universal a custom among the Semitic nations, that in some of their languages "the right hand" is used as an equivalent to oath;[5] in others, a verb "to swear" is derived from it;[6] whilst in Hebrew "to raise one's hand" was quite a common phrase for "to swear."[7] The same practice prevailed among the Greeks and the Romans,[8] and in the customs of both these nations many of the modes of adjuration and punishment reappear, with which the pages of the Old Testament have familiarised us.

The Rev. W. Clarke, commenting on Warburton's "Divine Legation," observes: "The little prejudice of raising the Egyptian Antiquities above the Jewish has been the foible of many great men; nor is that any excuse for idle prepossession. Moses stands upon a level, at least, with any antient writer; is as good an authority for antient customs; and may justly claim a precedence when the dispute lies between him and authors many centuries after him."[9]

In forming a covenant various rites were used, and the contracting parties professed to subject themselves to such a death as that of the victim sacrificed, in case of violating their engagements.[10] It was a customary thing to take a heifer and cut it in two, and then the contracting parties passed between the pieces.[11] This is particularly referred to in the Book of Jeremiah (xxxiv. 18-20), where it is said of those who broke a covenant so made, that "their dead bodies should be for meat unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the earth."[12]

A similar punishment was decreed for theft, in England, by a law of King Edgar. "After

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. ix., p. 305; Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, vol. i., p. 136.

[2] Palgrave, The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, 1832, vol. ii., p. cxv.

[3] Ewald, The Antiquities of Israel, trans. by H. S. Solly, 1876, p. 18.

[4] Smith, Dictionary of the Bible, *s.v.* [5] In Arabic. [6] In Syriac, and see Genesis xiv. 22.

[7] Ewald, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Kitto, Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, 3d edit., *s.v.* Oath.

[8] Dr Potter, Archæologia Græca, edit. 1832, vol. i., p. 295; Homer, Il., viii. 412; Virgil, Æn., xii. 196. *Cf.* Gen. xiv. 22; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 423.

[9] Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv., p. 452.

[10] Clarke, Commentary on the Bible (Matt. xxvi. 28). [11] *Ibid.* (Gen. xv. 10).

[12] To be deprived of burial was in general accounted by the Israelites a dire addition to other calamities (Scott, Commentary on the Bible, Deut. xxviii. 26).

experiencing the most frightful mutilations, the half-living carcase of the malefactor was cast to the beasts of prey and the fowls of heaven."[1] In Germany, the "flesh and body" of a murderer were condemned "to the beasts in the forest, the birds in the air, and the fishes in the sea."[2]

The barbarity of the mediæval penalties is very marked, and though Grimm observes that there is no historical record of their actual infliction, their retention, nevertheless, in so many local codes throughout the empire, bears witness to their high antiquity. For an infraction of the forest laws, in one district the offender was to have his stomach cut open at the navel;[3] whilst he who removed a boundary-stone was to be buried in the earth up to his belt, and a plough driven through his heart, or, according to other codes, "through his middle or his neck."[4] But perhaps the most inhuman mutilation of the kind was practised in Mexico, where the victim was cast on his back upon a pointed stone, "and the high priest"—in the quaint words of my authority—"opened his stomacke with the knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenes, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which he shewed smoaking vnto the Sunne."[5]

Almost all nations, in forming leagues and alliances, made their covenants or contracts in the same way. A sacrifice was provided, its throat was cut, and the carcase divided longitudinally in the most careful manner so as to make exactly two equal parts. These were placed opposite to each other, and the contracting parties passed between them, or, entering at opposite ends, met in the centre, and there took the covenant oath.[6]

When the oath was employed in making contracts or alliances, each of the two contracting parties made the other utter aloud the words of the contract which concerned him,[7] and a common meal off the sacred instruments of the treaty was regarded as indispensable.[8]

St Cyril, in his tenth book against Julian, shows that passing between the divided parts of a victim was used also among the Chaldeans and other ancient peoples. A variation of the custom, in the form of a covenant with death,[9] is supposed to be the origin of a superstition to which the Algerine corsairs were addicted. It is related by Pitts, that when in great peril, and after vainly supplicating the intercession of some dead marabout (or saint), they were in the habit of killing a sheep, by cutting off its head, which, with the entrails, they threw overboard. Next, with all speed, they cut the body into two parts, and threw one part over the right side of the vessel, and the other over the left, into the sea as a kind of propitiation.[10]

It would be easy to show that a marked resemblance exists between many of the ceremonial observances *now* peculiar to Freemasonry, and those which we know formed a part of the judicial procedure common to our Saxon ancestors. Hence it has been contended that

[1] Palgrave, *loc. cit.*

[2] Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, 1828, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 519.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 547.

[5] The Natvrall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies, written in Spanish by Ioseph Acosta, and translated into English by E. G., 1604, p. 385.

[6] Clarke, Commentary on the Bible (Gen. vi. 18, and xv. 10; Jer. xxxiv. 18); Godwyn, Moses and Aaron, 1671, p. 257.

[7] Deut. xxvi. 17-19; Ewald, The Antiquities of Israel, trans. by H. S. Solly, 1876, p. 21.

[8] Ewald, *op. cit.*, p. 68. "Festivities always accompanied the ceremonies attending oaths" (Burder, Oriental Customs, vol. i., 1802, § 294, citing Gen. xxvi. 30, and xxxi. 54).

[9] Isaiah xxviii. 15.

[10] J. Pitts, The Religion and Manners of Mahometans, 1704, p. 18.

the former are equally indigenous and ancient, but the burden of proof rests upon those who maintain the affirmative of this proposition. The subject has been treated with some fulness by an abler hand,[1] and the points left untouched by Fort will, I hope, be summed up by Mr Speth, in a disquisition he is preparing, with all the lucidity and force which characterise the emanations from his pen.

Returning to the history of the Grand Lodge of England, the following is an exact transcript of the earliest proceedings which are recorded in its minutes:

"AT THE GRAND LODGE HELD AT MERCHANT TAYLOR'S HALL, MONDAY, 24TH JUNE 1723.

PRESENT—

His Grace the Duke of Wharton, G. Master.
The Reverend J. T. Desaguliers, LL.D., F.R.S., D.G.M.
Joshua Timson,
The Reverend Mr. James Anderson, } G. Wardens.

ORDERED

That William Cowper, Esqr., a Brother of the Horn Lodge at Westminster—be Secretary to the Grand Lodge.[2]

The order of the 17th Jan: 172⅔, printed at the end of the Constitutions, page 91, for the publishing the said Constitutions was read, purporting, That they had been before Approved in Manuscript by the Grand Lodge, and were then (vizt), 17th January aforesaid, produced in Print and approved by the Society.

THEN

The Question was moved, That the said General Regulations be confirmed, so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of MASONRY.

The previous Question was moved and put, Whether the words [3][so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of MASONRY] be part of the Question.

RESOLVED in the affirmative.

But the main question was not put.

And the Question was moved,

That it is not in the Power of any person, or Body of men, to make any Alteration, or Innovation in the Body of MASONRY without the Consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge.[4]

[1] Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxix. See also *ante*, Chaps. XV., pp. 229-241; and XVI., p. 275.

[2] "On June 24, 1723, the G. Lodge chose William Cowper, Esq., to be their Secretary. But ever since then, the New D. G. M. upon his commencement appoints the Secretary, or continues him by returning him the Books" (Constitutions, 1738, p. 161).

[3] Square brackets in original.

[4] In the Constitutions of 1738, Dr Anderson cites this—under the title of New Regulation XXXIX.—and incorporates with it the first of a series of "Questions" affirmatively decided in Grand Lodge on Nov. 25, 1723, and which
, p. 375.

And the Question being put accordingly,
Resolved in the Affirmative.

The two Grand Wardens were sent out into the Hall to give Notice, That, if any Brother had any Appeal, or any matter to offer, for the good of the Society, he might Come in and offer the same, in this Grand Lodge, and two other Brethren were appointed by the Grand Master, to take the Grand Wardens places in the mean while.

The Grand Wardens being returned, reported they had given Notice accordingly.

Then the Grand Master being desired to name his Successor, and declining so to do, but referring the Nomination to the Lodge,

The Right Hon^ble^. The Earl of Dalkeith was proposed to be put in Nomination as GRAND MASTER for the ensuing year.

The Lodge was also acquainted *That* in case of his Election, he had nominated Dr Desaguliers for his Deputy.

And the 35th General Regulation, purporting that the Grand Master being Installed, shall next nominate and appoint his Deputy Grand Master, &c., was read.

Then

The Question was proposed and put by the Grand Master,
That the Deputy nominated by the Earl of Dalkeith be approved.
There was a Division of the Lodge, and two Brethren appointed Tellers.

Ayes, ...	43
Noes, ...	42

As the tellers reported the Numbers.

Then

The Grand Master, in the Name of the new Grand Master, proposed Brother Francis Sorrel and Brother John Senex for Grand Wardens the ensuing year.

Agreed, That they should be Balloted for after Dinner.

ADJOURN'D TO DINNER.

After Dinner, and some of the regular Healths Drank, the Earl of Dalkeith was declared GRAND-MASTER according to the above mentioned Resolution of the Grand Lodge.

The late Grand Master, declaring he had some doubt upon the above mentioned Division in the Grand Lodge before Dinner, whether the Majority was for approving Dr Desaguliers, or whether the Tellers had truly reported the Numbers; proposed the said Question to be now put again in the General Lodge.

And accordingly insisting on the said Question being now put, and putting the same, his Worship and several Brethren withdrew out of the Hall as dividing against approving Dr Desaguliers.

And being so withdrawn,

Brother Robinson, producing a written Authority from the Earl of Dalkeith for that purpose, did declare in his Name, That his Worship had, agreeably to the Regulation in that

behalf, Appointed, and did Appoint Dr Desaguliers his Deputy, and Brothers Sorrel and Senex Grand Wardens. And also Brother Robinson did, in his said Worship's Name and behalf of the whole Fraternity, protest against the above proceedings of the late Grand Master in first putting the Question of Approbation, and what followed thereon, as unprecedented, unwarrantable, and Irregular, and tending to introduce into the Society a Breach of Harmony, with the utmost disorder and Confusion.

Then the said late Grand Master and those who withdrew with him being returned into the Hall, and acquainted with the foresaid Declaration of Brother Robinson,

The late Grand Master went away from the Hall without Ceremony.

After other regular Healths Drank,
The Lodge adjourned."

The minutes of this meeting are signed by "JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS, Deputy Grand Master."

The Earl of Dalkeith presided at the next Quarterly Communication, held November 25, and the proceedings are thus recorded:

"The following Questions were put:

1. Whether the Master and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at the Quarterly Meetings, one of which must be on St John Baptist's Day?

Agreed, *nem. con.*

2. Whether the Grand Master has not power to appoint his Deputy?

Agreed, *nem. con.*

Agreed, That Dr Desaguliers be Deputy Grand Master from the last Annual meeting.

Ordered; That Brother Huddleston of the King's Head in Ivy Lane be expelled the Lodge for laying several Aspersions against the Deputy Grand Master, which he could not make good, and the Grand Master appointed M^r^ Davis, Sen^r^. Warden, to be Master of the said Lodge in Ivy Lane.

Agreed, That no new Lodge, *in or near London*, without it be Regularly Constituted, be countenanced by the Grand Lodge, nor the Master or Wardens be admitted at the Grand Lodge.

3. Whether the two Grand Wardens, Brother Sorrell and Brother Senex, are confirmed in their offices?

Agreed, *nem. con.*"

The above is a literal extract from the actual minutes of Grand Lodge; but among the "alterations, improvements, and explications" of the "Old Regulations" of the Society, or, in other words, the "New Regulations" enacted between the dates of publication of the first and second editions of the "Book of Constitutions," Anderson gives us the following as having been agreed to on November 25, 1723:

"That in the Master's absence, the Senior Warden of a lodge shall fill the chair, even tho' a former Master be present.[1]

No new Lodge to be owned unless it be regularly Constituted *and registered.*[2]

That no Petitions and Appeals shall be heard on the Feast Day or Annual Grand Lodge.[3]

That any G. Lodge duly met has a Power to amend or explain any of the printed Regulations in the Book of Constitutions, while they break not in upon the antient Rules of the Fraternity. But that no Alteration shall be made in this printed Book of Constitutions without Leave of the G. Lodge."[4]

Of the foregoing resolutions, the first and third—so Anderson informs us—were not recorded in the Grand Lodge Book. But with the exception of the latter, which must have been necessitated at an early date, in order to preserve the requisite harmony on the Assembly or Head-meeting Day, all of them seem to be merely amplifications of what really was enacted by the Grand Lodge. Anderson, moreover, it should be recollected, was not present (or at least his attendance is not recorded) at the Communication in question.

"Grand Lodge met in ample form on February 19, 1724, when the following Questions were put and agreed to:—

1. That no Brother belong to more than one Lodge at one time, within the Bills of Mortality.[5]

2. That no Brother belonging to any Lodge within the Bills of Mortality be admitted to any Lodge as a visitor, unless personally known to some Brother of that Lodge where he visits, and that no Strange Brother, however skilled in Masonry, be admitted without taking the obligacon over again, unless he be introduced or vouched for by some Brother known to, and approved by, the Majority of the Lodge. And whereas some Masons have mett and formed a Lodge without the Grand M . Leave.

AGREED; That no such persons be admitted into Regular Lodges."

At this meeting, every Master or Warden was enjoined to bring with him a list of the members belonging to his Lodge at the next Quarterly Communication.

Two further "Questions" were submitted to the Grand Lodge on April 28, and in each case it was resolved by a unanimous vote,—*firstly*, that the Grand Master had the power of appointing the two Grand Wardens, and in the *second* place, that Charles, Duke of Richmond, should "be declared Grand Master at the next Annual meeting."

According to Anderson,[6] the Duke was duly "install'd in Solomon's Chair," on June 24, and appointed Martin Folkes his Deputy, who was "invested and install'd by the last Deputy

[1] Constitutions, 1738, N.R. (*New Regulation*) II.

[2] *Ibid.*, N.R. XII. The words in italics do not appear in the minutes of Grand Lodge, and Anderson omits the expression "*in or near London,*" which occurs in the original.

[3] *Ibid.*, N.R. XIII., § 3. [4] *Ibid.*, N.R. XXXIX.

[5] By a resolution of March 17, 1725, the brethren of the French Lodge at the Solomon's Temple—of which both Desaguliers and Anderson were members—were "to have the liberty to belong to any other Lodge within the Bills of Mortality." But the restriction to a single Lodge, we are told in 1738, "is neglected for several reasons, and now obsolete" (Constitutions, p. 154). It was reimposed, however, in 1742 (*post*, p. 394).

[6] Constitutions, 1738, p. 118.

in the Chair of Hiram Abbif." No such phrases occur in the official records, and the only circumstance of a noteworthy character, associated with the Assembly of 1724, is, that the Stewards were ordered "to prepare a list for the Grand Master's perusal of twelve fit persons to serve as stewards at the next Grand Feast." [1]

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Richmond, the Committee of Charity—at the present day termed the Board of Benevolence—was instituted. The scheme of raising a fund of General Charity for Distressed Masons, was proposed, November 21, by the Earl of Dalkeith, and under the same date there is a significant entry in the Grand Lodge minutes—"Brother Anthony Sayer's petition was read and recommended by the Grand Master." It does not appear, however, that the premier Grand Master received any pecuniary assistance on the occasion of his first application for relief, though sums of money were voted to him in 1730 and 1741 respectively as we have already seen.

Lord Dalkeith's proposal met with general support, and among those whose names are honourably associated with the movement in its earlier stages, may be mentioned Dr Desaguliers, George Payne, and Martin Folkes.

At the same meeting it was resolved, that all Past Grand Masters should have the right of attending and voting in Grand Lodge, and it was "AGREED, *nem. con.*—That if any brethren shall meet Irregularly and make Masons at any place *within ten miles of London*,[2] the persons present at the making (the New Brethren Excepted) shall not be admitted, even as visitors, into any Regular Lodge whatsoever, unless they come and make such submission to the Grand Mast^r. and Grand Lodge as they shall think fit to impose upon them."

A few words must now be devoted to the proceedings of the Gormogons, an Order which first came under public notice in this year, though its origin is said to have been of earlier date. The following notification appeared in the *Daily Post* of September 3, 1724:—

"Whereas the truly ANTIENT NOBLE ORDER of the Gormogons, instituted by Chin-Quaw Ky-Po, the first Emperor of China (according to their account), many thousand years before Adam, and of which the great philosopher Confucius was Œcumenical Volgee, has lately been brought into England by a Mandarin, and he having admitted several Gentlemen of Honour into the Mystery of that most illustrious order, they have determined to hold a Chapter at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, at the particular Request of several persons of Quality. This is to inform the public, that there will be no drawn Sword at the Door, nor Ladder in a dark Room, nor will any Mason be receiv'd as a Member till he has renounced his Novel Order and been properly degraded. N.B.—The Grand Mogul, the Czar of Muscovy, and Prince Tochmas are enter'd into this Hon. Society; but it has been refused to the Rebel Meriweys, to his great Mortification. The Mandarin will shortly set out for Rome, having a particular Commission to make a Present of this Antient Order to his Holiness, and it is believ'd the whole Sacred College of Cardinals will commence Gormogons. Notice will be given in the Gazette the Day the Chapter will be held."

[1] The minutes of this meeting are signed by the Earl of Dalkeith, Dr Desaguliers, and Grand Wardens Sorrel and Senex. This is a little confusing, because the G. M., his Deputy—Folkes, and Wardens—Payne and Sorrel—were all present at the next Quarterly Communication (Nov. 21). It may be conveniently mentioned, that the minutes are only occasionally signed by the Grand Officers.

[2] The words in italics are omitted by Anderson in the Constitutions of 1738, where he gives the enactment as an item of New Regulation VIII.

If we may believe the *Weekly Journal* or *Saturday Post*, of the 17th of October following, "many eminent Freemasons" had by that time "degraded themselves" and gone over to the Gormogons, whilst several others were rejected "for want of qualification." But the fullest account of the Order, is given in the second edition of the "Grand Mystery of the Freemasons Discovered," published October 28, 1724. This has been closely dissected by Kloss, who advances three distinct theories with regard to the appearance of the Gormogons:—I. That the Œcumenical Volgi was no less than the Chevalier Ramsay, then at Rome in attendance upon the Young Pretender; II. That the movement was a deeply laid scheme on the part of the Jesuits to attain certain ends, by masquerading after the fashion of the Freemasons; and III. That in the Gormogons we meet with the precursors of the Schismatic Masons, or "Ancients." The first and last of these suppositions may be passed over, but the second is more plausible, especially if we widen its application, and for "Jesuits" read "Roman Catholics," since, curiously enough, the Order is said to have become extinct in 1738, the year in which Clement XII. published his Bull against the Freemasons.

The *Plain Dealer* of September 14, 1724, contains a letter from a Mandarin at Rome to another in London. The former congratulates the latter on the speedy progress he has made "from the Court of the *Young* SOPHY," and adds, "Your Presence is earnestly expected at ROME. The Father of High Priests is fond of our *Order*, and the CARDINALS have an Emulation to be distinguish'd. Our Excellent Brother GORMOGON, *Mandarin*, CHAN FUE, is well, and salutes you." There are also several allusions to the Freemasons, which point to the prevalence of irregularities, such as we are already justified in believing must have existed at the time.[1]

The following notice appeared in the *Daily Journal* of October 26, 1730:

"By command of the VOL-GI.

A General Chapter of the most August and Ancient order GOR-MO-GON, will be held at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, on Saturday the 31st Inst., to commence at 12 o'clock; of which the several Graduates and Licentiates are to take Notice, and give their Attendance.

P. W. T."

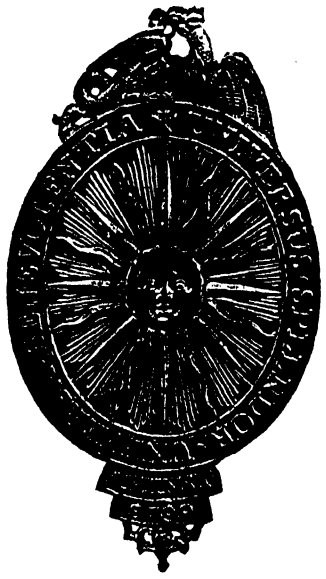
An identical summons, signed "F. N. T.," will be found in the same journal for October 28, 1731, but that earlier chapters were held at the same place may be inferred from a paragraph in the *British Journal* of December 12, 1724, which reads: "We hear that a Peer of the first Rank, a noted Member of the Society of *Free-Masons*, hath suffered himself to be degraded as a member of that Society, and his Leather Apron and Gloves to be burnt, and thereupon enter'd himself as a Member of the Society of Gormogons, at the *Castle*-Tavern in *Fleet Street*."

This can only refer to the Duke of Wharton, whose well-known eccentricity of character, combined with the rebuff he experienced when last present in Grand Lodge, may have led him to take this step. It is true, that in 1728 he constituted a lodge at Madrid, but this would be in complete harmony with the disposition of a man who, in politics and everything else, was always turning moral somersaults; and the subsequent application of the lodge to be "constituted *properly*,"[2] tends to show that, however defective his own memory may have been, his apostasy was neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Craft.

[1] See Appendix. [2] *Post*, p. 384.

The number of renegade Gormogons must, I think, have been very large, but the only secession from the "Order" that I have met with occurs in the *Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer* of April 18, 1730, which has—"On Saturday last, at the Prince William Tavern, at Charing ✠, Mr Dennis,[1] the famous poet and critick, was admitted a Free and Accepted Mason, at a lodge then held there, *having renounced the Society of the Gormogons*, of which he had been a member for many years."

Impressions of the Medal of the Order—obverse and reverse—are annexed. The inscriptions which encircle them are sufficiently explanatory in themselves, and it has been suggested that the words AN. REG. and AN. INST., on the lower projections respectively, may possibly refer to the foundation of the Order in the reign of Queen Anne.[2]





Here I bring to a close this "short study" on a subject of much interest, which, I trust, nevertheless, other students will pursue. In this hope, I ask our antiquaries not to lose sight of the fact, that the Gormogons were the only formidable rivals of the Freemasons, and to bear in mind also, that several of the regulations[3] passed by the latter before 1725 are deemed by some good authorities to have been levelled against the former.

The Grand Lodge on May 20, 1725, ordered that the minutes of the last meeting should be read—a formality noticed for the first time; it was also "ordered, that his Grace the Duke of Richmond be continued Grand Mas^{t}. for the next half year ending at Christmas," and there

[1] John Dennis, a poet, political writer, and critic, was born in 1657, and died on January 6, 1734. He was therefore in his seventy-third year when initiated into Freemasonry.

[2] Notes and Queries, 4th series, vol. iv., p. 441. The illustrations of the jewel are from photographs of one in the possession of Mr W. H. Rylands, and therefore exactly represent the appearance and size of the original, which is of silver. The owner points out to me that Anno Regni 39 of George III. would be 1798-99, which may be compared with the "An. Inst., 8799" of the medal. A.D. 1699 would be the 11th and 12th of William (and Mary), the only other reign of that period having 39 regnal years.

[3] *E.g.*, those of February 19 and November 24, 1724.

occurs a singular entry, with regard to which we should remain entirely in the dark, were it not for the discovery of a manuscript in the library of the British Museum, by the late Matthew Cooke,[1] that clears up the whole matter. The minute runs—"Ordered, that there be a letter wrote to the following brethren, to desire them to attend the Grand Lodge at the next Quarterly Communication (viz^{t}.) William Gulston, Coort Knevitt, William Jones, Charles Cotton, Thomas ffisher, Thomas Harbin, and ffrancis Xavier Geminiani."[2]

The manuscript referred to, informs us, that these persons were members—and, with three exceptions, founders—of an association, entitled the "Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas, Apolloni," established February 18, 1725, by seven brethren from the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Holles Street, and one other.

The minutes of the Society extend to 296 pages, and the last entry is dated March 23, 1727. Rule xviii. ordains—"that no Person be admitted as a Visitor, unless he be a Free Mason," and the ranks of the Society were recruited solely from the Craft. But if the applicant for membership was not a mason, the Society proceeded to make him one, and sometimes went further, for we find that on May 12, 1725, two brothers "were regularly passed Masters," one "was regularly passed fellow Craft & Master," and another "was regularly passed Fellow Craft"[3]—the ordinance (XIII.) of Grand Lodge enjoining that such ceremonies should only be performed in the presence of that body, being in full force at the time.

The ordinary practice in cases where the candidates were devoid of the Masonic qualification, was to make them Masons in the first instance,[4] after which they were ordered to attend "to be admitted and properly inducted members." This, however, they frequently failed to do, and on March 17, 1726, two persons were ignominiously expelled for not taking up their membership—for which they had been duly qualified—though thrice summoned to do so.

"Geo: Payne J: G: Warden," was present as a visitor on September 2, 1725, and the following entry occurs in the minutes under December 16 of the same year:

"A letter Dat. the 8th Instant from Brother Geo. Payne, Jun^{r} Grand Warden, directed in form to this Society, inclosing a Letter from the Duke of Richmond, Grand Master, dat. likewise the 8 Instant, directed to the Presid^{t}. and the rest of the Brethren at the Apollo,[5] in which he Erroneously insists on and Assumes to himself a Pretended Authority to call Our

[1] Addl. MS. 23,202. Numerous extracts from it were given in the *Freemasons' Magazine* (July to December 1861, pp. 67, 85, 132, 304, 326, 387) by Mr Cooke, who, in announcing his discovery (p. 67), says: "I think I am entitled to claim for the MS. before me, the distinguished position of the oldest *lodge* minute-book in existence." As will be seen, however, the minutes are not those of a *lodge*, but of a Society, which admitted none but Freemasons as members or visitors. I am glad to state that the MS.—which throws a great deal of light upon some hitherto obscure points in Masonic history—will shortly be published by Mr W. H. Rylands—as the *first*, it may be hoped, of a long series of "manuscripts of the Craft," a sphere of labour for which he is eminently fitted, both by taste and qualifications, though I almost fear, that to carry out *all* the literary projects which are floating in his brain, he would require the hands of Briareus and the life of the Wandering Jew.

[2] All these brethren, except ffisher and Harbin, were "made Masons" in the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Hollis Street, and three of them—Knevitt, Jones, and Cotton—by the Duke of Richmond, Grand Master. Harbin was a member of the same Lodge in 1725. Thomas ffisher was junior warden of the Lodge at Ben's Coffee House, New Bond Street, in 1723. *Cf. ante*, p. 360.

[3] *Ante*, p. 360.

[4] Jan. 13, 1726—"Resolved that Voisin Humphrys and James Bayne be made Masons, thereby to qualifye them to be admitted Members of this R. Wörpfull and Highly Esteem'd Society" (Minutes, p. 159).

[5] The sign of the house where the Society met had been changed.

Rt. Wōrpfull and Highly Esteem'd Society to an account *for making Masons irregularly* for which reasons, as well as for want of a Due Regard, Just Esteem, and Omitting to Address himself in proper form to the Rt. Wōrpfull and Highly Esteemed Society,

Ordered—

That the Said Letters do lye on the Table."

The subject is not again referred to in the minutes of the Society, or in those of Grand Lodge, but we learn from the former that a week later—December 23, 1725—three members of "the Lodge at the Horn" were present as visitors, including Alexander Hardine, the Master, and Francis Sorrell, Senior Grand Warden.

The preceding extracts throw a fuller light, than has hitherto been shed, upon a very dark portion of Masonic history. It is highly probable that Payne's visit to the Musical Society took place at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, by whom, as we have seen, three of the members were "made Masons."[1] But the attendance of Sorrell and Hardine *after* the Grand Master's letter had been so contemptuously disregarded, is not a little remarkable. Still more curious is the circumstance, that at the very time their visit occurred, Coort Knevitt was also a member of the "Lodge at the Horn." It may be taken, therefore, that the denunciations of the Grand Master were a mere *brutum fulmen*, and led to no practical result. The Musical Society died out in the early part of 1727, but the minutes show that the members persisted in making Masons until June 23, 1726, and possibly would have continued the practice much later had the supply of candidates lasted longer than it apparently did.

William Gulston, the *præses*, or president, of the Society during the greater part of its existence, whose name, we may suppose, would have been particularly obnoxious to the rulers of the Craft, was a member of Lodge No. 40, at the St Paul's Head, in 1730, and his name appears first on the list. There were 107 members in all, and among them were Dr Richard Rawlinson, Grand Steward 1734; John Jesse, Grand Treasurer 1738-52; and Fotherley Baker, Dep. G. M. 1747-51. These were not the kind of men to join in fellowship with any person whose Masonic record would not bear investigation. It is reasonably clear that, down at least to 1725, and perhaps later, the bonds of discipline so recently forged were unequal to the strain which was imposed upon them. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, and even were evidence wanting, to confirm the belief, that the "beneficent despotism" which arose out of the unconditional surrender of their inherent privileges by *four* private lodges, was not submitted to without resistance by the Craft at large—from the nature of things, no other conclusion could be adopted.

We may therefore suppose that Gulston and the others gradually ceased to commit the irregularities for which they were censured, and that they did so before the time had arrived when the Grand Lodge felt itself established on a sufficiently firm basis to be able to maintain in their integrity the General Regulations agreed to by the Masons of London and Westminster in 1723.[2]

The remaining characteristic of Additional MS. 23,202 has been referred to on a previous page,[3] and the evidence it affords of the Fellow Craft's and Master's "parts" having been

[1] *Ante*, p. 380, note 2.

[2] See the "Approbation" appended to the first "Book of Constitutions," 1723.

[3] *Ante*, p. 360.

actually wrought other than in Grand Lodge, *before* February 18, 1725, is of great value, both as marking the earliest date at which such ceremonies are *known* to have been worked, and from the inference we are justified in drawing, that at the period in question there was nothing unusual in the action of the brethren concerned in these proceedings.

The Quarterly Communication, held November 27, 1725, was attended by the officers of forty-nine lodges, a number vastly in excess of any previous record of a similar character, and which does not again reach the same figures until the November meeting of 1732. Two reasons may be assigned for so full an attendance—one, the general interest experienced by the fraternity at large in the success of the Committee of Charity, the report of which body, drawn up by William Cowper, the chairman, was to be presented to Grand Lodge; the other, that an extension of the authority of private lodges was to be considered, and, as the following extract shows, conceded: "A Motion being made that such part of the 13th Article of the Gen^{ll}. Regulations relating to the making of Ma^{sts} only at a Quarterly Court may be repealed, and that the Mast. of Each Lodge, with the consent of his Wardens and the Majority of the Brethren, being Ma^{sts}., may make Ma^{sts} at their discretion. Agreed, *Nem. Con.*"[1]

It is singular, that whilst *forty-nine*[2] lodges are stated to have been represented in Grand Lodge on this occasion, the Engraved List of 1729 has only fifty-four lodges in all, forty-four of which, and no more, were constituted up to, and inclusive of the year 1725. This is at first sight somewhat confusing, but the Engraved List of 1725 shows that sixty-four lodges existed in that year, and as we shall presently see, there were many influences at work between the years 1725 and 1729, tending to keep down and still further reduce the number of lodges.

The Duke of Richmond was succeeded by Lord Paisley, afterwards Earl of Abercorn, who appointed Dr Desaguliers his Deputy, and during this Grand Mastership the only event worth recording, is the resolution passed February 28, 1726, giving past rank to Deputy Grand Masters, a privilege, it may be observed, also extended to Grand Wardens on May 10, 1727.

The next to ascend the Masonic throne was the Earl of Inchiquin, during whose term of office, Provincial Grand Masters were first appointed, and on June 24, 1727, the Masters and Wardens of Private Lodges were ordered to wear at all Masonic meetings, "the Jewells of Masonry hanging to a White Ribbon (vizt.) That the Mast. wear the Square, the Sen^{r}. Warden the Levell, and the Jun^{r}. Warden the Plumb Rule."[3]

About this period the question of Masonic precedency began to agitate the lodges, and the

[1] Anderson renders this—"The *Master* of a Lodge, with his *Wardens* and a competent *Number* of the Lodge assembled in due Form, can make *Masters* and *Fellows* at Discretion" (New Regulation XIII., § 2). The italics are the doctor's. It will be seen that the actual minutes of Grand Lodge are silent with regard to the admission of "Fellows." *Cf. ante*, pp. 358, 359.

[2] Although this statement rests upon Anderson's assertion in the Constitutions of 1738, I am disposed to believe it, because firstly, it seems inherently probable, and in the second place, Anderson apparently derived his *figures* from some thing in the nature of an attendance book, now missing. I may also add, that the number of lodges he alleges to have been present at any particular meeting of Grand Lodge, has always been correct, whenever I have been able to test its accuracy.

[3] "25 June 1728—Masters and Wardens of Lodges shall never attend the G. Lodge without their Jewels and Clothing" (Constitutions, 1738, N.R. XII.). Here Anderson is plainly incorrect, as the regulation to which he alludes, was enacted—according to the actual minutes of Grand Lodge—in the previous year.

following extract from the minutes of Grand Lodge will afford the best picture I am able to present, of the manner in which their relative positions at the Quarterly Communications were determined, before any strict rule on the subject was laid down.

"December 19, 1727.—The Masters and Wardens of the Several Lodges following, attended and answered to their Names, vizt:—

1. Goose and Gridiron, St Pauls.
2. Rose and Rummer, Castle Yard.
3. Queen's Head, Knave's Acre.
4. Horn, Westr.
5. Green Dragon, Newgate St.
6. St Paul's Head, Ludgate St.
7. Three Tuns, Swithin's Alley.
8. Queen's Head, Great Queen St.
9. Ship, Fish St. Hill.
10. Globe, Strand.
11. Tom's Coffee House, Clare Market.
12. Crown and Scepter, St Martin's.
13. Swan, Greenwich.
14. Cross Keys, Henrieta St., Co: Garden.
15. Swan, Tottenham High Cross.
16. Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane.
17. Mag: Pye, against Bishopsgate Church.
18. Mount Coffee House, Grosvenor St."

Here we find the "Four Old Lodges" at the head of the roll, and arranged, moreover, in due order of seniority, reckoned from their age, or respective dates of establishment or constitution. This position they doubtless owed to the sense entertained of their services as founders of the Grand Lodge. But the places of the remaining lodges appear to have been regulated by no principle whatever. No. 5 above, becomes No. 19 on the first list (1729), in which the positions of lodges were determined by the dates of their warrants of constitution. Similarly, No. 6 drops down to the number 18, 7 to 12, 8 to 14, 9 to 22, 13 to 25, whilst the No. 11 of 1727 goes up to the sixth place on the Engraved List of 1729.

In the same year, at the ASSEMBLY on St John's Day (in Christmas), the following resolution was adopted, "That it shall be referred to the succeeding Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens, to enquire into the Precedency of the Several Lodges, and to make report thereof at the next Quarterly Communication, in order that the same may be finally settled and entre'd accordingly."

In conformity with this regulation, "most of the Lodges present delivered the dates of their being Constituted into Lodges, in order to have precedency in the Printed Book;" others did so on June 25, 1728; and at the ensuing Grand Lodge held in November, the Master and Wardens of the several lodges were for the first time "called according to their seniority."

The grand officers, under whose superintendence the Engraved List[1] of 1729 was brought out—Lord Colerane, Grand Master; Alexander Choke, the Deputy; Nathaniel Blakerby and Joseph Highmore, Grand Wardens—were invested with their badges of office on the aforesaid St John's Day, 1727, at which ASSEMBLY, an application by the members of the Lodge at the King's Head in Salford, that their names might be entered in the Grand Lodge Books, and themselves taken under the care and patronage of the Grand Lodge—which was acceded to—deserves to be recorded, both as showing the existence at that time of lodges other than those forming part of the *regular* establishment, as well as the tendency of all such bodies to

[1] It is headed "A List of REGULAR LODGES *according to Seniority & Constitution.*" The words in italics appear in no previous lists.

gradually become absorbed within the central organisation. These accessions strengthened the authority of Grand Lodge, whose officers wisely forebore from interposing any obstacles that might hinder or retard a surrender of their independence by those lodges which had not yet given in their adhesion to the new *régime*. Thus on November 26, 1728, a petition was presented from the "Master and Wardens of a Lodge *held for some time past* at Bishopsgate Coffee House, declaring their intention and earnest desire to be Constituted as soon as it will suit the conveniency of the Deputy Grand Master to confer the honour upon them, and humbly praying to be admitted among the regular Lodges at this Quarterly Communication."

The Deputy Grand Master—Alexander Choke—we are informed, "did dispense with their being at present irregular, and admitted them into the Grand Lodge." At the same meeting, which was the last under the administration of Lord Colerane, it was settled, on the motion of Dr Desaguliers, that there should be twelve stewards for the future, who should have the entire care and direction of the Annual Feast. Also, it was ordered, that in the absence of any officer of a lodge—Master or Warden—one of the members, "but not a mere *Enter'd Prenctice*," might attend the Grand Lodge, "to supply his Room and support the Honour of his Lodge."[1]

Viscount Kingston—who was afterwards at the head of the Craft in Ireland—was the next Grand Master, and the proceedings of Grand Lodge were agreeably diversified on the occasion of his installation—December 27, 1728—by a petition being presented from several Masons residing at Fort William in Bengal, wherein they acknowledged the authority of the Grand Master in England, and humbly prayed to be constituted into "a *Regular*[2] Lodge." The prayer was acceded to, and the duty entrusted to Mr George Pomfret, brother to one of the petitioners, then on the eve of proceeding to the East Indies, and to whom was granted a deputation for the purpose. Similar deputations were granted to some brethren at Gibraltar[3] and to Mr Charles Labelle (or *Labelye*), Master of the Lodge at Madrid—originally "constituted" by the Duke of Wharton in 1728[4]—but which the members subsequently prayed might be "constituted properly" under the direct sanction of Grand Lodge.[5]

The deputation to the Gibraltar Masons was granted to them "for and on behalf of several other Brethren, commissioned and non-commissioned officers and others, to be constituted a regular Lodge in due form," and the body thus legitimated, in a subsequent letter wherein they style themselves "The Lodge of St John of Jerusulem[6] lately constituted at Gibraltar," express their thanks to Grand Lodge for empowering them to hold a Lodge in as due and ample manner as hath been hitherto practised by our Brethren."[7]

Lord Kingston made very handsome presents to the Grand Lodge, and so great was his

[1] Constitutions, 1738, N. R. XII.

[2] The most casual reader can hardly fail to notice, how universally the epithets of *regular*, and *irregular*, are used in the official records, to distinguish the tributary and the independent lodges respectively.

[3] Copies of the Fort William and Gibraltar Deputations, dated February 6 and March 9 respectively, are given in vol. i. of the Grand Lodge Minutes.

[4] Grand Lodge Minutes, April 17, 1728. [5] *Ibid.*, March 27, 1729.

[6] In the words of the Deputation sent to Gibraltar, using the expression "a Lodge of St John," I find the earliest use of the phrase, a "St John's Lodge" or "man," employed with so much frequency later, to denote the "un attached" lodge or brother.

[7] Grand Lodge Minutes, December 27, 1729.

sense of the responsibilities of his office, that on a message reaching him in Ireland from the Deputy Grand Master, stating his presence was desirable at the Quarterly Communication of November 25, 1729, he forthwith embarked for England, and "rode Post from Holyhead in two days and a half," in order to preside over the meeting,—at the proceedings of which harmony appears to have prevailed, and certainly did towards the end, for the records inform us, "that the Deputy Grand Master, having gone through all business, clos'd the Lodge with the Mason's Song."

During the term of office of this nobleman, the Grand Lodge "ordain'd" that every new lodge that should be constituted by the Grand Master, or by his authority, should pay the sum of two guineas towards the General Charity.[1] We also first hear of these grave irregularities, which, under the title of "making masons for small and unworthy considerations,"[2] are afterwards so frequently alluded to in the official records. According to the minutes of March 27, 1729, "Complaint being made that at the Lodge at the One Tun in Noble Street, a person who was not a Mason was present at a Making, and that they made Masons upon a trifling expense only for the sake of a small reckoning, and that one Huddlestone of that Lodge brought one Templeman of the South Sea House with him, who was not a Mason, and the obligation was not required."

The Master and Wardens of the Lodge were ordered to attend at the next Quarterly Communication, "and in the mean time" to "endeavour to make the said Templeman a regular Mason." At the ensuing meeting the Master attended, and his explanation was deemed satisfactory; but whether, with the assistance of his Wardens, he ultimately succeeded in bringing Templeman within the fold, the records leave undecided.

The Duke of Norfolk, who succeeded Lord Kingston, was invested and installed at an ASSEMBLY and Feast held at Merchant-taylor's Hall, on January 29, 1730, in the presence of a brilliant company. No less than nine former Grand Masters attended on the occasion, and walked in the procession in order of juniority—viz., Lords Colerane, Inchiquin, and Paisley, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Dalkeith, the Duke of Montagu, Dr Desaguliers, George Payne, and Anthony Sayer.

Although this was the only time the Duke of Norfolk was present at Grand Lodge during his tenure of office, as he shortly afterwards went to Italy, his interest in the prosperity of the Institution is evinced both by his having personally constituted several lodges prior to his departure,[3] and having sent home many valuable presents from abroad, consisting of (1.)

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, December 27, 1729.

[2] Other infractions of the General Regulations of a kindred, though not of an identical character, became indeed the subject of Masonic legislation at a much earlier period, *e.g.*—"25 April 1723.—Every Brother concerned in making Masons clandestinely, shall not be allowed to visit any Lodge till he has made due Submission, even tho' the Brothers so made may be allowed" (New Regulation VIII., item i.—Constitutions, 1738, p. 156).

[3] "Thursday night at the new erected Lodge, the Prince William Tavern, Charing Cross, the following gentlemen were admitted Free and Accepted Masons—viz., Governor Tinkler, General Tinkler, Governor Burrington, —— Frederick, Esq., a foreign minister, —— Goulston, Esq., Philip Lassels, Esq., Major Singleton, Mr Theobalds, Capt. Read, Mr Rice, and Mr Baynes, Master of the House. Present—The Duke of Norfolk, G.M., Lord Kingston, Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., Sir W. Saunderson, Sir W. Young, Col. Carpenter, and Mr Batson" (The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, No. 259, March 7, 1730). "Latter end of last week a new Lodge was set up at the Bear and Harrow Tavern in Butcher's Row, near Temple Bar, where several gentlemen of fortune were admitted Free and Accepted Masons. Present—the Grand Master (Duke of Norfolk), Lord Kingston, late G.M., Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., and all

twenty pounds to the Charity fund, (2.) a large folio book for the records of Grand Lodge, and (3.) a sword of state (still in use), to be borne before the Grand Master, being the old trusty sword of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, which was next worn by his brave successor in war, Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, with both their names on the blade.

In this year the pamphlet already referred to, entitled "Masonry Dissected," was published by Samuel Prichard. "This work contained a great deal of plausible matter, mingled with some truth as well as falsehood; passed through a great many editions; was translated into the French, German, and Dutch languages; and became the basis or model on which all the *subsequent*[1] so-called expositions were framed."[2] It elicited a noble reply from an unknown writer, styled "A Defence of Masonry," which has been commonly, though (I think) erroneously, ascribed to Dr Anderson, and produced one other good result by inducing stricter caution at the admission of visitors into lodges. Thus we learn, from the minutes of Grand Lodge, that on August 28, 1730, "Dr Desaguliers stood up and (taking notice of a printed Paper lately published and dispersed about the Town, and since inserted in the News Papers, pretending to discover and reveal the Misteries of the Craft of Masonry) recommended several things to the consideration of the Grand Lodge, particularly the Resolution of the last Quarterly Communication,[3] for preventing any false brethren being admitted into regular Lodges, and such as call themselves Honorary Masons. The Deputy Grand Master seconded the Doctor, and proposed several rules to the Grand Lodge, to be observed in their respective Lodges, for their security against all open and Secret Enemies to the Craft."

The same records inform us that in the following December "D.G.M. Blackerby took notice of a Pamphlet lately published by one Prichard, who pretends to have been made a regular Mason: In violation of the Obligation of a Mason w^ch^ he swears he has broke in order to do hurt to Masonry, and expressing himself with the utmost indignation against both him (Stiling him an Impostor) and of his Book as a foolish thing not to be regarded. But in order to prevent the Lodges being imposed upon by false Brethren or Impostors: Proposed till otherwise Ordered by the Grand Lodge, that no Person whatsoever shall be admitted into Lodges unless some Member of the Lodge there present would vouch for such visiting Brothers being a regular Mason, and the Member's Name to be entered against the visitor's Name in the Lodge Book, which Proposal was unanimously agreed to."

It is a curious coincidence that the names of two of the earliest Grand Masters should be prominently associated with the proceedings of this meeting—Desaguliers, as the champion of order and regularity, and Sayer, alas, as an offender against the laws of that body over which he was called, in the first instance, to preside. The records state—"A paper, signed by the Master and Wardens of the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Knave's Acre, was presented and read, complaining of great irregularities having been committed by B^ro^ Anthony Sayer, notwithstanding the great ffavours he hath lately received by order of the Grand Lodge."[4]

the other Grand Officers of the Society" (*Ibid.*, No. 260, March 14, 1730). The former of these lodges I cannot identify, but the constitution of the latter (No. 74) was paid for April 21, 1730.

[1] It differed from the *earlier* so-called "exposures" in being much fuller, but there is every reason to believe that catechisms of a like character (and value) were in use very shortly after the establishment of the Grand Lodge. *Cf. ante*, pp. 357, 363; and Chap. XIII., p. 128.

[2] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 601. [3] Not recorded. [4] *Ante*, p. 347.

December 15, 1730.—"Bro. Sayer attended to answer the complaint made against him, and after hearing both parties, and some of the Brethren being of opinion that what he had done was clandestine, others that it was irregular—the Question was put whether what was done was clandestine, or irregular only, and the Lodge was of opinion that it was irregular only—whereupon the Deputy Grand Master told Bro. Sayer that he was acquitted of the charge against him, *and recommended it to him to do nothing so irregular for the future*"!

At this meeting the powers of the Committee of Charity were much extended. All business referring to Charity was delegated to it for the future, and the Committee were empowered to hear complaints, and ordered to report their opinion to Grand Lodge.

The Earl of Sunderland and Lord Portmore declining to be put in nomination for the Grand Mastership, Lord Lovell was elected to that office on March 17, 1731, on which occasion the following important regulations were enacted:—

That no Lodge should order a dinner on the Grand Feast Day.

That none but the Grand Master, his Deputy, and the Grand Wardens, should wear the Jewels in gold or gilt pendant to blue ribbons about their necks, and white leather aprons lined with blue silk.

That all who had served any of the three grand offices[1] should wear the like apron lined with blue silk in all lodges and Assemblies of Masons.

That Stewards should wear aprons lined with red silk, and have their proper jewels pendant to red ribbons.

That all who had served the office of Steward, should be at liberty to wear aprons lined with red silk "and not otherwise."

That Masters and Wardens of Lodges might wear their aprons lined with white silk, and their respective jewels with plain white ribbons, "but of no other colour whatsoever."

At the Quarterly Communication in June, a petition was presented, signed by several brethren, praying that they might be admitted into the Grand Lodge, and constituted into a *regular* lodge at the Three Kings in Crispin Street, Spittlefields. "After some debate, several brethren present vouching that they were *regular* Masons, they were admitted, and the Grand Master declared, that he or his Deputy would constitute them accordingly, and signed their petition for that purpose."

Of the distinction then drawn between the "regular" masons, and those hailing from lodges still working by inherent right, and independently of the central authority, the official records afford a good illustration.

These inform us that the petition for relief of Brother William Kemble was dismissed "satisfaction not being given to the Grand Lodge, how long he had been made a *regular* Mason,"[2] whilst a similar application from Brother Edward Hall, a member of the Lodge at the Swan in Chichester, resulted in a vote of Six Guineas, the latter alleging that he had been made a Mason in the said Lodge "by the late Duke of Richmond, six-and-thirty years ago,"

[1] *I.e.*, G.M., D.G.M., and Wardens. The Treasurer and Secretary were not at this time regarded as Grand Officers. *Cf. post*, p. 392.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes, June 24, 1731. Another applicant for relief at this meeting—Henry Pritchard—was described as "a *regular* Mason upwards of forty years." This, if it does nothing else, would seem to establish the fact that the existence of Lodges in 1691—*working on the same lines as the memorable Four*, who met at the Goose and Gridiron in 1717—was believed in by the Grand Lodge of 1731. *Cf. ante*, p. 364, note 5.

and being recommended by the then holder of that title, the Grand Master of 1724, who was present during the consideration of the petition.[1]

The Duke of Lorraine, who had received the two first degrees of Masonry at the Hague, by virtue of a Deputation granted to Dr Desaguliers and others in 1731, visited England the same year, and was made a Master Mason, together with the Duke of Newcastle, at an "Occasional" Lodge formed by the Grand Master, at Houghton Hall, the seat of Sir Robert Walpole, for that purpose.[2]

Lord Lovell was succeeded by Viscount Montagu,[3] and the latter by the Earl of Strathmore, at the time of his election Master of No. 90, the "University Lodge, at the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher's Row." He was installed by proxy, but presided over Grand Lodge on December 13, 1733, when the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"That all such business which cannot conveniently be despatched by the Quarterly Communication, shall be referred to the Committee of Charity.

"That all Masters of Regular Lodges (contributors within twelve months to the General Charity), together with all present, former, and future Grand Officers, shall be members of that Committee.

"That all questions shall be carried by a majority of those present."

It has been necessary to give the preceding resolutions somewhat at length, because they have been singularly misunderstood by Findel and other commentators. Thus the German historian assures us—"This innovation, viz., the extension of the Committee for the administration of the Charity Fund into a meeting of *Master Masons*,[4] on whom power was conferred to make arrangements of the greatest importance, and to prepare new resolutions, not only virtually annulled the authority vested in the Grand Lodge, but likewise greatly endangered the equality of the Brethren in the different Lodges."[5]

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, March 2, 1732. *Cf. ante*, p. 261. My friend, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, lays great stress on this circumstance, as tending to "whitewash" Anderson, so far at least as respects the latter's statement with regard to the Duke of Richmond having been Grand Master in 1695. See, however, *ante*, pp. 256, 261; and Chap. XII., *passim*.

[2] Constitutions, 1738, p. 129. According to the minutes of No. 30,—constituted at Norwich 1724, erased Feb. 10, 1809, and the warrant assigned to the Lodge of Rectitude, Westbury, No 632 (now No. 335)—published in the *Freemason*, Dec. 17, 1870, "Ye Rt. Hon. ye Lord Lovell, when he was G.M. summoned ye M. and Bn. to hold a lodge at Houghton Hall—there were present the G.M., His Royal Highness the Duke of Lorrain, and many other noble Bn., and when all was put into due form, ye G.M. presented the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Essex, Major-General Churchill, and his own Chaplin, who were unanimously accepted of, and made Masons by Rt. W'pful Thos. Johnston, the then M. of this Lodge." Among the distinguished members of the Lodge were Martin Folkes and Dr Samuel Parr.

[3] According to Anderson (Constitutions, 1738, p. 194), Deputations were granted by Lord Montagu for constituting lodges at Valenciennes [in French Flanders], No. 127, and the Hotel de Bussy in Paris, No. 90, but the numerical position of the former, and the notice already given (*ante*, p. 353) of the latter, conflict with this assertion. Preston says, that in Lord Montagu's year, the Brethren met at Hampstead, and instituted the "Country Feast." This is slightly misleading. According to the records—"Viscount Montague, Grand Master, being Master of the Lodge at the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, *desired such brethren as pleased, to dine with him there*, and accordingly" the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond, Lords Strathmore, Carpenter, and Teynham, and above one hundred brethren "dined with the Grand Master at the house of Br°. Captain Talbot, being the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, at which time the Grand Master resign'd his chair as Master of that Lodge to the Lord Teynham" (Grand Lodge Minutes, April 13, 1732).

[4] The italics are mine.

[5] Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 154.



C. Lauris Etch.

SIR CHARLES LANYON

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER FOR COUNTY ANTRIM

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh

The criticism is misplaced. No such evils resulted, as, indeed, would have been simply impossible, upon the state of facts which the records disclose. Indeed, the schismatic Grand Lodge of 1753—which is supposed to have owed its existence to the series of innovations begun December 13, 1733—as we shall presently see, delegated, in like manner, the management of its routine business to a very similar committee, styled the "Steward's Lodge," the record of whose proceedings happily survives, whilst of that of its prototype, alas, only a fragment has been preserved.[1]

Whilst, however, many important details must remain hidden, which might explain much that is obscure in this portion of our annals, it is satisfactory to know that all matters deemed to be of consequence—and many that were not—were brought up by the Committee of Charity at the next Quarterly Communication for final determination. It is when the Communications were held with irregularity that our loss is the greatest, and of this we meet with an early example, for during the administration of the Earl of Crawford, who succeeded Lord Strathmore,[2] an interval of eleven months occurred between the meetings of Grand Lodge.

The former of these noblemen was initiated in the Lodge of Edinburgh under somewhat singular circumstances, as the following minute of that body attests: "Att Maries Chapell, the 7th day of August 1733. Present: the Right Honourable James Earle of Strathmore, present Grand Master of all the Lodges in England, and also chosen Grand Master for this present meetting. The which day the Right Honourable John Earle of Crawfurd, John Earle of Kintore, and Alexander Lord Garlies, upon application to the Societie, were admitted entered apprentices, and also receaved fellow crafts as honorary members."[3]

The Earl of Crawford was installed in office March 30, 1734, and the next meeting of Grand Lodge took place on February 24, 1735,[4] when "Dr Anderson, formerly Grand Warden, presented a Memorial, setting forth, that whereas the first edition of the General Constitutions of Masonry, compiled by himself, was all sold off, and a Second edition very much wanted, and that he had spent some thoughts upon some alterations and additions that might fittly be made to them, which he was now ready to lay before the Grand Lodge for their approbation—Resolved—that a Committee be appointed consisting of the present and former Grand Officers, and such other Master Masons as they should think proper to call on, to revise and compare the same, and when finished to lay the same before the Grand Lodge ensuing for their approbation."

Dr Anderson "further represented that one William Smith, said to be a Mason, had, without his privity or consent, pyrated a considerable part of the Constitutions of Masonry aforesaid, to the prejudice of the said Dr Anderson, it being his sole property."

[1] The Minutes of the Committee of Charity, now extant, commence June 2, 1761.

[2] The Earl of Strathmore was elected Grand Master of Scotland, December 1, 1740.

[3] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 161. On the same occasion two former Lord Provosts of Edinburgh were also initiated, and of the "group of Intrants" Lyon observes—"Two of them—Lords Crawfurd and Kintore—became Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of England; the latter also filled that post in the Grand Lodge of Scotland; another—Lord Garlies—presided in the same Grand Body; and the remaining two—ex-provosts Lindsay and M'Aulay—were afterwards Grand Wardens under the Scottish Constitution" (*Ibid.*).

[4] *Ante*, p. 11.

"It was therefore Resolved and Ordered—That every Master and Warden present should do all in their power to discountenance so unfair a practice, and prevent the said Smith's Books[1] being bought by any member of their respective Lodges."

At this meeting the minutes of the two last Committees of Charity were read and approved of. The cost of serving the grand-mastership was restricted in future to the sum of thirty guineas, and the following resolution was adopted:

"That if any Lodge for the future within the Bills of Mortality shall not regularly meet for the space of one year, such Lodge shall be erased out of the Book of Lodges, and in case they shall afterwards be desirous of meeting again as a Lodge, they shall loose their former Rank, and submitt themselves to a New Constitution."[2]

In the following month—March 31—the Grand Master "took notice (in a very handsome speech) of the Grievance of making extraneous Masons, in a private and clandestine manner, upon small and unworthy considerations, and proposed, that in order to prevent the Practice for the future: No person thus admitted into the Craft, nor any that can be proved to have assisted at such Makings, shall be capable either of acting as a Grand Officer on occasions, or even as an officer in a private Lodge, nor ought they to have any part in the General Charity, which is much impaired by this clandestine Practice."

"His Worship, secondly, proposed, that since the General Charity may possibly be an inducement to certain persons to become Masons merely to be admitted to the Benefit thereof: That it be a Resolution of the Grand Lodge that the Brethren subscribing any Petitions of Charity should be able to certify that they have known the Petitioner in reputable or at least in tollerable circumstances."

These proposals of the Grand Master, together with some others referring to the fund of Charity, "were received with great unanimity and agreed to."[3]

"Then a Motion was made that Dr James Anderson should be desired to print the Names (in his New Book of Constitutions[4]) of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time," also of the Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and of "the Brethren who have served the Craft in the Quality of Stewards, which was thought necessary—Because it is Resolved, that for the future, all Grand Officers (except the Grand Master) shall be selected out of that Body."

The business of this important meeting having been brought to a satisfactory close, "his Lordship was pleased to order"—so the minutes inform us—"a large quantity of Rack, that was made a present of, from Bengall, to be made into Punch, and to be distributed among the Brethren."

[1] The work referred to was entitled "A Pocket Companion For Freemasons," MDCCXXXIV.

[2] The "force of this resolution" was afterwards made to operate from June 24, 1735, and to apply to "*all Lodges in England*, that neither meet, nor send in their charity, or attend Quarterly Communication, within the space of one year."

[3] A summary of the above resolutions forms the 5th Item of New Regulation VIII., as given in the Constitutions of 1738 (p. 156).

[4] The publication of this book—according to Findel—was most likely delayed in consequence of the grievous events which, like a storm, were gathering round the Fraternity, threatening to disturb its peace, and which were sought to be averted by the passing of the resolution (New Regulation VIII.) against the illegal conventions of Masons, "who have lately met secretly," etc. (History of Freemasonry, p. 155). See, however, the last note, and *ante*, p. 385.

Lord Weymouth,[1] who became the next head of the Society, was installed April 17, 1735, but left all business to be transacted by his Deputy John (afterwards Lord) Ward, in which capacity the latter presided at a Quarterly Communication, held June 24, and as the minutes inform us, "very justly took notice of the great want of order that had sometimes happened in the debates of these Assemblies, and earnestly recommended to those present, the preserving proper Decency[2] and Temper in the management of the Debates; and advised *that only one person should speak at a time,* desiring only that the Practice of the Grand Lodge in this case might be a fitt Pattern to be followed by every Private Lodge." On the same occasion, a memorial was read from the Stewards, praying:—

"1. That they might meet monthly or otherwise, as a Lodge of Master Masons (under the Denomination of the Steward's Lodge) and be enrolled among the number of the Lodges as usual, with the times of their meeting.

"2. That they might be so far distinguished (since all the Grand Officers are for the future appointed to be chosen out of their number[3]) as to send a deputation of 12 from the whole body of Stewards to each Quarterly Communication. All the 12 to have voices, and to pay half a crown apiece towards the expense of that occasion.

"3. That no one who had not served the Society as a Steward might be permitted to wear the Coloured Ribbonds or Aprons. But that such as had been Stewards might wear a particular Jewel suspended in the proper Ribbond wherein they appear as Masons."

On a division being taken, the privileges sought to be obtained, were granted, "45 of the Assembly being in the Affirmative, and 42 in the negative."

"It was also declared—That the 12 Stewards for any coming year might attend in their proper colours, and on paying as usual for 4 Lodges, but are not to be allowed to vote, nor to be heard in any debate, unless relating to the ensuing Feast."

The twelve Stewards appeared for the 1st time in their new badges at a Grand Lodge, held December 11, 1735. Sir Robert Lawley, Master of the newly constituted Steward's Lodge, "reported that Br. Clare, the Junior Grand Warden, had been pleased to entertain it on the first visiting Night with an excellent Discourse containing some Maxims and Advice that concerned the Society in General, which at the time seemed to their own Lodge, and an hundred visiting Brethren," worthy of being read before the Grand Lodge itself—which was accordingly done, it being "received with great attention and applause," and the lecturer "desired to print the same."[4]

After these amenities, the proceedings were diversified by the presentation of "a petition and appeal, signed by several Masters of Lodges against the privileges granted to the Steward's Lodge at the last Quarterly Communication. The Appellants were heard at large, and the

[1] The author of "Multa Paucis" omits Viscount Weymouth from the list of Grand Masters, and says—"Grand Master Crawford honoured the Fraternity with continuing in Solomon's Chair for the space of two years" (p. 98).

[2] On April 6, 1736, a New Regulation (XL.) containing ten articles—for explaining what concern'd the *Decency* of Assemblies and Communications—was proposed by D.G.M. Ward, and agreed to by the Grand Lodge.

[3] Agreed to at the previous Communication in March. The privilege of nominating their successors, had been conceded to the Stewards, March 2, 1732.

[4] Martin Clare—a Fellow of the Royal Society—was appointed D.G.M. in 1741. His Oration was translated into several foreign languages, and a reprint of it will be found in the Pocket Companion for 1754 (pp. 282-291), and other works.

question being put, whether the determination of the last Quarterly Communication, relating to that matter, should be confirmed or not. In the course of the collecting the votes on this occasion, there appeared so much confusion, that it was not possible for the Grand Officers to determine with any certainty what the numbers on either side of the question were. They were therefore obliged to dismiss the Debate and close the Lodge."

Martin Clare, the Junior Grand Warden, acted on this occasion as Deputy Grand Master, and George Payne (by desire) as Grand Master, with Jacob Lamball and Dr Anderson as his Wardens "*pro tempore*."

To the presence, perhaps, in the official chairs, of the three veterans, whose services as Grand Officers began before those of the Grand Stewards had any existence, may be due the fact, that for once at least, the pretensions of the latter met with a signal check. At the next meeting of the Grand Lodge, however, held April 6, 1736, Ward was present, and in the chair, with Desaguliers sitting as his Deputy, and against the influence of these two supporters of the Steward's Lodge, combined with that of several noblemen who also attended on the occasion, Payne, Lamball, and Anderson, though reinforced by the presence of a fourth veteran —Josiah Villeneau, Grand Warden in 1721—must have felt—if, indeed, my belief in their wishing to give the weaker side in the contention the benefit of fair play rests upon any other foundation than conjecture—that it would be useless to struggle.

The appeal does not seem to have been proceeded with, though the principle it involved was virtually decided (without debate[1]) by the members of Grand Lodge being declared to be—1. The four present and all former grand officers; 2. The Master and Wardens of all constituted (*i.e.*, regular) lodges; and 3. The Master and Wardens, and *nine* representatives of the Steward's Lodge.[2]

It was not until June 24, 1741, that "the Treasurer, Secretary, and Sword-bearer of the Society were declared *members* of every Quarterly Communication or Grand Lodge;" and it was only decided, after a long debate, on June 14, 1753, that "the Treasurer was a 'Grand Officer,' by virtue of his office, and as such, to be elected from amongst the brethren who had served the Stewardship."

Frederick, Prince of Wales, became a member of the Society in 1737, and the "New Book of Constitutions" was published in 1738, the same year in which the first Papal Bull was issued against the Freemasons. With the exception of these events, and the issue of deputations for the purpose of founding lodges in foreign parts—of which more hereafter—there is nothing of moment to chronicle from April 15, 1736, when the sequence of Grand Masters was continued by the installation of the Earl of Loudoun, down to May 3, 1739, when Henry, Marquess of Carnarvon, who followed the Earl of Darnley in the chair, in turn gave place to Lord Raymond.

Not to break the thread of my narrative, the few observations that I have to make on the

[1] *I.e.*, in Grand Lodge, though the subject was doubtless discussed at the Committee of Charity, which resisted the encroachments of the Stewards until a much later date. See the next note.

[2] Feb. 7, 1770.—"As the right of the members of the Steward's Lodge in general to attend the Committee of Charity appeared doubtful, the Grand Lodge was of opinion they had not a general right to attend. But in order to make a proper distinction *between that and the other Lodges*, a motion was made [and adopted], that as the Master alone of each private Lodge had a right to attend, so the Master and three other members should attend on behalf of the Steward's Lodge, at every succeeding Committee" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

Constitutions and the Bull of 1738 will be postponed until the general history of the Society has been brought down to the year 1754, at which date *another* Marquess of Carnarvon appears on the scene, also as Grand Master, with whose acts, notably in regard to the so-called "Ancient" Masons, those of his predecessor in office (and title) appear—perhaps not unnaturally—to have been confounded.

During the administration of *James*, the Marquess and Grand Master of 1754-56, we find many subjects engaging the attention of Grand Lodge, with which we are, to a certain extent, familiar, from the earlier records dealing with the history of English Masonry at the time of *Henry*, the Marquess and Grand Master of 1738-39. Irregularities, calling for prompt action on the part of the authorities, occurred in either case, and to complete the parallel, new editions of the "Constitutions" were published in 1738, and also in 1756. But the "irregularities"—to use the generic term by which all breaches of Masonic law or discipline were commonly described—were of an entirely different character in the respective eras of the two Lords Carnarvon; and it is quite as improper to associate the grand-mastership of the earlier of these noblemen with the commencement of the great Schism, as it would be to mark the date of some event still looming in the future, by connecting it with the year (1874) when the name of a *third* Lord Carnarvon was added—amid general rejoicing—to the roll of our English Grand Masters.

On June 12, 1739, the members of Grand Lodge were "moved to take into their future cons^{n}. the complaint concerning the irregular making of Masons," brought before them in the previous June. "Whereupon the Grand Master [Lord Raymond] took notice, that although some Brothers might have been guilty of an offence tending so much to destroy the Cement of the Lodge, and so utterly inconsistent with the Rules of the Society, yet he could not bring himself to believe that it had been done otherwise than through Inadvertency, and therefore proposed that if any such Brothers there were, they might be forgiven for this time, which was Ordered accordingly;" also "that the Laws be strictly put in Execution against all such Brothers as shall for the future countenance, connive, or assist at any such irregular makings."

A summary of these proceedings is given in the Constitutions of 1756, 1767, and 1784; but in the edition last named, we meet with a note of fifty lines, extending over three pages,[1] and which, from its appearance in a work sanctioned and recommended by the Masonic authorities, has led to a wide diffusion of error with regard to the historical points it was placed there to elucidate. It does not even possess the merit of originality, for the compiler or editor, John Noorthouck, took it without acknowledgment from Preston, by whom the statements it contains, were first given to the world in a manner peculiarly his own, and from which those familiar with the general proportion borne by the latter's assertions to the actual truth, will believe that the note in question rests on a very insecure foundation of authority. Besides the affairs of the Society in 1739, it also professes to explain the causes which led to the great Schism, and for this reason will be considered later [2] and as introductory to the two following chapters, wherein the formation of a *second* Grand Lodge of England and its alleged connection with York are severally treated.

Lord Raymond was succeeded in April 1740 by the Earl of Kintore, who had only retired from the presidency of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in the previous November. The latter's initiation has been already adverted to,[3] and it only remains to be stated that he was Master

[1] 239-241. [2] *Post*, p. 397. [3] *Ante*, p. 389.

of the Lodge of Aberdeen from 1735 to 1738 inclusive; also that as Grand Master of the Scottish, as well as of the English Craft, he was succeeded by the Earl of Morton.

On July 23, 1740, "Brº. Berrington informed the [Grand] Lodge that several Irregularities in the making of Masons having been lately committed, and other Indecencies offered in the Craft by several Brethren, he cautioned the Masters and Wardens against admitting such persons into their Lodges. And thereupon, several Brethren insisting that such Persons should be named, the same was, after a long Debate, and several Questions put—Ordered accordingly. When Brº Berrington informed the Lodge that Brº George Monkman had a list of several such persons. He on being required to do so, named Esquire Cary, Mansell Bransby, and James Bernard, late Stewards,[1] who assisted at an irregular Making." The minutes of this meeting terminate somewhat abruptly with the words—"When it being very late, the Lodge was closed." No further proceedings in the matter are recorded, nor, indeed, are *any irregularities of the kind* again mentioned in the official records until 1749, when Lord Byron had entered upon the third year of his grand mastership. This, conjointly with the circumstance that Berrington and Monkman, as well as the others, were former Grand Stewards,[2] whose position in those days corresponded very closely with that of Grand Officers in our own, demands very careful attention.

It is evident that the authority of Grand Lodge was in no wise seriously menaced between 1740 and 1749, as the stream of historians would have us believe; indeed, on the contrary, the absolute silence of the records, with regard to infractions of Old and New Regulation VIII.[3] during the period in question, sufficiently proves that, for a time at least in the regular lodges, they had entirely ceased. This supposition is strengthened, however, by the evidence last presented, from which it would appear that irregularities were committed by the thoughtless, as well as by those who were wilfully disobedient to the laws; and that in both cases the governing body was quite able to vindicate its authority.

On June 24, 1741, it was ordered by Grand Lodge that the proceedings of lodges, and the names of brethren present at meetings, should not in future be printed without the permission of the Grand Master or his deputy. Also "that no new Lodge should for the future be constituted within the Bills of Mortality, without the consent of the Brethren assembled in Quarterly Communication first obtained for that purpose." The latter regulation being found detrimental to the Craft, was repealed March 23, 1742, and in lieu thereof it was resolved "that every brother do conform to the law made February 19, 172$\frac{3}{4}$, 'that no brother belong to more than *one* Lodge within the Bills of Mortality.'"[4]

Lord Ward, who succeeded the Earl of Morton in April 1742, was well acquainted with the nature and government of the Society, having served every office from the Secretary in a

[1] They served the office of Steward at the Grand Feast, April 22, 1740, were thanked in the usual form by the Grand Master, and were directed to choose their successors.

[2] Findel justly observes (here following Kloss), "that the establishment of the Steward's Lodge, and the privileges accorded to them, although innovations totally opposed to the Masonic Spirit of Equality, were not by any means a sufficient reason for disunion in the Fraternity" (*op. cit.*, p. 173). Indeed, as will be seen from the text, the Stewards took part in the very irregularities, which have been attributed to the favouritism—shown to themselves!

[3] Constitutions, 1738, pp. 156, 157. The former will be found in the Appendix. The latter consists of laws passed April 25, 1723; Feb. 19 and Nov. 21, 1724; Feb. 24 and March 31, 1735; which are referred to in this chapter under their respective years.

[4] *Ante*, p. 376.

private lodge to that of Grand Master. The administration of the Earl of Strathmore, who next presided over the Society, is associated with no event of importance; and of that of his successor, Lord Cranstoun, it is only necessary to record that on April 3, 1747, a resolution was passed, discontinuing for the future the usual procession on the feast day.

"The occasion of this prudent regulation was, that some unfaithful brethren, disappointed in their expectations of the high offices and honours of the Society, had joined a number of the buffoons of the day, in a scheme to exhibit a mockery of the public procession to the grand feast."[1]

Lord Byron was elected Grand Master on April 30, 1747, and presided over the fraternity until March 20, 1752, but was only present in Grand Lodge on those dates, and on March 16, 1752, when he proposed Lord Carysfort as his successor. During the presidency of this nobleman, which lasted for five years, the affairs of the Society were much neglected, and to this period of misrule—aggravated by the summary erasure of lodges to which I shall shortly have occasion to refer—we must look, I think, for the cause of that organised rebellion against authority, resulting in the great Schism. As will be seen below,[2] only one Grand Lodge (besides the Grand Feast of April 30) was held in 1747; in 1748 there were two; in 1749 and 1750, one each; and in 1751, two. Between, moreover, these several Communications, there were, in two instances, great intervals of time—that of June 1750, being held *thirteen*, and that of September 1751, *fifteen*, months after its immediate predecessor.

The same Grand Officers, and Grand Stewards, continued in office from 1747 until 1752, which is the more remarkable because the honours of the Craft were much coveted. The Stewards were an influential body, and from 1728 to 1747, with but two exceptions—1742-43 and 1745-46, when Lords Ward and Cranstoun respectively had second terms—twelve Stewards were annually appointed.

In "Multa Paucis" a statement occurs, which, though the work is not one of much authority, I think must have had some foundation in fact, the more especially, as the event it professes to record, is only said to have happened about eleven or twelve years previously, and therefore stands on quite another footing, historically speaking, from the earlier part of the same publication.[3]

The following is the passage referred to:

"Grand Master Byron was very inactive. Several years passed by without his coming to a Grand Assembly, nay, even neglected to nominate his successor.

"The Fraternity, finding themselves intirely neglected, it was the Opinion of many old Masons to have a consultation about electing a new and more active Grand Master, and assembled for that Purpose, according to an Advertisement, which accidentally was perceived by our worthy Brother, *Thomas Manningham*, M.D., who, for the Good of Masonry, took the trouble upon him to attend at this Assembly, and gave the Fraternity the most prudent

[1] Constitutions, 1784, p. 253.

[2] Dec. 16, 1747; March 7 and Dec. 22, 1748; May 26, 1749; June 25, 1750; Sept. 4 and Oct. 24, 1751.

[3] "Every historical work needs to be analysed, and to have its several portions separately estimated. Whatever is remote or particular will claim our credence according to the opinion we may form of the historian's veracity, accuracy, judgment, and means of information; but the truth of narratives relating to events *that were matters of notoriety in the writer's time*, rests altogether upon a different ground; being necessarily involved in the fact that the work was published and accepted as authentic at such or such a date" (Taylor, The Process of Historical Proof, 1828, p. 57).

Advice for their future Observance, and lasting Advantage. They all submitted to our worthy Brother's superior Judgement, the Breach was healed." [1]

The minutes of the Grand Lodge are provokingly silent throughout the period under examination, and the only entry to which I need allude occurs under May 26, 1749, when a "Bro. Mercado" having acknowledged his fault, and explained that a person made a mason irregularly, "had agreed to be regularly made the next Lodge night at the George in Ironmonger Lane, was, at the intercession of the Master and Wardens of the said Lodge, forgiven."

Lord Byron, who, we learn, "had been abroad for several years," proposed Lord Carysfort as his successor, on March 16, and the latter was duly placed in the chair on March 20, 1752, when "all expressed the greatest Joy at the happy Occasion of their Meeting, after a longer recess than had been usual." Dr Manningham, who had been one of the Grand Stewards under Lord Byron, was appointed Deputy Grand Master, although, unlike all his predecessors in that office from 1735,[2] he had not previously served as a Grand Warden, a qualification deemed so indispensable in later years, as to be affirmed by a resolution of the Committee of Charity.[3] This points to his having rendered signal services to the Society, which would so far harmonise with the passage in "Multa Paucis," and be altogether in keeping with the character of the man.[4]

On June 18, 1752, complaint was made in Grand Lodge, "of the frequency of irregular makings—when the D.G.M. recommended the brethren to send to him or the Grand Secretary the names of such as shall be so irregularly made, and of those who make them."

At this date, however, the schism or secession had assumed form and cohesion, and although the recusant masons had not yet formed a "Grand Lodge," they were governed by a "Grand Committee," [5] which was the same thing except in name.

On November 23, 1753, it was enacted, "That no Lodge shall ever make a Mason without due inquiry into his character, neither shall any Lodge be permitted to make and raise the same Brother at one and the same Meeting, without a dispensation from the Grand Master, which on very particular occasions may be requested."

Also, "That no Lodge shall ever make a Mason for a less sum than one Guinea, and that Guinea to be appropriated either to the private Fund of the Lodge, or to the Publick Charity, without deducting from such Deposit any Money towards the Defraying the Expense of the Tyler," etc.

The latter resolution was not to extend, however, to waiters or other menial servants.

Lord Carysfort was succeeded by *James*, Marquess of Carnarvon—son of the Duke of Chandos, a former Grand Master [6]—who, on investment—March 25, 1754—continued Dr

[1] The Complete Free Mason; or, Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets [1763-64], p. 105. *Cf. ante*, pp. 97, 280, 391.

[2] The "Deputies" appointed after the regulation of March 31, 1735 (*q. v.*), John, afterwards Lord, Ward; W. Græme; Martin Clare; Sir R. Lawley; W. Vaughan; E. Hody; and Fotherly Baker, had all served both as Stewards and Grand Wardens.

[3] April 8, 1767. From 1735 down to 1812, every D.G.M. except Manningham and John Revis (1757-61) was a past Steward and Grand Warden. The latter, however, served the Stewardship in 1729, and was Grand Secretary 1731-56.

[4] *Cf.* Constitutions, 1756, p. 258.

[5] The "Transactions" of this body commence February 5, 1752. *Cf.* Chap. XVIII.

[6] *Ante*, p. 393.

Manningham as his Deputy. In this year a committee was appointed to revise the "Book of Constitutions;" twenty-one country lodges were erased for nonconformity with the laws; and some irregularities were committed by a lodge meeting at the Ben Jonson's Head in Pelham Street, Spitalfields, through which we first learn, in the records under examination, of the existence of so-called *Ancient Masons*, who claimed to be independent of the Grand Lodge of 1717, and, as such, neither subject to its laws or to the authority of its Grand Master.

According to Laurence Dermott, the members of this Lodge, No. 94, "were censured, not for assembling under the denomination of 'Ancient Masons,' but for practising Ancient Masonry;"[1] which is incorrect, as they were guilty of *both* these offences. The former they admitted, and the latter was substantiated by the evidence of "Bro^rs^ Jackson and Pollard, who had been refused admittance at those Meetings until they submitted to be made *in their novel and particular Manner.*"[2] For these practices the lodge was very properly erased, and it is curious that the only hands held up in its favour were those of the representatives of the lodge then meeting at the Fish and Bell—Original No. 3.

The Marquis of Carnarvon was succeeded by Lord Aberdour, afterwards 16th Earl of Morton, a former Grand Master of Scotland (1755), May 18, 1757, of whose administration it will be sufficient to record, that on January 24, 1760, a resolution was passed to the effect that the sum of fifty pounds be sent to Germany, to be distributed among the soldiers who were Masons in Prince Ferdinand's army, whether English, Hanoverians, or Hessians.

I have now brought down the annals of the Grand Lodge of England to a period at which it will be convenient to pause, whilst we proceed to examine the records of two contemporary bodies—the "Grand Lodge of *All* England," and the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions." Accounts of these Societies will therefore be given in Chapters XVIII. and XIX. respectively, and the order of time will be so far transgressed as to preserve the narrations entire. But it is first of all essential to revert to the *alleged* origin of the Great Schism, and there are also a few features of the Freemasonry of England between 1723 and 1760 upon which a word or two have yet to be said.

The note in the Constitutions of 1784, to which I have referred at p. 393, was copied from the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1783; but the subject-matter appeared in the earlier Calendar of 1776, whilst that publication was brought out by the Stationers' Company,[3] and before it had passed into the hands of Grand Lodge. The disputes of the year 1739 were included among the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry," compiled by William Preston,[4] who, I apprehend, must have published a pamphlet, reflecting on the Schismatics, in 1775.[5] A still earlier notice of his *quondam* co-sectaries, occurs in the second edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry," which also appeared in that year. It is given as a *note* to the narrative of Lord Raymond's administration under the year 1739,[6] and runs—

"Several persons, disgusted at some of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge *at this time*, renounced their allegiance to the Grand Master, and in opposition to the original laws of the Society, and their solemn ties, held meetings, made masons, and falsely assuming the appellation of a Lodge, even presumed to constitute lodges. The regular masons, finding it necessary to check their progress, *adopted some new measures.* Piqued by this proceeding, they endea-

[1] Ahiman Rezon, 1778.
[2] Grand Lodge Minutes, March 8, 1754; March 20 and July 24, 1755.
[3] The editions of 1775 and 1776 were published by the Stationers' Company.
[4] *Post*, p. 423.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 424.
[6] P. 258.

voured to propagate an opinion, that the ancient practices of the Society were retained by them, and totally abolished by the regular Lodges, on whom they conferred the appellation of *Modern Masons*. By this artifice they continued to impose on the public, and introduced several gentlemen into their assemblies; but of late years, the fallacy being detected, they have not been so successful."

In the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1776, however, the disturbances, which we are told above had their origin in 1739, are traced back to the time of Lord Loudon, whose appointment of grand officers in 1736, Preston now informs us, gave offence to a few individuals, who withdrew from the Society during the presidency of the Earl of Darnley, but in that of Lord Raymond "assembled in the character of Masons, and without any power or authority from the Grand Master, initiated several persons into the order for small and unworthy considerations."[1]

Ultimately the story assumed the stereotyped form in which we now possess it. Successive editions of the "Illustrations of Masonry," published in 1781, 1788, 1792, and later, inform us that in the time of Lord Carnarvon (1738) some discontented brethren, taking advantage of the breach between the Grand Lodges of London and York,[2] assumed, without authority, the character of York Masons; that the measures adopted to check them seemed to authorise an omission of, and a variation in, the ancient ceremonies; that the seceders immediately announced independency, and assumed the appellation of *ancient* masons, also they propagated an opinion that the ancient tenets and practices of Masonry were preserved by them; and that the regular lodges, being composed of *modern* masons, had adopted *new* plans, and were not to be considered as acting under the *old* establishment.[3]

Here, as I have already ventured to express, we meet with an anachronism, for the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of 1738 are certainly confused with those of a much later date. But the chief interest of the story, lies in the statement that changes were made in the established forms, "which even the urgency of the case could not warrant."[4] Although, indeed, the passages last quoted were *continued* in the editions of his work published after 1789, we must not lose sight of the fact that they were written (1781) by Preston—a very doubtful authority at any time—during the suspension of his Masonic privileges, and when he must have been quite unable to criticise dispassionately the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, against whose authority he had been so lately in rebellion.[5]

It appears to me that the summary erasure of lodges for non-attendance at the Quarterly Communications, and for not "paying in their charity," was one of the leading causes of the Secession, which, as before expressed, I think must have taken place during the presidency of Lord Byron (1747-52). In the ten years, speaking roundly, commencing June 24, 1742, and ending November 30, 1752, no less than forty-five lodges, or about a third of the total of those meeting in the metropolis, were struck out of the list. Three, indeed, were restored to their former places, but only after intervals of two, four, and six years respectively. The case of the "Horn" Lodge has been already referred to;[6] but with regard to those of its fellow-

[1] Pp. 19, 20; also reproduced in substance in the edition for 1783.

[2] *Cf. post*, p. 412.

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 285, *et seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 287. Compare with the words italicised in the extract from the edition of 1775 (*ante*, p. 397).

[5] *Post*, p. 425, *et seq.*

[6] *Ante*, p. 343.

sufferers, mentioned in the note below,[1] it may be stated that No. 9 was restored, "it appearing that their Non-Attendance was occasioned by Mistake;" and also No. 54, "it appearing that their not meeting regularly had been occasioned by unavoidable Accidents."

On the principle that history repeats itself, the minutes of "Sarum" Lodge, later in the century, may hold up a mirror, in which is reflected the course of action adopted by the erased lodges of 1742-52. This lodge, which became No. 37 at the change of numbers in 1780, was erased February 6, 1777, for non-compliance with the order of Grand Lodge, requiring an account of registering fees and subscriptions since October 1768.

"Our refusal," says their letter in reply,[2] "has arisen from a strict obedience to the laws, principles, and constitutions, which expressly say, 'that though the Grand Lodge have an inherent power and authority to make new regulations, the real benefit of the ancient Fraternity shall in all cases be consulted, and the old landmarks carefully preserved.' By the late attempt of the Grand Lodge to impose a tax on the brethren at large, under penalty of erasing them from that list wherein they have a right to stand enrolled, as long as they shall preserve the principles of that constitution, the bounds prescribed by these landmarks seem to have been exceeded; the Grand Lodge has taken upon itself the exercise of a power hitherto unknown; the ancient rules of the fraternity (which gave freedom to every Mason) have been broke in upon; and that decency of submission, which is produced by an equitable government, has been changed to an extensive, and, we apprehend, a justifiable resistance to the endeavours of the Grand Lodge."

The Lodge was restored May 1, 1777, but on a further requisition from the Grand Lodge of two shillings per annum from each brother towards the Liquidation Fund, the members met, November 19, 1800, and unanimously agreed *not* to contribute to this requisition. After which, a proposal for forming a Grand Lodge in Salisbury, independent of the Grand Lodge of England, was moved and carried.[3]

The arbitrary proceedings of 1742-52 were doubtless as much resented in London, as those of 1777-99 were in the Country, and in passing from the subject, I shall briefly remark that though the last Lodge warranted in 1755, bore the number 271, only 200 Lodges were carried forward at the closing-up and alteration of numbers in 1756.[4]

According to the Engraved Lists,[5] Lodges were constituted by the Grand Lodge of England at Madrid in 1728, in Bengal 1730, at Paris 1732, Hamburgh and Boston (U.S.A.) 1733, the Hague, Lisbon, and in Georgia, 1735; in the West Indies 1738, Switzerland 1739, Denmark 1745, Minorca 1750, Madras 1752, Virginia 1753, and in Bombay 1758. Deputations were also granted to a number of persons in foreign countries, but of these no exact record has been preserved

[1] No. 9, The King's Arms, New Bond Street, *erased* March 25, 1745; *restored* March 7, 1747. No. 54, The George, in St Mary Axe, *erased* Nov. 21, 1745; *restored* Sept. 4, 1751. No. 2, The Horn, in Westminster, *erased* April 3, 1747; *restored* Sept. 4, 1751.

[2] Dated March 19, 1777. [3] F. H. Goldney, History of Freemasonry in Wiltshire, 1880, pp. 109-119.

[4] Forty-five *London* Lodges were erased in 1742-52; one—at the Ben Jonson's Head—in 1755; and during the same period 4 surrendered their warrants; total 50. Twenty-one *Country* Lodges were struck out in 1754, which gives us 50+21 = 71. Three of the former class, as we have seen, were restored, and this represents the number of Lodges omitted in the list of 1756, concerning which no details are afforded by the records.

[5] The series commences in 1723, and apparently terminates in 1778. The "Signs of the Houses" are not shown after 1769.

Among the early Grand Masters who were Fellows of the Royal Society, may be named Dr Desaguliers, the Duke of Montagu, the Earls of Dalkeith, Strathmore, Crawford, and Morton, Lords Paisley and Colerane—and Francis Drake, who presided over the Grand Lodge at York. The Duke of Lorraine, and the Chevalier Ramsay, were likewise both "Brethren" and "Fellows."

The following Deputies were also F.R.S.: Martin Folkes, D.G.M., 1724; W. Græme, 1739; Martin Clare, 1741; and E. Hody, 1745-46; so were Sir J. Thornhill, S.G.W., 1728, and Richard Rawlinson, Grand Steward, 1734; whilst it may interest some readers to learn that William Hogarth, son-in-law of the former, served the stewardship in 1735. Of the other Grand Stewards down to the year 1760 it will be sufficient to name John Faber, 1740; Mark Adston, 1753; Samuel Spencer, 1754; the Rev. J. Entick, 1755; and Jonathan Scott, 1758-59.

Editions of the "Book of Constitutions" appeared in 1723, 1738, 1746,[1] and 1756. The last named was compiled by the Rev. John Entick, and published by Jonathan Scott, and in it some alterations in, and additions to, the "Ancient Charges," which had disfigured the second edition, were omitted. The spirit of toleration which breathes in the Masons' creed has been attributed by Findel[2] and others to the influence of certain infidel writers. But of these, Woolston was probably mad, and, as remarked by a contemporary, "the devil lent him a good deal of his wickedness and none of his wit." Chubb was almost wholly uneducated; and although Collins, Tindal, and Toland discussed grave questions with grave arguments, they were much inferior in learning and ability to several of their opponents, and they struggled against the pressure of general obloquy. The deist was liable to great social contempt, and in the writings of Addison, Steele, Pope, and Swift he was habitually treated as external to all the courtesies of life. A simpler reason for the language of the Charge, "Concerning God and Religion," will be found in the fact that Anderson was a Presbyterian, and Desaguliers an Episcopalian; whilst others, no doubt, of the Grand Officers of that era were members of the older faith. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that they united on a platform which would divide them the least; and in so doing, the churchmen among them may have consoled themselves with the reflection, that Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, had many years before (1672), endeavoured to construct a system of morals without the aid of theology. At the same time, it must be freely conceded, that the principles of inductive philosophy which Bacon taught, and which the Royal Society had strengthened, had acquired a complete ascendancy over the ablest minds. Perhaps therefore the object of these prescient brethren, to whom is due the absence of sectarianism in our Charges, may be summed up in the words of Bishop Spratt (1667), the first and best historian of the Royal Society, who thus describes the purposes of its founders:

"As for what belongs to the members themselves, that are to constitute the Society, it is to be noted that they have freely admitted men of different religions, countries, and professions of life. This they were obliged to do, or else they would come far short of the largeness of their own declarations. For they openly profess not to lay the foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish, or Protestant philosophy—but *a philosophy of mankind.*"

[1] The 1738 edition, with a new title-page.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 125. See, however, Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., pp. 522, 524; and Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, vol. i., pp. 363, 425, 443.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FREEMASONRY IN YORK.

I HAVE already cited the "Parchment Roll"[1] as evidence of the character of the old Lodge at York from March 19, 1712, down to December 27, 1725, during which period the records testify that the meetings were simply entitled those of a Lodge, Society, Fraternity, or Company of "Antient and Honourable Assemblies of Free and Accepted Masons."

Other evidences of the existence of the Lodge at York have been given, dating back to the seventeenth century, notably the York MS. of A.D. 1693, which contains "the names of the Lodg;" six in all, including the warden.[2] A still earlier relic is a mahogany flat rule or gauge, with the following names and year incised:—

William ✡ Baron
of Yorke 1663
Iohn Drake Iohn ✡ Baron.

Mr Todd[3] is inclined to think that the John Drake mentioned was collated to the Prebendal Stall of Donnington in the cathedral church of York in October 1663, and if so, Francis Drake, the historian, was a descendant, which, to say the least, is very probable.

Considerable activity was manifested by the York brotherhood from 1723—the year when the premier Grand Lodge of England published its first "Book of Constitutions"—and particularly during 1725.

The following will complete the roll of meetings (1712-1730), of which the first portion has been already furnished.

"[4] This day Dec. 27, 1725, Being the Festival of St John the Evangelist, the Society went in Procession to Merchant's Hall, where, after the Grand Feast was over, they unanimously chose the Worsp[l]. Charles Bathurst, Esqre., their Grand Master, Mr Johnson his Deputy, Mr Pawson and Mr Drake, Wardens, Mr Scourfield, Treasurer, and John Russell, Clerk for the ensuing year."

[1] Pp. 271-274.

[2] Chap. II., p. 68; and see *facsimile* in Hughan's "Old Charges."

[3] Freemason, Nov. 15, 1884.

[4] Continued from page 274, and now for the first time published *in extenso*.

"Dec. 31, 1725.—At a private Lodge held at Mr Luke Lowther's, at the Starr in Stonegate, the underwritten Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons." [Name omitted.]

"Jan. 5, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge held at Mr John Colling's at y^e^ White Swan in Petergate, the underwritten persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Thomas Preston.
Martin Crofts."

"Feb. 4, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, Sr William Milner, Bar^t^., was sworn and admitted into the Society of Free Masons. W^m^. Milner."

"Mar. 2, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge at the White Swan in Petergate, the undernamed Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Society of Free Masons. John Lewis."

"Apr. 2, 1726.—At a private Lodge at y^e^ Starr in Stonegate, the following Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Robert Kaye.
W. Wombell.
W^m^. Kitchinman.
Cyril Arthington."

"Apr. 4, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the following Gentleman was sworn and admitted into y^e^ Antient Society of Free Masons. J. Kaye."

"May 4, 1726.—At a private Lodge at M^r^ James Boreham's, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into the Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

Charles Guarles.
Rich^d^. Atkinson.
Sam^l^. Ascough."

"May 16, 1726.—At a private Lodge at Mr Lowther's at y^e^ Star in Stonegate, the undermentioned Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Gregory Rhodes."

"June 24, 1726.—At a [1]General Lodge held at M^r^ Boreham's in Stonegate, the undermentioned Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Jo^n^. Cossley.
W^m^. Johnstone.

At the same time the following persons were sworn and admitted into the Hon^ble^. Society, vizt.,

William Marshall.
Matt ⋀ Cellar.
His mark.
Benjamin Campsall.
William Muschamp.
W^m^. Robinson.
Matthew Groul.
John Bradley.
John Hawman."

[1] Hughan is of opinion that there was another minute book for records of the regular monthly meetings.

"July 6, 1726.—Whereas it has been certify'd to me that Mr William Scourfield has presumed to call a Lodge and make masons without the consent of the Grand Master or Deputy, and in opposition to the 8th article of the Constitutions,[1] I do, with the consent of the Grand Master and the approbation of the whole Lodge, declare him to be disqualify'd from being a member of this Society, and he is for ever banished from the same.

"Such members as were assisting in constituting and forming Mr Scourfield's Schismatical Lodge on the 24th of the last month, whose names are John Carpenter, William Musgrave, Thomas Allanson, and Thos. Preston, are by the same authority liable to the same sentence, yet upon their acknowledging their Error in being deluded, and making such submission as shall be judg'd Requisite by the Grand Master and Lodge at the next monthly Meeting, shall be receiv'd into the favour of the Brotherhood, otherwise to be banish'd, and Mr Scourfield and their names to be eras'd out of the Roll and Articles.

"If any other Brother or Brothers shall hereafter separate from us, or be aiding and assisting in forming any Lodge under the said Mr Scourfield or any other Person without due Licence for the same, He or they so offending shall be disown'd as members of this Lodge, and for ever Excluded from the same."[2]

"July 6, 1726.—At a private Lodge held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient and Honourable Society of Free Masons, vizt.,

Henry Tireman.
Will. Thompson."

"Augt. 13, 1726.—At a private Lodge at Mr Lowther's at the Star in Stonegate, the underwritten Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons, vizt.,

Bellingham Graham.
Nicº. Roberts."

"Dec. 13, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the Right Honble. Arthur Ld. Viscount Irvin was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

A. Irwin."

"Dec. 15, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the undernamed Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Jno. Motley.
Wm. Davile.
Thos. Snowsell."

"Dec. 22, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the undernamed Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Richard Woodhouse.
Robart Tilburn."

"June 24, 1729.—At St John's Lodge held at yº Starr in Stonegate, the following Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Freemasons, vizt.,

Basil Forcer.
John Lamb."

[1] Evidently Regulation VIII. of the Grand Lodge in London is here referred to.

[2] The York authorities were evidently determined to put down with a strong hand all irregularities on the part of Schismatics. Wm. Scourfield, referred to above, was, in all probability, the Grand Treasurer elected at the Festival of 1725. The records are silent as to the name of the presiding officer.

"The same day Edward Thompson, Junior of Marston, Esq^{r}., was chosen Grand Master, M^{r} John Wilmer, Deputy Grand Master, Mr Geo. Rhodes and Mr Geo. Reynoldson, Grand Wardens, for ye year ensuing, and afterwards the Grand Master was pleased to order the following appointment, viz., I do appoint D^{r} Johnson, Mr Drake, M^{r} Marsden, Mr Denton, M^{r} Brigham, M^{r} R. Marsh, and Mr Etty to assist in regulating the state of the Lodge, and redressing from time to time any inconveniences that may arise.

Edw^{d}. Thompson, Gr. Mr."

"May 4, 1730.—At a private Lodge at Mr Colling's, being the Sign of y^{e} White Swan in Petergate, York, it was order'd by the Dep. Mast^{r}. then present—That if from thenceforth any of the officers of y^{e} Lodge should be absent from y^{e} Company at y^{e} Monthly Lodges, they shall forfeit the sum of one shilling for each omission. John Wilmer, Dep. G. M."

It will be at once noticed that the Festival of St John the Evangelist, 1725, was celebrated under somewhat different circumstances from any of those held previously, inasmuch as it was termed the "Grand Feast," the "President" of former years being now the "Grand Master," and a Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Clerk were also elected. It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that this expansion of the Northern organisation was due to the formation of the premier Grand Lodge in 1717, of which doubtless the York Fraternity had been informed, and who therefore desired to follow the example of the Lodges in London, by having a Grand Master to rule over them.

A point much discussed of late years is the number of lodges which are essential to the legal constitution of a Grand Lodge, for even if the minimum were fixed at three or five,[1] as some advocate, the York organisation would be condemned as illegal. It must, however, be borne in mind, that in 1725, as in 1717, there were no laws to govern the Craft as to the constitution of Grand Lodges, the first of its kind being only some eight years old when the second Grand Lodge was inaugurated; and though the Northern Authority was not the result, so far as is known, of a combination of lodges, as in London, clearly there was as much *right* to form such an organisation in the one case as in the other.

It is to be regretted that the records of the "Four Old Lodges" do not antedate those of the "Grand Lodge" they brought into existence, as fortunately happens in the case of the single lodge which blossomed into the "Grand Lodge of *all* England, held at York," and assuredly the priority of a few years cannot be urged as a reason for styling the one body legal, and denying such a position to the other. Apparently for some years the York Grand Lodge was without any chartered subordinates, but that of itself does not invalidate its claim to be the chief authority, at least for Yorkshire and the neighbouring counties. That it emanated from an old lodge at work for years prior to the creation of the London Grand Lodge, there cannot be a doubt; the records preserved going back to 1712, whilst others ranging from 1705 were extant in the last century. These extend throughout, and indeed overlap, that obscure portion of our annals, viz., the epoch of transition. It has long been assumed that this lodge of 1705-12 and later, is the same as the one alluded to in the Minster Archives of the fourteenth century. It may be so, and the popular belief is perhaps

[1] The earliest of all Grand Lodges, viz., that constituted at London in 1717, was pronounced by Laurence Dermott "*defective in numbers*," because "in order to form a Grand Lodge, *there should have been* the Masters and Wardens of *five* regular lodges" (Ahiman Rezon, 3d edit., 1778, p. 14).

the true one, but until it is supported by at least a *modicum* of evidence, it would be a waste of time to proceed with its examination.[1]

In the brief registers of the meetings from 1725 to 1730, it will be seen that after the year 1725, even when Festivals were held, they are not described as Grand Lodge assemblies; but that some of them were so regarded is evident from the speech delivered by Francis Drake, F.R.S.,[2] "Junior Grand Warden," at the celebration of the Festival of St John the Evangelist in 1726. This well-known antiquary was familiar with the Constitutions of 1723, for he styles Dr Anderson "The Learned Author of the Antiquity of Masonry, annexed to which are our Constitutions," and adds, "that diligent Antiquary has traced out to us those many stupendous works of the Antients, which were certainly, and without doubt, infinitely superior to the Moderns."[3] Drake's statement that "the first Grand Lodge ever held in England, was held at York," I need not pause to examine, its absurdity having been fully demonstrated in earlier Chapters.[4] If indeed, for *Grand Lodge*, we substitute "*Assembly*," the contention may perhaps be brought within the region of possibility, and the ingenious speculation that the meeting in question was held under the auspices of "Edwin, the first Christian King of the Northumbers, about the Six Hundredth year after Christ, who laid the Foundation of our Cathedral," is at least entitled to consideration, notwithstanding the weakness of its attestation.[5] Not so, however, the assertions, that "King Edwin" presided as "Grand Master," and that the York Lodge is "the Mother Lodge of them all," which will rather serve to amuse, than to convince the readers of this History. The explanation offered by Drake with regard to "Edwin of the Northumbers" does not seem to have been popular at any time, either with the York Masons, or with the Craft at large, for the date ascribed to the apocryphal "Constitutions of 926," has been almost invariably preferred by the brethren in the north, and Laurence Dermott was not slow to follow their example, as will be seen farther on.[6] The "Old Charges" explicitly refer to Prince Edwin *temp.* Athelstan, and to no one else, as being the medium of procuring for the Masons the privilege of holding their Assemblies once a year, *where they would*, one of which was held at York; and therefore, it requires something more than the colourable solution of Drake, to set aside the uniform testimony of our time-honoured Operative Constitutions. Hargrove states that "In searching the Archives of Masonry, we find the first lodge was instituted in this city (York) at a very early period; indeed, even prior to any other recorded in England. It was termed 'The Most Ancient Grand Lodge of *all* England,' and was instituted at York by King Edwin in 926, as appears by the following curious extract from the ancient records of the Fraternity."[7]

[1] There is absolutely nothing to connect the York Lodge of the eighteenth and most probably the seventeenth century with lodges of earlier date, though of course the possibility of the former being a lineal descendant of the latter must be conceded.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 273, 284.

[3] "A Speech deliver'd to the Worshipful and Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons at a Grand Lodge, held at Merchants' Hall, in the City of York, on St John's Day, December 27, 1726. The Right Worshipful Charles Bathurst, Esq., Grand Master" (1st edit., Thomas Gent, York, 1727, *circa*. Reprinted, London, 1729 and 1734; also by Hughan, Masonic Sketches, 1871).

[4] II., pp. 101, 105; XII., pp. 55, 59. [5] *Cf.* Chap. XV., p. 247.

[6] *Cf. ante*, p. 287, and *post*, the Observations on the Schismatic or "Atholl" Grand Lodge, *passim*.

[7] Hughan informs me that the extract he had sent him (and which he inserted in his "Old Charges," in reference to York) from Hargrove's History, 1818, p. 476, is deficient in the following line, "and gave them the *charter*

The first writer who treated the subject of Masonry in York at any length was Findel,[1] but the observations of this able historian have been to a great extent superseded by a monograph from the pen of Hughan, published in 1871.[2] The labours, indeed, of subsidiary writers must not be ignored. Many of the articles dealing with York, and its unrivalled (English) Archives, in the late *Freemasons' Magazine*, represent work, which in other hands would have assumed the proportion of volumes. It is now difficult, if not altogether impossible, to trace how far each historian of the Craft is indebted to those that have preceded him. Especially is this the case with regard to subjects largely discussed in publications of an ephemeral character such as the Journals of the Fraternity. There quickly arises a great mass of what is considered common property, unless, as too often happens, it is put down to the account of the last reader who quotes it. It is true that he who shortens the road to knowledge, lengthens life, but we are all of us more indebted than we believe we are, to that class of writers whom Johnson termed "the pioneers of literature, doomed to clear away the dirt and the rubbish, for those heroes who pass on to honour and to victory, without deigning to bestow a single smile on the humble drudge that facilitates their progress."[3]

Among those members of the Craft, to whose researches we are chiefly indebted for the notices of York and its Freemasons, which lie scattered throughout the more ephemeral literature of the Craft, are some to whom I may be allowed to allude. The name of the late E. W. Shaw[4] was familiar to a past generation of Masonic readers, not less so that of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford,[5] whose former labours, indeed, have been eclipsed by later ones. Mr T. B. Whytehead and Mr Joseph Todd[6] may be next referred to, both diligent explorers of Masonic Antiquities, and to whose local knowledge, visitors at the old shrine of Yorkshire Masonry are so much indebted.

Evidently it was the custom to style the ordinary meetings of the York Brethren "Private Lodges," those held on the Festival Days in June and December being entitled "General" or "St John's" Lodges. It appears that brethren who temporarily presided, in the absence of the Presidents and (subsequently) Grand Masters, were described as Masters, but I do not consider they were the actual Masters of the Lodge, not only because there were *three* Brethren so entitled, who occupied the chair at the meetings held on July 21, August 10 and 12, September 6, and December 1, 1725, but because the Rulers at that period were named *Presidents*. The regular monthly meetings were apparently distinct from the "Private Lodges," the latter being additional to the ordinary assemblies, and it may well be, were convened exclusively for "makings." The numerous gatherings of the Lodge indicate that the interest of the members was well sustained, at least for a time.

and *commission* to meet annually in communicaytion." This clause is peculiar to the MS. noted by Hargrove, which so far has escaped detection. *Vide* Chap. II., p. 74; also Hughan, Old Charges, p. 7.

[1] History of Freemasonry, pp. 83, 158-170.

[2] History of Freemasonry at York, forming Part i. of "Masonic Sketches and Reprints." I am glad to announce that a new edition of this interesting work is contemplated by the author, in which will be incorporated all the more recent discoveries.

[3] Lacon, vol. ii., p. 104.

[4] *Cf.* Freemasons' Magazine, Jan. to June, 1864, p. 163.

[5] *Cf.* The Archives of the York Union Lodge, by the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (Freemasons' Magazine, Ap. 16, 1864).

[6] I may perhaps be permitted to mention in this place, my gratification at having been elected an honorary member of the "York" and "Eboracum" Lodges (Nos. 236 and 1611)—a distinction I share with Hughan—on the proposal in the one instance of Mr Todd, and in the other of Mr Whytehead.

The "Old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York, 1725,"[1] were as follows:

"Articles agreed to be kept and observed by the Antient Society of Freemasons in the City of York, and to be subscribed by every Member thereof at their Admittance into the said Society.

Imprimis.—That every first Wednesday in the month a Lodge shall be held at the house of a Brother according as their turn shall fall out.

2.—All Subscribers to these Articles not appearing at the monthly Lodge, shall forfeit Sixpence each time.

3.—If any Brother appear at a Lodge that is not a Subscriber to these Articles, he shall pay over and above his club [*i.e.*, subscription] the sum of one Shilling.

4.—The Bowl shall be filled at the monthly Lodges with Punch once, Ale, Bread, Cheese, and Tobacco in common, but if any more shall be called for by any Brother, either for eating or drinking, that Brother so calling shall pay for it himself besides his club.

5.—The Master or Deputy shall be obliged to call for a Bill exactly at ten o'clock, if they meet in the evening, and discharge it.

6.—None to be admitted to the making of a Brother but such as have subscribed to these Articles.

7.—Timely notice shall be given to all the Subscribers when a Brother or Brothers are to be made.

8.—Any Brother or Brothers presuming to call a Lodge with a design to make a Mason or Masons, without the Master or Deputy, or one of them deputed, for every such offence shall forfeit the sum of Five Pounds.

9.—Any Brother that shall interrupt the Examination of a Brother shall forfeit one Shilling.

10.—Clerk's Salary for keeping the Books and Accounts shall be one Shilling, to be paid him by each Brother at his admittance, and at each of the two Grand days he shall receive such gratuity as the Company [*i.e.*, those present] shall think proper.

11.—A Steward to be chose for keeping the Stock at the Grand Lodge, at Christmas, and the Accounts to be passed three days after each Lodge.

12.—If any disputes arise, the Master shall silence them by a knock of the Mallet, any Brother that shall presume to disobey shall immediately be obliged to leave the Company, or forfeit five Shillings.

13.—An Hour shall be set apart to talk Masonry.

14.—No person shall be admitted into the Lodge but after having been strictly examined.

15.—No more persons shall be admitted as Brothers of this Society that shall keep a Public-House.

16.—That these Articles, shall at Lodges be laid upon the Table, to be perused by the Members, and also when any new Brothers are made, the Clerk shall publicly read them.

17.—Every new Brother at his admittance shall pay the Wait[er]s as their Salary, the sum of two Shillings, the money to be lodged in the Steward's hands, and paid to them at each of the Grand days.

[1] These are given by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," pp. 44, 45, as transcribed from the original, written on parchment, and now in the custody of the "York" Lodge, No. 236.

18.—The Bidder of the Society shall receive of each new Brother at his admittance the sum of one Shilling as his Salary [*see* Rule 7].

19.—No Money shall be expended out of the Stock after the hour of ten, as in the fifth Article."

These Laws were signed by "Ed. Bell, Master," and 87 Members, and though not unusual in character for the period, they are not unworthy of reproduction as the earliest regulations known, of the old Lodge at York.

It is much to be regretted that the "narrow folio manuscript Book, beginning 7th March 1705-6, containing sundry Accounts and Minutes relative to the Grand Lodge,"[1] is still missing, all the efforts of those most interested in the discovery having so far proved abortive. With that valuable document before us, it would doubtless be easy to obtain clues to several puzzles which at present confront us. Its contents were well known in 1778, as the following letter proves, which was sent by the then Grand Secretary (York) to Mr B. Bradley, of London[2] (J. W. of the "Lodge of Antiquity"), in order to satisfy him and Mr William Preston (P. M. of the same old lodge, and author of the famous "Illustrations of Masonry") of the existence of the ancient Grand Lodge at York before the year 1717.

"Sir,—In compliance with your request to be satisfied of the existence of a Grand Lodge at York previous to the establishment of that at London in 1717 I have inspected an Original Minute Book of this Grand Lodge beginning at 1705 and ending in 1734 from which I have extracted the names of the Grand Masters during that period as follows:

1705 Sir George Tempest Barronet.
1707 The Right Honourable Robert Benson Lord Mayor [of York].
1708 Sir William Robinson Bar^{t}.
1711 Sir Walter Hawksworth Bar^{t}.
1713 Sir George Tempest Bar^{t}.
1714 Charles Fairfax Esq^{r}.
1720 Sir Walter Hawkesworth Bar^{t}.
1725 Edward Bell Esq^{r}.
1726 Charles Bathurst Esq^{r}.
1729 Edward Thompson Esq^{r}. M.P.
1733 John Johnson Esq^{r}. M.D.
1734 John Marsden Esq^{r}.

"It is observable that during the above period the Grand Lodge was not holden twice together at the same house and there is an Instance of its being holden once (in 1713) out of York, viz., at Bradford in Yorkshire when 18 Gentlemen of the first families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons.

"In short the superior antiquity of the Grand Lodge of York to all other Lodges in the Kingdom will not admit a Doubt all the Books which treat on the subject agree that it was founded so early as the year 926, and that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth it was so numerous that

[1] A Schedule of the Regalia, Records, etc., dated September 15, 1779, will be found in Hughan's "Masonic Sketches," p. 20, *et seq.*

[2] Copied for Hughan by Mr Todd, P.M. and Treasurer of the "York" Lodge, No. 236.

mistaking the purport of their Meeting she was at the trouble of sending an armed Force to dislodge the Brethren, it apears by the Lodge Books since that Time that this Lodge has been regularly continued and particularly by the Book above extracted that it was in being early in the present Century previous to the Era of the Aggrandized Lodge of London—and that it now exists even the Compilers of the Masons Almanack published under the sanction of that Lodge cannot but acknowledge tho they accompany such their acknowledgement with an invidious and unmasonic Prophecy that it will be soon totally annihilated—an event which we trust that no man nor sett of men who are mean enough to wish, shall ever live to see.

"I have intimated to this Lodge what passed between us of your Intention to apply for a Constitution under it and have the satisfaction to inform you that it met with universal Aprobation —You will therefore be pleased to furnish me with a petition to be presented for the purpose specifying the Names of the Brethren to be appointed to the several Officies, and I make no Doubt that the Matter will be speedily accomplished.

"My best Respects attends Brother Preston whom I expect you will make acquainted with the purport of this and hope it will be agreeable to him—I am with true Regard

Your most faithfull Brother
and Obedient Servant

JACOB BUSSEY, G.S.

"To Mr Benjam. Bradley,
N°. 3 Clements Lane Lombard Street
London.

"York, 29th Aug^st^ 1778."

I shall here merely notice the circumstance that Grand Secretary Bussey terms the chief officers prior to December 1725 "Grand Masters," instead of "Presidents."

Presuming that the year in each case means the period of service, and that the election or installation took place on the celebration of the (immediately) preceding Festival of St John the Evangelist, that would really take the Register back to December 1704; when Sir George Tempest, Bart., was chosen to be the President; succeeded in 1707 by the Right Hon. Robert Benson, Lord Mayor of York (afterwards Baron Bingley); after whom came Sir William Robinson, Bart., for 1708 (M.P. for York, 1713); followed by other local celebrities, down to the year 1734. Mr Whytehead observes most truly, that "a large proportion of the Masons at York were Lord Mayors, Aldermen, and Sheriffs; and even down to our own day it has been the same."[1] Admiral Robert Fairfax, the "Deputy President" at Christmas 1721, was Lord Mayor in 1715 and M.P. in 1713; and other instances might be cited of the distinguished social position of these early rulers of the Yorkshire Fraternity. I am not, indeed, much impressed with the accuracy or critical value of the list of "Grand Masters" supplied by Mr Bussey, and for more reasons than one. Take, for instance, the names of some of the Presidents. Sir Walter Hawkesworth is recorded as the President, June 24, 1713,[2] though not mentioned by Bussey after 1711, until 1720. Then, again, Charles Fairfax is not recognised as the chief Ruler in the minutes of Christmas 1716 and 1721, but is distinctly described as the Deputy President ("D. P."); neither is he anywhere

[1] Some Ancient Masons and their Early Haunts (Freemason, October 25, 1884).

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 271.

termed *the* President in the existing Roll of 1712-30. His name certainly occurs as "The Worshipful Charles Fairfax, Esq^re.," on June 24, 1714; but the same prefix was accorded to other temporary occupants of the chair, who were not Presidents at the time. The so-called President of 1725 is simply entitled "Master" on July 21 in that year, as Scourfield and Huddy are in 1725. It is impossible, therefore, to arrive at any definite conclusion with regard to these officers as respects the list in question, nor can their status in the Lodge be even approximately determined upon the evidence before us.

Dr Bell, of Hull, in his "Stream of English Freemasonry," rather too confidently assumes that the tenure of office of the successive Presidents lasted from the years opposite their own names, until the dates placed by the same authority against those of their successors. This, of course, *may* have been sometimes the case; but we know for a certainty that it was not always so. For 1713 the same writer gives Sir Walter Hawkesworth instead of Sir George Tempest as the President, and I am inclined to agree with him in so doing, notwithstanding it is opposed to Bussey's statement. Dr Bell bestows the title of President on Charles Bathurst for the year 1724, and "Edmund Bell *or* William Scourfield" Esquires for 1725. Charles Bathurst was not initiated until July 21, 1725,[1] unless, indeed, the office was held by his father, as Mr Whytehead suggests[2] was possible; if so, the elder Bathurst died during his year of office, and was succeeded by his son on December 27, 1725. I am inclined to believe the year stated by the Grand Secretary was not the right one, for there are other discrepancies which have yet to be considered. So far as can now be conjectured, "George Bowes, Esq.," who was Deputy President on March 19, 1712, and August 7, 1713, was as much entitled to be described as President as either of the three gentlemen already mentioned. Mr Whytehead has succeeded in tracing another Grand Master "of the Grand Lodge of all England at York," thus proving the incomplete character of the list of Masonic dignitaries supplied by the Grand Secretary of 1778. The discovery made by this excellent authority he thus relates: "A short time ago I noticed in an old copy of 'Debrett' a statement that the first baronet of the Milner[3] family was Grand Master of Freemasons in England. I knew that he had been 'made' at York, as also that he had not been Grand Master of either of the Southern Bodies; and after some enquiry, and the kind assistance of Mr Clements Markham and of Bro. Sir F. G. Milner, I have ascertained that the first baronet was Grand Master at York in 1728-9. In a MS. work in four volumes in the Leeds Library, entitled, 'A Collection of Coats of Arms and Descents of the Several Families of the West Riding, from MSS. of John Hopkinson; corrected by T. Wilson, of Leeds,' is the following entry, under the name of Sir W. Milner: 'On St John Baptist Day, 1728, at York, he was elected Grand Master of the Freemasons in England, being the 798 successor from Edwin the Great.' This is an interesting addition to the list of the York Grand Masters."[4]

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 273.

[2] Freemason, November 8, 1884.

[3] Sir W. Milner was initiated on February 4, 1725-6, the present baronet, Sir F. G. Milner, M.P. for York, being "his great-great-great-grandson" (according to Mr Whytehead), the latter having been installed as W.M. of the "Eboracum Lodge," No. 1611, York, on November 10, 1884, and curiously enough the interesting discovery came just in time to furnish the materials for one of the most attractive features of the toast-list at the subsequent banquet, designed by the successful investigator.

[4] Freemason, December 20, 1884.

It will be remembered that the next Grand Master, "Edward Thompson, Junior, of Marston, Esq.," was elected and installed at a "St John's Lodge," held on June 24, 1729.

What Jacob Bussey, G.S., intended to convey by the words, "It is observable that, during the above period, the Grand Lodge was not holden twice together at the same place,"[1] is not altogether clear, as several consecutive meetings took place at Mr James Boreham's, 1712-26, and at the "Starr in Stongate," 1725-29. Moreover, there were Lodges held in other houses more than once in the year—*e.g.*, at John Colling's, in Petergate, 1724-25.[2]

It is from this letter we learn that the Lodge was held at Bradford by the York Brethren, when some eighteen gentlemen were made Masons. No mention is made of the Lodge held at Scarborough in 1705, under the presidency of William Thompson, Esq., though I am strongly of opinion that it assembled under the banner of the old Lodge at York.[3]

Preston bases his account of the York Grand Lodge on the letter of its Grand Secretary (probably with subsequent additions from the same source). "From this account," says Preston, "which is authenticated by the Books of the Grand Lodge at York, it appears that the Revival of Masonry in the South of England did not interfere with the proceedings of the fraternity in the North; nor did that event taking place alienate any allegiance that might be due to the General Assembly or Grand Lodge there, which seems to have been considered at that time, and long after, as the Mother Lodge of the whole Kingdom. For a series of years the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two Grand Lodges, and private Lodges flourished in both parts of the Kingdom under their separate jurisdiction. The only mark of superiority which the Grand Lodge in the North appears to have retained after the revival of Masonry in the South, is in the title which they claimed, viz., *The Grand Lodge of all England*,[4] TOTIUS ANGLIÆ; while the Grand Lodge in the South passed only under the denomination of '*The Grand Lodge of England.*'"[5] The distinction claimed by the York Masons appears to have originated with the Junior Grand Warden on December 27, 1726; at least, there is no earlier reference to it with which I am acquainted.

Preston was a warm adherent of the Northern Grand Lodge during the period of his separation from the Grand Lodge of England,[6] and assuredly, if all he states about its antiquity and character could be substantiated, no one need wonder at his partiality being so marked. He declares that "To be ranked as descendants of the original York Masons was the glory and boast of the Brethren in almost every country where Masonry was established; and from the prevalence and universality of the idea that York was the place where Masonry was first

[1] "Occasionally the Feast was held at the houses of the brethren by turns—in uno certo loco ad aliquesse domum fratrum vel sororum."—Caistor, Bundle cccx., No. 193 (English Gilds, introduction, by Lucy Toulmin Smith, p. xxxiii., note 4).

[2] *Ante*, pp. 271-274.

[3] Hughan informs me, on the authority of Mr Samuel Middleton, of Scarborough, that William Thompson was M.P. for that town in 1705, and was appointed Warden of the Mint in 1715. He died in 1744. In a footnote to an old local history, he is described as "of Scarbro."

[4] It is possible (as Hughan suggests) that this title may have been a retort upon the Pope, by whom Canterbury was given a precedence over York, the Archbishop of the former city being styled "Primate of *all* England," and the latter "of England" only.

[5] Illustrations of Masonry, 1788, pp. 245, 246. The above remarks are slightly varied and curtailed in later editions.

[6] *I.e.*, the Regular or Constitutional Grand Lodge, dating from 1717. His connection with other Grand Lodges will be presently noticed.

established by Charter, the Masons of England have received tribute from the first States in Europe."[1] What can be said of such a statement, when, as a simple matter of fact, not a Lodge *abroad* was ever constituted by the York Grand Lodge, and as to the tribute mentioned, there is not the slightest confirmatory evidence respecting it to be found anywhere.

The fact is, Preston doubtless wrote what he thought ought to be the case, if it were not really so, or shall we say, what he considered might be true, if the means for a full investigation were granted him.

Preston's version of the breach which occurred between the two Grand Lodges—London and York—is in the form of two distinct statements, one of which must be inaccurate, as both cannot be true. According to him, it arose out "of a few Brethren at York having, on some trivial occasion, seceded from their ancient Lodge, [and] applied to London for a Warrant of Constitution. Without any inquiry into the merits of the case, their application was honoured. Instead of being recommended to the Mother Lodge, to be restored to favour, these Brethren were encouraged to revolt; and in open defiance of an established authority, permitted, under the banner of the Grand Lodge at London, to open a new Lodge in the city of York itself. This illegal extension of power, and violent encroachment on the privileges of antient Masonry, gave the highest offence to the Grand Lodge at York, and occasioned a breach, which time, and a proper attention to the Rules of the Order, only can repair."[2] His second version of the "breach" is said to be due to the encroachment of the Earl of Crawford on the "Jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Masons in the City of York, by constituting two Lodges within their district, and by granting without their consent, three Deputations, one for Lancashire, a second for Durham, and a third for Northumberland. This circumstance the Grand Lodge at York at that time highly resented, and ever after seem to have viewed the Grand Lodge at London with a jealous eye. All friendly intercourse was dropt."[3] Yet another supposed cause of unpleasantness was found in the granting of a Patent to the Provincial Grand Master of Yorkshire, by the Marquis of Carnarvon, in 1738, which it seems so troubled the minds of the York Brothers "that since that circumstance, all correspondence between the two Grand Lodges has ceased."[4]

Those who have adopted Preston's view of the subject have been led astray, for there is not even the shadow of a proof, to substantiate the allegation that at any time there was animosity, either on the one side or the other; and as Hughan[5] clearly shows, if Preston's explanations are accepted, the granting of the warrant for No. 59, Scarborough, on August 27, 1729, is quite ignored, besides which, we shall find farther on, that a friendly correspondence on the part of the York Grand Lodge was offered the Grand Lodge of England, after the breach between them is said to have occurred.

It is singular also to note the error of Findel[6] and other historians with respect to the invasion of the York Territory, A.D. 1734, for as Hughan conclusively points out, there is no register of any lodge being warranted or constituted in Yorkshire or its neighbourhood in that

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, p. 246.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1788, p. 247.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[5] Masonic Sketches and Reprints, part i., p. 31.
[6] Many Brethren at their own request received in London a charter for the institution of a Lodge at York (Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 165).



ROBERT FREKE GOULD.

PAST SENIOR GRAND DEACON OF ENGLAND.

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh.

year. The fact is, the second Yorkshire Lodge was No. 176, Halifax, July 12, 1738 (now No. 61), the first, as I have already stated, being the one at Scarborough of 1729.[1]

It is not possible now to decide when the "Grand Lodge of all England" ceased to work—that is to say, spasmodically at least. Findel states that "the York Lodge was inactive from 1730 to 1760," and "at its last gasp,"[2] on May 30, 1730, when fines were levied for non-attendance. The same able writer observes: "The isolated or Mother Lodge, which dates from a very early period, had, until the year 1730, neither made nor constituted any other Lodge."[3] If by the latter declaration, it is meant that a lodge or lodges were formed by the "Grand Lodge of all England," in 1730, I am not aware of any evidence to justify the statement, but it occurs to me, that collateral proof is not wanting to suggest the constitution, or at least the holding of lodges in other parts of the country, besides York, under the authority of the Old Lodge in question, prior to 1730; the assemblies at Scarborough and Bradford in 1705 and 1713 respectively, being alone sufficient to support this contention.

That the Grand Lodge at York was not extinct even in 1734 is also susceptible of proof, for the Roll of Parchment, No. 9, still preserved by the present "York" Lodge (No. 236), which is a List of Master Masons, thirty-five in all, indicates that meetings had been held so late as that year, and probably later,—July 7, 1734, being attached to the 27th name on the Register. There are then eight more names to be accounted for, which may fairly be approximately dated a few months farther on, if not into the year 1735.

Neither is there occasion to depend entirely upon the testimony of this Roll of Master Masons (the earliest date on which is of 1729, and the latest of 1734), for the "Book of Constitutions," 1738, contains the following reference to the York Lodge, which is not one likely to have been inserted, unless it was known that, about the time or year mentioned, the Lodge was still in existence.

> "All these foreign Lodges [*i.e.*, those to which Deputations had been granted by the Grand Lodge of 1717] are under the Patronage of our Grand Master of *England*.
>
> "But the *old Lodge* at YORK City, and the *Lodges* of SCOTLAND, IRELAND, FRANCE, and ITALY, affecting Independency, are under their own *Grand Masters*, tho' they have the same *Constitutions, Charges, Regulations*, &c., for Substance, with their Brethren of *England*."[4]

Then there are the several allusions to Freemasonry at York by Dr Fifield Dassigny in 1744, especially the note, "I am informed in that city is held an assembly of Master Masons, under the title of Royal Arch Masons,"[5] which in all fairness cannot be dated farther back than 1740; but of this more anon. It appears to me, therefore, that there is evidence of a positive character, confirmatory of the belief that the York Masons did not lay aside their working tools until considerably later than the year named by Findel and other Historians; hence I quite agree with Hughan in his supposition that the "Grand Lodge of all England" was in actual being until about 1740-50.

[1] *Cf.* Gould, "Four Old Lodges," pp. 51, 52.

[2] History of Freemasonry, p. 164.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[4] Constitutions, 1738, p. 196.

[5] Dr Fifield Dassigny, A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the Present Decay of Freemasonry, Dublin, MDCCXLIV., reprinted in Hughan's Masonic Memorials, 1874, where the passage quoted above will be found at p. 89.

That the Lodge flourished at York many years anterior to the inauguration of the Premier Grand Lodge of England, cannot, I think, be doubted, though it was not dignified by the name of a "Grand Lodge" until some eight years after the constitution of its formidable rival; and, that it was an honourable, as well as an ancient Society, is abundantly proved by reference to those of its valuable records which are happily still preserved and zealously guarded by their careful custodians, the members of the "York" (late the "Union") Lodge.

Whatever uncertainty may surround the question of the cessation from work (1740-50), there is none whatever as to the period of the Revival of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England" at York, as fortunately the records are preserved of the inauguration of the proceedings, and the commencement of a new life, which, though far more vigorous than the old one, was yet destined to run its course ere the century had expired. We shall hardly err if we ascribe this revival to the establishment of a lodge at York by the Grand Lodge of England.[1] The Lodge No. 259 on the roll of the southern organisation, held at the "Punch Bowl," was warranted January 12, 1761, whilst the neighbourhood, so to speak, was "unoccupied territory." The charter and minutes of this friendly rival are in the possession of the "York" Lodge, No. 236, and have been carefully examined and described by Mr T. B. Whytehead.[2] The earliest record is dated February 2, 1761, but its promoters soon shook off their first allegiance, evidently preferring a connection with the local Grand Lodge to remaining, so to speak, but a remote pendicle of the more powerful organisation of the metropolis. That this was not the first lodge established by the latter in Yorkshire has been already stated. Charters were issued for Scarborough in 1729, Halifax in 1738, and Leeds in 1754, besides many others in adjoining provinces, and Provincial Grand Masters were appointed for Yorkshire in 1738, and also in 1740, when Mr William Horton was succeeded by Mr Edward Rooke.[3]

On the opening day at the "Punch Bowl" there were eight members present, and the same number of visitors. Great zeal was manifested by the petitioners and the brethren generally, several meetings being held from 1761 to 1763; but I do not think they met as a lodge after January 1764. Malby Beckwith, the new Master, who was placed in the chair on January 18, 1762, was duly addressed by the retiring W.M. Bro. Frodsham, and by request of the members the charge was printed and published, going through more than one edition.[4] Mr Whytehead tells us that "as Bro. Seth Agar, the W.M. (from Jan. 3, 1763), soon afterwards became Grand Master of *all* England, it seems probable that the superior assumption of Grand Lodge had eclipsed the humble Punch Bowl Lodge, and that the latter was deserted by its members."[5]

That the constitution of the Lodge of 1761 was actually the cause of the revival of the slumbering Grand Lodge cannot be positively asserted, but it appears to me most probable that the formation of the one led to the restoration of the other, and yet, singular to state, the

[1] *I.e.*, the Grand Lodge constituted at London, A.D. 1717.

[2] Freemasons' Chronicle, Dec. 27, 1879; Freemason, Jan. 10, 1880.

[3] Dr Bell, in his "History of the Province of North and East Yorkshire," gives the name of William Horton as Prov. G.M. to 1756, but he died in or before 1740.

[4] "A Charge delivered to the most antient and honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, in a Lodge held at the Punch-Bowl, in Stonegate, York, upon Friday the 18th of January 1762, by Bro. Frodsham, at his dismission of the chair."

[5] Freemason, Jan. 10, 1880.

latter organisation, though apparently owing a new lease of life to the existence of the former, was only able to shake off the lethargy of long years by absorbing the very body which stimulated its own reconstitution.

I will now cite the full account of the revival, which is given by Hughan [1] from the actual records.

"The Antient and Independent Constitution of Free and Accepted Masons Belonging to the City of York, was this Seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1761, Revived by six of the surviving members of the Fraternity by the Grand Lodge being opened, and held at the House of Mr Henry Howard, in Lendall, in the said City, by them and others hereinafter named. When and where it was further agreed on, that it should be continued and held there only the Second and Last Monday in every month.[2]

Present—

Grand Master, . . Brother Francis Drake, Esq., F.R.S.
Deputy G.M., . . George Reynoldson.
Grand Wardens, . . George Coates and Thomas Mason.
Together with Brothers Christopher Coulton and Martin Crofts.

Visiting Brethren.

Tasker, Leng, Swetnam, Malby Beckwith, Frodsham, Fitzmaurice, Granger, Crisp, Oram, Burton, and Howard.

"Minutes of the Transactions at the Revival and Opening of the said Grand Lodge :—

"Brother John Tasker was by the Grand Master, and the rest of the Brethren, unanimously appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer. He having first petitioned to become a member, and being approved and accepted *nem. con.*

"Brother Henry Howard also petitioned to be admitted a member, who was accordingly balloted for and approved *nem. con.*

"Mr Charles Chaloner, Mr Seth Agar, George Palmes, Esq., Mr Ambrose Beckwith, and Mr William Siddall, petitioned to be made Brethren the first opportunity, who being severally balloted for, were all approved *nem. con.*

"This Lodge was closed till Monday, the 23rd day of this instant March, unless in case of Emergency."

Several of the visitors mentioned were members of the Lodge assembling at the "Punch Bowl," and the fact of their being present in such a capacity is sufficient proof that the two Grand Lodges were on terms of amity, especially emphasised by the friendly action of the York organisation later on, about which a few words have presently to be said.

A noticeable feature of this record is that the Grand Master, Deputy, and Wardens occupied their positions as if holding them of inherent right, the only Brother elected to office being the Grand Secretary, who was also the Grand Treasurer. I think, therefore, that Francis Drake and his principal officers must have acted in their several capacities prior to the dormancy of 1740-50. If this was the case—and there are no facts which militate against such an hypothesis—then the Grand Master and his coadjutors were nominated and elected at assemblies of the Grand Lodge of which no record has come down to us.

The five candidates proposed on March 17 were initiated on May 11, 1761; mention is also made of a Brother being raised to the degree of a master mason on May 23, and apprentices were duly passed as Fellow Crafts. Minutes of this kind, however, I need not

[1] Masonic Sketches, p. 51.

[2] The "volume of the Sacred Law," which it is believed was used at the meetings, is in the safe-keeping of the York Lodge No. 236, and is inscribed "*This Bible belongs to the Free Masons' Lodge at Mr Howard's at York*, 1761."

reproduce in these pages, neither is there much in the rules agreed to in 1761, and later, which require particularisation.

The fees for the three degrees and membership amounted to £2, 16s., which sum "excused the brother from any further expence during Lodge hours for that Quarter, supper and drink out *of* and Glasses broke *in* the Lodge only excepted." The quarterage was fixed at six shillings and sixpence, "except as above." Candidates were only eligible for initiation on a unanimous ballot, but joining members, "regularly made masons in another Lodge," were elected if there were not more than two adverse votes; the fee for the latter election being half a guinea. Careful provisions were laid down for the guidance of the officers in the event of brethren seeking admission who were unable to prove their "*regularity*." It was ordered on July 15, 1777, "that when a Constitution is granted to any place, the Brother who petitioned for such shall pay the fees charged thereon *upon delivery*;" and on Nov. 20, 1778, the members resolved "that the Grand Master of *All* England be on all occasions as such stiled and addressed by the Title of *Most Worshipful*, and the Masters of all Lodges under the Constitution of this Grand Lodge by the Title of *Right Worshipful*." The secretary's salary was fixed at ten guineas per annum from Dec. 27, 1779, and the Treasurer was required "to execute his Bond in the Penal sum of one hundred pounds." The fee for certificates was fixed at six shillings each, "always paid on delivery." Unless in cases of emergency two degrees were not allowed to be conferred in one evening, and "separate Ballot shall be made to each degree distinct," as is still the custom under many Grand Lodges, but not in England, one ballot covering all three degrees, and also membership.[1]

We now approach an important innovation on the part of the York *Grand* Lodge, no less than the granting of warrants for subordinate lodges, in accordance with the custom so long followed by its London prototype. As I have previously intimated, the meetings of the old lodge at York, held out of that city, do not appear to have led to the creation of separate lodges, such as Bradford in 1713 and elsewhere. On this point it is impossible to speak with precision; it cannot be positively affirmed they did not, but, on the other hand, there is no evidence to warrant even a random conjecture that they did.

So far as evidence is concerned, there is nothing to warrant the belief, so frequently advanced, that charters were granted for subordinate lodges by the Grand Lodge of *all* England, until after the "Revival" of 1761. Prior to that date, indeed, it is quite possible that frequent meetings were held by the old York Lodge, in neighbouring towns, but never (it would appear) were any other lodges constituted by that body, as we know there were in 1762 and later.

No little trouble has been taken in an attempt to compile for the first time a list of the several lodges warranted by the York authorities, but unfortunately there is not sufficient data to make the roll as complete as could be desired. The only one of the series that bears an official number is the first lodge that was warranted.[2]

[1] There is no proof that the "Grand Lodge of *All* England sided actively with either of the two "Grand Lodges of England," formed respectively in 1717 and 1753. Passively, indeed, its sympathies would appear to have been with the older organisation, and though it ultimately struck up an alliance with the Lodge of Antiquity (under circumstances to be presently related), in so doing a blow was aimed at the pretensions of *both* the Grand bodies claiming jurisdiction in the south.

[2] The Grand Lodge stated in 1773—"It is not customary for this Lodge to prefix a number to the Constitutions granted by it," thus rendering it far from an easy task to trace the various York Lodges, and to fix their precedence.

"YORK" LODGES FROM 1762.

1. French Lodge,	"Punch Bowl," York,	June 10,	1762.
2.	Scarborough,[1]	Aug. 19,	1762.
3. "Royal Oak,"	Ripon,	July 31,	1769.
4. "Crown,"	Knaresborough,	Oct. 30,	1769.
5. "Duke of Devonshire,"	Macclesfield,	Sept. 24,	1770.
6.	Hovingham,	May 29,	1773.
7.	Snainton, near Malton,	Dec. 14,	1778.
9. "Druidical Lodge,"	Rotherham,	Dec. 22,	1778.
10. "Fortitude," at the "Sun,"	Hollingwood, Lanc.,	Nov. 27,	1790.

Deputation for a "Grand Lodge."

8. "Grand Lodge of England, South of the River Trent,"	March 29,	1779.
No. 1, "Lodge of Perfect Observance,"	London, Aug. 9,	1779.
No. 2, "Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph,"	London, Nov. 15,	1779.

In addition to these, I should add that in the Records and elsewhere, mention is made of petitions being presented to the Grand Lodge for the holding of lodges, some of which were doubtless granted; but there is no register existing from which we can ascertain what charters were actually issued.

I. Petition addressed to the "G.M. of All England at York," and signed by Abraham Sampson, about the year 1771. He declared that he had been taken to task by the "Grand Lodge in London" for getting a Warrant for Macclesfield. The new Lodge was to be held at the "Black Bull, otherwise the Rising Sun, Pettycoat Lane, White Chappel," the first Master and Wardens being nominated.

II. A letter was read at the Grand Lodge held September 27, 1779, "Requiring the mode of applying for a Constitution," the petitioner being "Bro. William Powell," of Hull. Mr J. Coultman Smith [2] declared that the charter of the present "Humber Lodge," No. 57, of that town, was derived from the York Grand Lodge; but he is in error, that Lodge having been constituted by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, London.[3]

III. A letter was received from Doncaster, dated July 11, 1780, to the effect that a Warrant had been applied for and granted. I imagine there had been an application sent to

[1] There was much correspondence about certain masonic jewels, between the Grand Secretary at York and a Bro. W. Hutton Steel, of Scarborough, and others, extending from 1772 to 1781. The jewels were said to have been used by a lodge whose "Constitution was obtained from York," probably No. 2 as above. Bro. Steel presented them on Dec. 26, 1779, and declared that "No meeting of a Lodge since 1735" had been held, and that he was the "Last Survivor of four score brethren." My impression is that this aged Brother referred to the Lodge No. 59, warranted by the Grand Lodge of England—not *All* England—in 1729, and this opinion is strengthened by the fact that 1729 is engraved on these jewels, which are carefully treasured at York. Doubtless they were used by both the lodges named, prior to their becoming extinct.

[2] History of the Warrant of the Humber Lodge, 1855.

[3] See my "Atholl Lodges," pp. 13, 14, for the vicissitudes of this Lodge.

the York Grand Lodge; but a charter had been obtained *ad interim* from London,—the present St George's Lodge, No. 242, of Doncaster, being the one referred to.[1]

IV. A petition was received for a Lodge to be held at the "Brush Makers' Arms, Smithy Door," at the house of John Woodmans, Manchester, dated December 23, 1787; but as the records of that period are missing, I cannot say what answer was given to the petitioners, but it is very likely that a charter was granted.

I am indebted to Mr Whytehead for the following interesting extract from the records, which establishes the fact that the year 1762 witnessed the first Lodge being placed on the roll of the revived Grand Lodge at York.[2]

"Constitutions or Warrants granted by this Right Worshipful Grand Lodge to Brethren enabling them to hold Lodges at the places and in the houses particularly mentioned in such constitutions or warrants.

"No. 1. Anno Secundo Brother Drake G.M. *On* the 10th day of June 1762 a constitution or warrant was granted unto the following Brethren, French Prisoners of War on their Parol (viz.) Du Fresne, Le Pettier, Julian Vilfort, Pierre Le Villaine, Louis Bruslé, and Francis Le Grand, *Thereby* enabling them and others to open and continue to hold a Lodge at the sign of the Punch Bowl in Stonegate in the City of York and to make New Brethren as from time to time occasion might require, *Prohibiting* nevertheless them and their successors from making anyone a Brother who shall be a subject of Great Britain or Ireland, *which said Lodge* was accordingly opened and held on the said 10th day of June and to be continued regularly on the second Thursday in every month or oftener if occasion shall require."

Of the second Lodge but little account has been preserved in the archives of the "York Lodge," though undoubtedly a minute-book was sent to the Grand Lodge for safe custody, which contained the records either of this Lodge or of the one formed in 1729 by the Grand Lodge in London.[3]

Of the third on the list there is no doubt, it having been duly "seal'd and signed;" neither is there any as to the fourth, the minute of October 30, 1769, reading as follows: "The three last-mentioned Brethren petitioned for a Constitution to open and hold a Lodge at the sign of the Crown in Knaresbrough, which was unanimously agreed to, and the following were appointed officers for the opening of the same." It would seem that the belief in a Lodge

[1] W. Delanoy, History of St George's Lodge, 1881.

[2] It would have simplified matters very considerably if this list, which was begun "in order," had been continued in like manner by the York officials.

[3] Hughan declares he saw a minute-book, or extracts therefrom, in the York archives, being records of a Lodge opened at Scarborough "on Thursday the 19th August 1762 by virtue of a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at York, Bro. Thos. Balderston, Rt. Worpl. M.; Thos. Hart, S.W.; John Walsham, J.W.; Mattw. Fowler, S.;" hence I am inclined to believe that the second on the roll is the Lodge referred to. Mr Joseph Todd has kindly transcribed the few minutes thus preserved, which begin March 25, 1762 (before the warrant was received), and end August 30, 1768.

having been warranted in the Inniskilling Dragoons by the York authorities [1]—which I shared with Hughan—on the same day as No. 4, must be given up, since Messrs Whytehead and Todd positively affirm that there is no reference whatever in the minutes to such a charter having been granted. The earliest allusion to the Inniskilling Dragoons is in 1770, when the brethren of the Lodge held in that regiment (doubtless No. 123 on the roll of "Atholl" Lodges) took part, *with other visitors*, in the Great Procession on the celebration of the Festival of St John the Evangelist. It was arranged on December 17, Mr Whytehead informs me, that "the Brethren of the Inniskilling Regiment who carry the Colours and act as Tylers, as also all the Brethren in the said Regiment who are private soldiers to have tickets gratis." The hospitality thus exhibited to the members of a regimental Lodge by the brethren at York, has been again and again exercised of late years by the "York" and "Eboracum" Lodges, no warmer reception being ever given to military Lodges then in the city of York. The Lodge at Macclesfield does not seem to have been successfully launched, as no fees were ever paid to the authorities at York; and probably the existence of an "Atholl" Lodge in the same town from 1764 [2] may have had something to do with the members of No. 5 transferring their allegiance.

I have nothing to add as to Nos. 6 and 7, but the ninth of the series, according to Hughan, was called "No. 109" at Rotherham, the members evidently considering that the addition of one hundred to its number would increase its importance. Some of its records have found their way to York, ranging from December 22, 1778, to March 26, 1779. There is no account of the Lodge at Hollingwood among the York documents, the only notice of its origin being the original charter in the archives of the "United Grand Lodge of England," which has been transcribed and published by Hughan.[3] A volume of minutes of the York Grand Lodge, 1780-92, is evidently still missing, which Hargrove saw in Blanchard's hands so late as 1819.

Hughan, in his "History of Freemasonry at York," and Whytehead, ably continuing the same subject, "As Told by an Old Newspaper File," [4] have furnished most interesting sketches of the proceedings of the York Grand Lodge from the "Revival" of 1761, as well as of those assembling under other Constitutions. It is not my intention, however, to do more than pass in review a few of their leading references. In the *York Courant* for December 20, 1763, is an advertisement by authority of Mr J. S. Morritt, the Grand Master, the two Grand Wardens being Messrs Brooks and Atkinson, the latter Brother having been the Builder of the Bridge over the Foss at York. He and his brother were initiated in 1761, "without paying the usual fees of the Lodge, as being working masons," indicating (Whytehead suggests) the fact that the old Lodge at York recognised its operative origin. Several of the festivals were held at the "Punch Bowl," an inn being much frequented by the York masons. The Lodges favoured

[1] Atholl Lodges, p. 25. It is but fair, however, to state that the text of the minutes of the procession suggest that a Lodge was formed, either in Inniskilling or in connection with the regiment mentioned, as the record reads: "Many Brethren from York, as well as from the daughter Lodges of the Grand Lodge, established at Ripon, Knaresborough, and Inniskilling, were present at this Festival."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[3] Masonic Sketches, Pt. 2, Appendix C, p. 41. The warrant was signed by Messrs Kilby and Blanchard, Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively. It is to be regretted that this charter is not included among the Masonic documents so zealously guarded at York.

[4] Freemason, September 1884.

processions to church prior to the celebration of the festivals, many of the advertisements for which have been carefully reproduced by Whytehead.

In the *Courant* for June 10, 1770, is an announcement on behalf of the Lodge at the "Crown," Knaresborough, for June 26,—"A regular Procession to Church to hear Divine Service and a Sermon to be preached by a Brother suitable to the occasion," being the chief attractions offered by the Rev. Charles Kedar, the Master, and Messrs Bateson and Clark, Wardens. In similar terms, another procession was advertised for December 27, 1770, to St John's Church, Micklegate, York, the notice being issued by order of Grand Master Palmes. The sermon was preached by Bro. the Rev. W. Dade, Rector of Barmston, in the East Riding,[1] the congregation including more than a hundred brethren. It was usual to have both a summer and winter festival in York; so the zeal of the Fraternity was kept alive, so far as processions and festive gatherings could promote the interests of the Society.

The brief existence of the Lodge at the "Punch Bowl" (1761) did not deter the brethren of the Grand Lodge of England from constituting another Lodge in York—the "Apollo" being warranted there as No. 450 on July 31, 1773. Mr Whytehead[2] states that many distinguished brethren were connected with this Lodge; and several of the members of the old Lodge, who should have stood by their mother, went over to the more fashionable body which met at the George Hotel, in Coney Street. The "Apollo" was evidently regarded as an intruder by the York Grand Lodge, as the brethren of the latter convened their meetings on the same day and hour as those of the rival Society. In 1767 the Grand Lodge of England (London) was courteously informed by Mr David Lambert, Grand Secretary of the York organisation, that the Lodge formerly held at the "Punch Bowl" "had been for some years discontinued, and that the most Antient Grand Lodge of *all* England, held from time immemorial in this city, is the only Lodge held therein."[3] The York Grand Secretary had not the satisfaction of transmitting the intelligence of the decease of rival No. 2, for the latter outlived the York Grand Lodge by many years.[4] Another Lodge came on the scene, and announced that its festival was to be held at "the house of Mr William Blanchard, the Star and Garter, in Nessgate, York," on December 27, 1775. This was the "Moriah" Lodge, originally chartered by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, London, in the 1st Regiment of Yorkshire Militia, as No. 176, Sheffield,[5] October 14, 1772. Its stay in the city was probably of very short duration, being a military Lodge.

St John's Day, 1777, witnessed the Grand Lodge being held at "York Tavern," and the Provincial Grand Lodge[6] at "Nicholson's Coffee House." Both bodies attended divine service, the former at St Helen's and the latter at St Martin's, suitable discourses being delivered by the Rev. Brothers John Parker and James Lawson respectively. The Rev. J. Parker, vicar of St Helen's, was "made" in 1776, without any fee being charged, and became Chaplain to the Grand Lodge, being also the annual preacher at the holding of the festivals. Meetings by both bodies—Grand and Provincial—were frequently thus held on the same day. Still another

[1] Author of a "History of Holderness."

[2] Freemason, August 30, 1884.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 52.

[4] The Lodge did not become extinct "about the year 1813," as Mr Todd supposes (History of the York Lodge, No. 236, p. 16), but was transferred to Hull in 1817; the furniture, jewels, and various warrants being sold for some £60. It was subsequently known as the "Phœnix," until its final collapse about twenty years afterwards.

[5] Atholl Lodges, p. 34.

[6] Holding under the Grand Lodge of England.

Lodge was constituted by the "Mother of Grand Lodges," and this time on such a sure foundation that it has outlived all its early contemporaries. I allude to the "Union" Lodge, No. 504, which was first held by dispensation dated June 20, 1777, Mr Joseph Jones being the first W.M. The subsequent and eventful career of this justly celebrated Lodge, I cannot now pause to consider, and will simply remark that its name was appropriately changed to that of the "York" in 1870, when No. 236, time having but served to enhance its reputation. The last meeting advertised in the *Courant* by the York Grand Lodge was dated June 18, 1782; but undoubtedly there were many assemblies of the brethren held after that year, even so late as the next decade. Hargrove[1] states, "As a further proof of the importance of this Lodge, we find it recorded that 'On the 24th June 1783, the Grand Master, with all the officers, attended in the great room of the Mansion House, where a Lodge in the third degree was opened, and brother Wm. Siddall, esquire, at that time the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and Grand Master elect, was installed, according to an ancient usage and custom, The Most Worshipful Grand Master Mason of *all* England, and was thus saluted, homaged, and acknowledged.' About the year 1787 the meetings of this lodge were discontinued, and the only member now remaining is Mr Blanchard, proprietor of the *York Chronicle*, to whom the writer is indebted for information on the subject. He was a member many years, and being 'Grand Secretary,' all the books and papers which belonged to the lodge are still in his possession." Either Hargrove misunderstood Blanchard, or the latter possessed a very treacherous memory, since there is abundant evidence to prove that the Grand Lodge was in existence even so late as August 23, 1792, which is the date "of a rough minute recording the election of Bro. Wolley[2] as Grand Master, Bro. Geo. Kitson, Grand Treasurer, Bro. Thomas Richardson, S.G.W., and Bro. Williams, J.G.W."[3] There is also a list still extant, in Blanchard's handwriting, containing an entry of October 1, 1790, when a brother was raised to the Third Degree; and I have already mentioned the grant of a warrant in that year by the same body, which does not savour of extinction. I need not add other evidences of the activity of the Grand Lodge, as the foregoing are amply sufficient. Even the Constitutions of 1784, published by the authority of the Grand Lodge of England, thus refers to the Northern Grand Lodge. "Some brethren at York continued to act under their original constitution, notwithstanding the revival of the Grand Lodge of England; but the irregular Masons in London never received any patronage from them. The ancient York Masons were confined to one Lodge, *which is still extant*, but consists of very few members, and will probably be soon altogether annihilated."[4] Here, doubtless, the wish was father to the thought, but the prediction of John Noorthouck was soon fulfilled, though it must not be overlooked that he acknowledges the antiquity and, so to speak, the *regularity* of the York Grand Lodge, at a period, moreover, when the secession of the Lodge of Antiquity from the Grand Lodge of England—in which movement, though a member of No. 1,[5] Noorthouck was not a participant—had greatly embittered (for reasons I am

[1] History and Description of the Ancient City of York, 1818, vol. ii., pt. 2, pp. 478, 479.

[2] The "York" Lodge has an engraved portrait of Grand Master Wolley, and Mr Whytehead presented one to the Grand Lodge of England. Wolley afterwards changed his name to Copley.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 60.

[4] Constitutions, 1784, p. 240; Freemasons' Calendar, 1783, p. 23.

[5] John Noorthouck, stationer, is entered in the Grand Lodge register as having become a member of the Lodge of

about to mention) the relations between the two earliest of the English Grand Lodges. That a warrant or deputation for the constitution of a "Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent," under the wing of the "Lodge of Antiquity," was issued by the York authorities, has been already stated. The story of the two parties in the Lodge of Antiquity—1779-89—each striving to extinguish or coerce the other; the apparent triumph of the minority, who had the support of their Grand Lodge; the secession of the majority; the expulsion of the leaders, including the famous author of the "Illustrations of Masonry;" and the setting up of a rival Grand Lodge, is not only a long one, but is also far from being a pleasant study, even at the present time. I shall, however, bring it within the smallest compass that is consistent with perspicuity, and as the whole story is so thoroughly interwoven with the history of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the claims—real or imaginary—advanced on its behalf by William Preston, it may be convenient to give in this place, a short but comprehensive memoir of that well-known writer, which will come in here, perhaps, more appropriately than at any other stage, since in addition to the leading part played by him in the temporary alliance of the Lodge of Antiquity with the "Grand Lodge of *all* England," there are other reasons for the introduction of his Masonic record as a whole—in the chapter devoted to "Freemasonry in York." In those which respectively precede and follow, a great deal of the history which has been generally—not to say, universally—accepted, as fact, rests upon his sole authority. Whilst, therefore, the narrative which I have brought up to the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, is fresh in the recollection, and before proceeding with a description of the Great Schism, which becomes the next subject for our consideration, let us take a closer view of the writer, whose bare statement, unsupported by evidence, has been held sufficient—by the majority of later historians—to establish any point in eighteenth century Masonry, that it might be called in aid of.[1]

William Preston, whose father was a writer to the signet, was born at Edinburgh, July 28, 1742, O.S., and came to London in 1760, where he entered the service of William Strahan, His Majesty's Printer.

Soon after his arrival in London, a number of Brethren from Edinburgh attempted to establish a Lodge (in London) under sanction of a constitution from Scotland.[2] "Lest, however, such a grant should interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England, it was agreed (1762) to refuse their request. But the Grand Lodge of Scotland offered to recom-

Antiquity in 1771, three years before Preston joined it. Both men were largely employed by the celebrated printer, William Strahan.

[1] In the ensuing pages, besides the official records of the *four* Grand Lodges, in existence during the period over which this sketch extends, and other documents and authorities specially referred to, use has been made of the following works: Illustrations of Masonry, editions, 1781, 1788, 1792; Freemasons' Magazine, vol. iv., 1795, p. 3, *et seq.*; European Magazine, vol. l., 1811, p. 323; "A State of Facts: Being a narrative of some late Proceedings in the Society of Free Masons, respecting William Preston, Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1. London, Printed in the year MDCCLXXVIII."

[2] Findel cites the application of some London Brethren to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and observes, "It was determined to refuse this request, lest by complying they might interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. *The so-called Ancient or York Masons* received, then, at that time no support from Scotland" (History of Freemasonry, p. 178).

mend them to the [*Antient*] Grand Lodge of England,"[1] who granted them a dispensation to form a lodge and to make Masons.[2]

Preston was the second person initiated under this dispensation, and the associated brethren were afterwards duly constituted into a lodge (No. 111) by the officers of the "Ancient" Grand Lodge in person, on or about April 20, 1763. After meeting successively at Horn Tavern, Fleet Street; The Scots Hall, Blackfriars; and the Half Moon, Cheapside; the members of No. 111—at the instance of William Preston—petitioned for a charter from the "Regular" Grand Lodge, and the lodge was soon after constituted a *second* time in Ample Form, by the name of the "Caledonian Lodge," under which name it still exists (No. 134), on May 21, 1772. He instituted a Grand Gala at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, and delivered an oration, afterwards printed in the first edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry," published in the same year.

A regular course of lectures were publicly delivered by him at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street in 1774.

At last he was invited by his friends to visit the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1, then held at the Mitre. This he did, June 15, 1774, when the Brethren of that Lodge were pleased to admit him a member, and—what was very unusual—elected him Master at the same meeting.

He had been Master of the Philanthropic Lodge,[3] at the Queen's Head, Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, above six years, and of several other lodges before that time. But he was now taught to consider the importance of the office of the first Master under the English Constitution.

To the Lodge of Antiquity he now began chiefly to confine his attention, and during his mastership, which continued for some years, the lodge increased in numbers and improved in its finances.

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Beaufort, and the Secretaryship of Thomas French, he had become a useful assistant in arranging the General Regulations of the Society, and reviving the foreign and country correspondence. Having been appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Secretary, under James Heseltine, he compiled for the benefit of the charity, the History of Remarkable Occurrences, inserted in the first two publications of the "Freemasons' Calendar," and also prepared for the press an appendix to the "Book of Constitutions," from 1767, published in 1776.

From the various memoranda he had made, he was enabled to form the History of Masonry, afterwards printed in his "Illustrations." The office of Deputy Grand Secretary he soon after voluntarily resigned.

The Schismatic body, under whose banner he had been initiated, were regarded by him with very scant affection, a feeling heartily reciprocated by the Atholl (or Ancient) Grand Lodge, as the minutes of that Society attest.

Thus, in November 1775, a long correspondence between William Preston, styled "a

[1] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, with an Account of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1804, p. 192.

"March 2, 1763.—Bro^r. Rob^t. Lochhead petitioned for Dispensation to make Masons at the sign of the White Hart, in the Strand—And a dispensation was granted to him to continue in force for the space of 30 days" (Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, "According to the Old Institutions—*i.e.*, of the Schismatics or 'Ancients'").

[3] Bearing curiously enough (1756-70) the same number—111—as that of his mother lodge.

Lecturer on Masonry in London," and William Masson, Grand Secretary of Scotland, was read —the former having endeavoured to establish an understanding between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the "Modern"[1] Grand Lodge—but being referred by the latter to Br°. Will^m. Dickey, Grand Secretary, "Ancients," for information, in a reply dated October 9, states:— "It is with regret I understand by your letter, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland has been so grossly imposed upon as to have established a correspondence with an irregular body of men, who falsely assume the *appellation* of *Antient* Masons."

From the resolutions passed on this occasion, we find that the "Ancient" Grand Lodge stigmatised, in terms of great severity, certain passages in Preston's writings,[2] for example, where describing the "Ancients," he mentions their rise into notice, "under the fictitious sanction of the Ancient York Constitution, which was entirely dropt at the revival in 1717"— and they placed on record an expression of surprise at "an Ancient Grand Lodge, being said to be revived by entirely dropping the old Constitutions." "Of equal sense and veracity," did they deem a further statement of Preston's, "that the regular masons were obliged to adopt fresh measures, and some variations were made in and additions to the established forms," remarking that an adoption of fresh measures and variations was openly confessed, nor could human wisdom conceive how such a change could be constitutional or even useful in detecting impostors, though it was plain that such new change might be sufficient to distinguish the members of the new Masonical Heresy from those who adhered to the good old system." They also "thought it remarkable (if such alterations were absolutely necessary) that no account of them had been transmitted to Scotland or Ireland, as such alterations obliterated the ancient landmarks in such manner as to render the ancient system scarcely distinguishable by either of those nations, tho' ever famous for Masonry."

The dispute in which Preston's Lodge, at his instigation became embroiled with the "regular or Constitutional" Grand Lodge of England, originated in this way:—

The Rev. M. H. Eccles, rector of Bow, having been re-elected chaplain to the Lodge of Antiquity, engaged to preach an anniversary sermon on December 27, 1777, particulars of which were advertised in the *Gazetteer* for December 24. The brethren proceeded to church informally, clothing as masons in the vestry. On returning they walked to the Lodge room without having divested themselves of their masonic clothing. John Noorthouck, a member, took exception to the latter action of the Lodge, but Preston claimed that "the proceedings of the Brethren on St John's Day were perfectly conformable to the principles of the Institution and the laws of the Society." Preston cited the law respecting processions, but contended that it was not "calculated to debar the members of any private lodge from offering up their adoration to the Deity in a public place of worship in the character of masons, under

[1] *I.e.*, the *Regular* or *Constitutional* Grand Lodge, established A.D. 1717. The so-called "Ancients" being a Schismatic body, dating—as a Grand Lodge—from 1752-3. The epithets, *Ancient* and *Modern*, as applied to the rival Grand Lodges, will be dealt with in the next chapter—meanwhile, I may explain that whilst preferring the use of more suitable expressions, to distinguish between the two bodies, *the terms actually employed* will be given as far as possible, when quoting from official records. *Cf. ante*, p. 287, note 2.

[2] The reference given in the minutes is—"p. 4, line 35, etc."—and the publication quoted from must have been a pamphlet printed after the 2d edit. of the "Illustrations of Masonry." The passages referred to, slightly amplified, will be found (under the year 1739) in all the later editions; also in the "Freemasons' Calendar," 1776; and the "Constitutions," 1784.

the direction of their master." Noorthouck and Bottomley failed to obtain the consent of the members to a resolution terming the procession an "unguarded transaction," but on Preston moving "that the Lodge of Antiquity disapproves of any general processions of a masonic nature contrary to the authority of the Grand Lodge," it was passed unanimously. A memorial was presented to the Grand Lodge by the minority, signed by the two mentioned, and two others, four in all. A reply to this protest was also signed in open lodge on January 27, 1778, by all but six (including Preston), and by six others subsequently who were not at the meeting, making a total of seventeen. The R.W.M. (John Wilson) and Preston waited on the Grand Secretary in the interim, imploring him to do his utmost to obtain an amicable settlement.[1] The "Committee of Charity," on January 30, 1778, sided with the minority, and as Preston justified the proceedings of the Lodge, on the ground of its possessing certain "inherent privileges by virtue of its original constitution, that other lodges of a more modern date were not possessed of," resolved that the Lodge of Antiquity possessed no other privilege than its rank according to seniority, and "Mr Preston was desired publicly to retract that doctrine, as it might tend to create a schism." This he refused to do, or to sign a declaration to the same purport, and was forthwith expelled from the Society.[2] At the Quarterly Communication ensuing, however, he presented the following memorial:—"I am sorry I have uttered a doctrine contrary to the general opinion of the Grand Lodge, and declare *I will never in future* promulgate or propagate a doctrine of any inherent right, privilege, or pre-eminence in Lodge No. 1 more than any other lodge, except its priority as the senior Lodge." The motion for his expulsion was then rescinded.[3]

There, it might have been expected, matters would have been allowed to rest, but the lamentable course pursued by the majority in the Lodge, in expelling Noorthouck, Bottomley, and Brearly, led to fresh disturbances. At the Quarterly Communication held April 8, 1778, the Master of No. 1 was directed to produce the Minute Book on the 29th of the month, and Preston's name was ordered to be struck off the list of members of the "Hall Committee," "by reason of his having been chiefly instrumental in fomenting discord in the Lodge No. 1; and his being otherwise obnoxious to the greatest part of the Society."

On January 29, 1779, the Master of No. 1 being called upon by the Committee of Charity to state whether their order,[4] respecting the restoration of Brothers Bottomley, Noorthouck, and Brearly, had been complied with. "Bro. Wm. Rigge, the Master, stated that on the evening of the last Quarterly Communication, viz., Nov. 4, last, it was resolved not to comply with the order of the Grand Lodge, and that the Lodge should withdraw itself from the authority of the Grand Lodge in London, and immediately join what they called the York Grand Lodge, after which the health of James Siddell was drank as Grand Master of Masons, the said Bro. Wm. Rigge and Brother Le Caan only dissenting. And that it was further

[1] So far, Preston himself, in his "State of Facts," but the subsequent proceedings, at the Committee of Charity, are given from the actual minutes of that body.

[2] Minutes, Committee of Charity, January 30, 1778.

[3] Grand Lodge Minutes, February 4, 1778.

[4] Made October 30, 1778. At this meeting "a Pamphlet lately published by Bro. Wm. Preston under the title of 'a State of Facts,' was cited as containing 'many *severe*, *inflammatory*, and *false* Reflections upon the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge in general, and upon the Conduct of Brother Heseltine, the Grand Secretary, in particular.'"

resolved to notify such proceedings to the Grand Secretary, and that a manifesto[1] should be published to the world."

It was further stated that a minority—who were desirous of continuing their allegiance to the Grand Lodge—opposed the violent proceedings of the majority, and informed the latter, that they had no right to take away the books and furniture of the lodge, which were the joint property of all the members, "notwithstanding which the factious junto, in defiance of every rule of justice, honour, or common honesty, in the deadest hour of the night, by force took away all the furniture, Jewels, and Books belonging to the Lodge, and had since assembled under a pretended [and] ridiculous authority called by them the Grand Lodge of York Masons, of which one James Siddell, a tradesman in York, calls himself Grand Master."

It was also reported that the "Manifesto" alluded to had been published and dispersed, also that the members who remained true to their allegiance had elected the said Wm. Rigge their Master, and had restored Brothers Noorthouck, Bottomley, and Brearly to their rank and status in the Lodge. The following resolution was then passed by the Committee of Charity:—

"That whenever the Majority of a Lodge determine to quit the Society, the Constitution and Power of Assembling remains with the rest of the members who are desirous of continuing their alliance."

After which John Wilson, William Preston—described as a "Journeyman Printer"—and nine others, were expelled from the Society, and their names ordered to be "transmitted to all regular Lodges, with an Injunction not to receive or admit them as members or otherwise; *nor* to countenance, acknowledge, or admit into their Lodges, any Person or Persons, assuming or calling themselves by the name of *York Masons*, or by any other Denomination than that of *Free* and *Accepted Masons*, under the Authority of, or in Alliance and Friendship with, the Grand Lodge of England,[2] of which his Grace the Duke of Manchester is at present Grand Master."

These proceedings—confirmed by Grand Lodge, February 3, 1779—evoked a further pamphlet from the seceders, dated March 24 in the same year, and issued from the Queen's Arms Tavern, St Paul's, under the hand of "J. Sealy, Secretary," wherein they protest against "the very disrespectful and injurious manner in which the names of several brethren are mentioned," and "the false, mean, and scandalous designations annexed to them."[3]

The expelled members, as we have seen, resorted to the "Deputation from the Grand Lodge of *all* England to the R. W. Lodge of Antiquity, constituting the latter a Grand Lodge of England south of the River Trent, dated March 29, 1779,"[4] and were soon actively engaged under their new constitution.

Mr John Wilson, late Master of No. 1, was the first Grand Master, and Mr John Sealy the Grand Secretary, the inaugural proceedings taking place on June 24, 1779—Preston having the office of Grand Orator conferred upon him on November 3. On April 19, 1780, Mr Benjamin

[1] Printed by Hughan in "Masonic Sketches and Reprints" (Appendix D); and by myself in the "Four Old Lodges," p. 26.

[2] *I.c.*, as distinguished from the other Grand Lodge of England (*Ancients*), of which the Duke of Atholl (also at the head of the Scottish craft) was then the Grand Master.

[3] A copy of this pamphlet (folio) is to be found in the archives of the Lodge of Antiquity.

[4] Hargrove says it was granted in 1799 (*op. cit.*, p. 476), but this was probably due to a typographical error only, 1779 being intended.

Bradley was installed as the second Grand Master, Preston being appointed his D.G.M., and Messrs Donaldson and Sealy were elected Grand Treasurer and Secretary respectively. The only two lodges formed under the auspices of this "feudal" Grand Lodge were numbered one and two, the junior being the first to be constituted. The ceremony took place at the "Queen's Head Tavern," Holborn, on August 9, 1779. The lodge was named "Perseverance and Triumph," and had Preston for its first Master. On November 15, 1779, the "Lodge of Perfect Observance" was constituted at the "Mitre Tavern," Fleet Street—P. Lambert de Lintot[1] being R.W.M. Mr B. H. Latrobe was Grand Secretary in 1789, and in a report to the "Grand Lodge of all England held at York," mentioned that "at the last Q.C., 29 Dec. 1789, the decayed state of the two Lodges was taken into consideration," and a deputation was appointed to make due inquiries. This was followed by a favourable result, which led that official to remark that, "upon the whole, the prospect before us seems to be less gloomy than that we have had for some time past."

As the "Lodge of Antiquity" preserved a dual existence, the private lodge and the Grand Lodge (offshoot of the York Grand Lodge) being kept quite distinct (on paper)—though virtually one and the same body—there were, in a certain sense, three subordinate lodges on the roll of the "Grand Lodge of England south of the Trent."[2]

During the suspension of his masonic privileges by the Grand Lodge of England, Preston rarely or ever attended any meetings of the Society, though he was a member of many lodges both at home and abroad. It was at this period of his life that he wrote the passages in his "Illustrations" concerning the "inherent rights" of the four lodges of 1717, which have been since adopted by the generality of Masonic historians. In the edition of 1781, referring to the subject, he observes—"when the former editions of this Book were printed, the author was not sufficiently acquainted with this part of the history of Masonry in England."[3] It may be so, and the reflections in which he indulges during the "Antiquity" schism were possibly the result of honest research, rather than mere efforts of the imagination. However, I shall follow the example, and echo the words last quoted, of the writer whose memoir I am compiling, by asking the readers of my "Four Old Lodges" to believe that when "that book was printed, the author"—to the extent that he took on trust the loose statements in the "Illustrations"—"was not sufficiently acquainted with those parts of the history of Masonry in England."

A memorial from Preston respecting his expulsion, was laid before Grand Lodge on April 8, 1789, but it was not even allowed to be read. At the ensuing Grand Feast, however, in the May following, wiser councils prevailed, and mainly through the mediation of William Birch, afterwards Master of the Lodge of Antiquity. Preston and those expelled with him in 1779, all "expressing their desire of promoting conciliatory measures with the Grand Lodge, and signifying their concern that through misrepresentation they should have incurred the displeasure of Grand Lodge—their wish to be restored to the privileges of the Society, to the

[1] Some notes respecting Lintot will be found in the *Freemason*, February 11, March 11, and May 6, 1882.

[2] Further details respecting these lodges are given by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," p. 59; and by Whytehead in the *Freemason* for May 14, 1881, May 11, 1882, and December 13, 1884. Of the "Antiquity" Grand Lodge, I have merely to record that there were but two Grand Masters—John Wilson and Benjamin Bradley—and two Grand Secretaries—John Sealy, and later, B. H. Latrobe.

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, 1781, p. 224.

laws of which they were ready to conform," the Grand Lodge, being "satisfied with their apology," ordered that they should be restored to their privileges in the Society.[1] It has been said that Preston came out of this dispute the victor. Such was far from being the case. The attitude of the Grand Lodge of England was the same from first to last—that is to say, in the view which it adopted with regard to the great question of privilege raised by the senior Lodge on its roll. The "Manifesto" of the latter was revoked. The "majority" party tendered their submission. The "Grand Lodge of England South of the Trent" passed into the realm of tradition, and the members of the Lodge of Antiquity, reunited after many years of discord, have since that period, and up to the present day, worked together in such love and harmony as to render the Senior English Lodge, all that even William Preston could have desired,—viz., a pattern and a model for all its juniors on the roll.

In 1787 Preston was instrumental in forming—or, to use the Masonic equivalent, "*reviving*" —the Grand Chapter of Harodim, particulars of which are given in his work.[2] But it is upon his "Illustrations of Masonry" that his fame chiefly rests. Of this twelve editions were published in the lifetime of the author; and the late Godfrey Higgins was not far out in his statement that it "contains much useful information, but [Preston] had not the least suspicion of the real origin of Masonry."[3] It would be possible to go much further, but we should do well to recollect that "the times immediately preceding their own are what all men are least acquainted with."[4] It was Preston's merit that he sought to unravel many historical puzzles a stage or two removed from his own in point of time; and it must be regarded as his misfortune that he failed in his laudable purpose. He was too prone to generalise largely from a very small number of solitary facts; and of this a striking example is afforded by his observations on the early history of the Great Schism, upon which I have already had occasion to enlarge.

Preston died, after a long illness, on April 1, 1818, aged seventy-six, and was buried in St Paul's Cathedral. Among the bequests in his will were £500 consols to the Fund of Benevolence, and £300 consols as an endowment to ensure the annual delivery of the Prestonian lecture.

Returning to the history of Freemasonry at York, the following list of Grand Masters and Grand Secretaries from 1761, though not complete, is fuller than any before published.

Grand Masters.	Grand Secretaries.
1761-2. Francis Drake, F.R.S.	John Tasker.
1763. John S. Morritt.	Do.
1764-6. John Palmes.	Do.
1767. Seth Agar.	David Lambert.
1768-70. George Palmes.	Thomas Williamson.
1771-2. Sir T. Gascoigne, Bart.	Thomas Johnson.

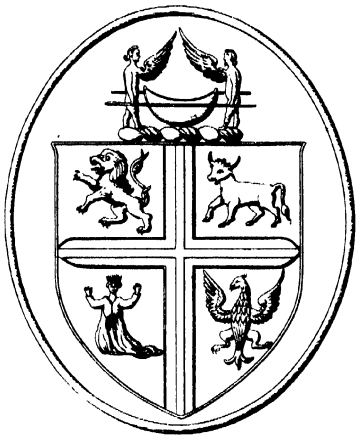
[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, May 4, 1789, and printed, with some slight variation, in the Grand Lodge Proceedings, November 25, 1789.

[2] Ed. 1792, p. 355.

[3] Anacalypsis, 1836, vol. i., p. 817.

[4] Horace Walpole, Letters to Sir H. Mann, vol. i., p. 181.

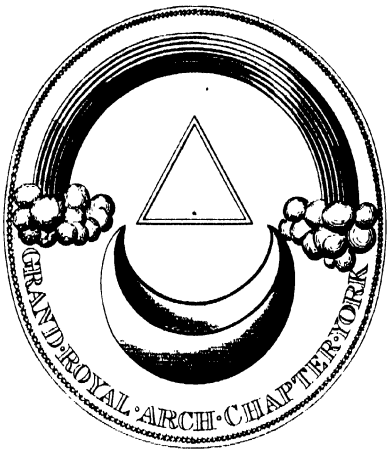
GRAND LODGE SEALS



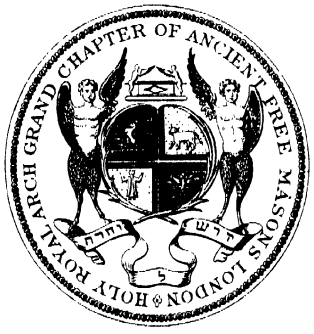
1 COPPER SEAL AT YORK
Counter seal of No 7
circa 1776 - 1779



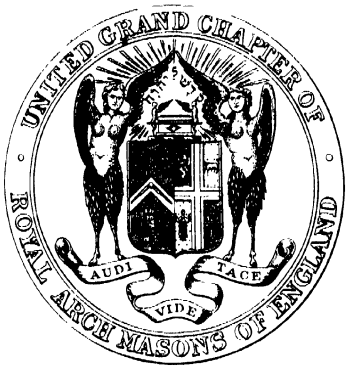
2 GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
before 1813



3 GRAND CHAPTER.
YORK *circa* 1780



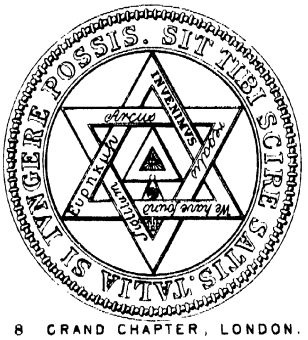
4 GRAND CHAPTER
ATHOLL *before* 1817



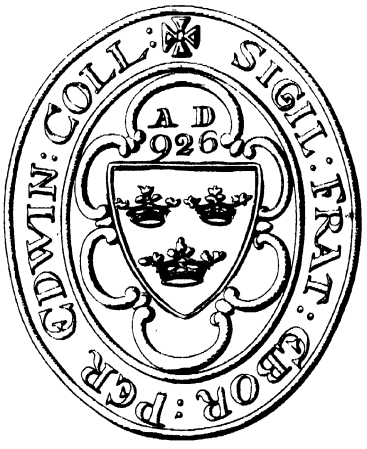
5 UNITED GRAND CHAPTER
LONDON 1817



6 GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
ATHOLL *before* 1813



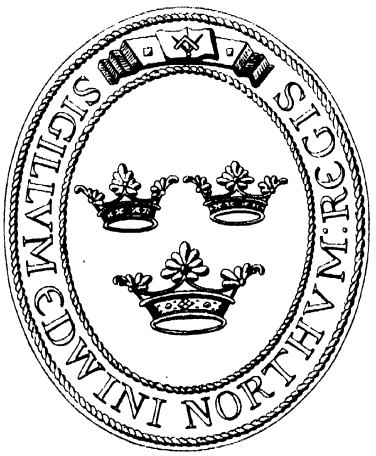
8 GRAND CHAPTER, LONDON.
1769 - 1817



7 THE GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND
YORK *circa* 1776-1779
(brass)



10 THE OFFICE SEAL OF
THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
before 1813



9 SILVER SEAL AT YORK
circa 1761

W H Rylands, Direx

Wm M Smith, Del & Sculp.

Thomas C Jack, London & Edinburgh

1773.	Charles Chaloner.	Nicholas Nickson.
1774.	Henry Stapilton.	Do.
1775.	Do.	Joseph Atkinson.
1776-8.	William Siddall.	Jacob Bussey.
1779.	Do.	John Browne.
1780.	Francis Smyth, Jun.	Do.
1782.	Robert Sinclair.	Do.
1783-4.	William Siddall.	William Blanchard.
1790.	Thomas Kilby.	Do.
1792.	Edward Wolley.[1]	Do.

I must now advert to some novelties which found their way into and were considered a part of the York Masonic system. The subject is one that requires very delicate handling, and I shall do my best to avoid giving offence, either to those who believe that genuine Freemasonry consists of three degrees, and no more; or to the other and perhaps larger section of the Fraternity, who are not content with the simple system known to our Masonic forefathers—Payne, Anderson, and Desaguliers. On both sides of the question a great deal might be advanced which it would be difficult to answer; but I shall endeavour to steer clear of the difficulties that beset our path—whether we incline in the one direction or the other—by rigidly confining myself, as far as possible, to actual facts, and by carefully eschewing (within the same limitations) those points of divergence upon which all good Masons can *agree* to *differ*.

Happily the Freemasons of England, who composed their differences and were reunited on a broader platform in 1813, are justified in leaving the consideration of all moot points of discipline and ceremonial of earlier date, to the antiquaries of the Craft, against whose research even the Solemn Act of Union cannot be pleaded as an estoppel.[2]

The additional ceremonies which had crept into use shortly before the fusion of the two Grand Lodges, are pleasantly alluded to by William Preston, who observes:

"It is well known to the Masons of this country, that some men of warm and enthusiastic imaginations have been disposed to amplify parts of the institution of Freemasonry, and in their supposed improvements to have elevated their *discoveries* into *new degrees*, to which they have added ceremonies, rituals, and dresses, ill-suited to the native simplicity of the Order, *as it was originally practised in this country*. But all these degrees, though probably deserving reprehension, as improper innovations on the original system of Masonry, I can never believe that they have either proceeded from bad motives, or could be viewed in any other light *than as innocent and inoffensive amusements*." [3]

"By the Solemn Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of Free-Masons of England, in December 1813, it was 'declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more, viz., those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch.'" [4]

This is a little confusing. The degree—as we now have it—of Installed Master not being

[1] Afterwards called Copley, of Potto Hall, near Stokesley.

[2] *Cf.* The Four Old Lodges, p. 87 (III.).

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, edit. 1804, pp. 339, 340.

[4] Book of Constitutions, 1884, p. 16.

mentioned at all, whilst that of the Royal Arch is brought in as the complement of certain other degrees, which, it was expressly stated, were *all* that existed of their kind.

The Grand Lodge of York went further, as will be shortly told; but it is first of all necessary to observe, that until quite recently the earliest allusion to Royal Arch Masonry (at York) was to be found in the "Treasurer's Book of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons," commencing April 29, 1768; but the fortunate discovery of Messrs Whytehead and Todd in 1879 now enables us to trace the degree back to February 7, 1762. "Passing over the mention of the Royal Arch by the 'Atholl' Masons in 1752, the next in order of priority is the precious little volume at York. . . . Its chief value consists in being the earliest records of a Chapter, including a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, known."[1] Full particulars of this valuable minute-book will be found in Mr Whytehead's article, entitled "The Royal Arch at York."[2] Hughan, who has carefully examined the volume, does not consider that it could have been the first record of the Royal Arch at York, though it is the earliest preserved. The meetings are described as those of a "Lodge"—not a "Chapter"—up to April 29, 1768; and the association, though evidently an offshoot of Lodge No. 259 at the "Punch Bowl," the chief officer ("P. H.") in 1762 being Frodsham, who was the first Master of that Lodge, it gradually obtained the support of the York Grand Lodge, and ultimately developed into a Grand Chapter for that degree. The special value of the volume is its record of the warrants granted to Royal Arch Chapters in the neighbourhood of York, the first of which was *petitioned* for on December 28, 1769, being the date of the earliest issued by the Grand Chapter in London ("Moderns"), which was granted on February 7, 1770. The book ends on January 6, 1776, the thread of the narrative being continued in another volume, beginning February 8, 1778, and ending September 10, 1781, which was recognised by Hughan amongst the books in the Grand Lodge of England. The "York" Lodge, by petition to the then Grand Master, Lord Zetland, secured its return to their archives, with the folio minute book, and two old MSS., which were all at that time preserved in the office of the Grand Secretary. Four Royal Arch warrants at least were granted, and probably more.

1. Ripon, ...	Agreed to	February 7, 1770.
2. "Crown" Inn, Knaresborough, . .	„	April 1770.
3. Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons, .	„	October 1770.
4. "Druidical" Chapter, Rotherham, .	„	February 25, 1780.

These Chapters appear to have been held under the protecting wings of Craft Lodges, as is the custom now—three out of the four preserving a connection with the "York" Grand Lodge, and the other, as already shown, being a regimental Lodge of the "Atholl" Masons. The degree was conferred at York on brethren hailing from Hull, Leeds, and other towns, which suggests that a knowledge of Royal Arch Masonry even at that period was far from being confined to the schismatics of London[3]—but of this more hereafter. The officers of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England" were elected "Masters of this Royal Arch Chapter whenever such Presiding Officers shall be members hereof. In case of default, they shall be succeeded by the senior members

[1] Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884, p. 64. [2] Freemason, November 7, 1879.
[3] *I.e.*, the Masons under the obedience of the "Atholl" or "Ancient" Grand Lodge.

of the Royal Arch Chapter (May 2, 1779)." The only copy of a York charter (R. A.) known, is given by Hughan,[1] and was issued on July 6, 1780, to members of the "Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Masons at Rotherham," under the seal of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England."

A unique meeting of the Royal Arch degree (not the "*third*," as Hargrove erroneously states) took place on May 27, 1778, in York Cathedral, and is thus described: "The Royal Arch Brethren whose names are undermentioned assembled in the Ancient Lodge, now a sacred Recess with[in] the Cathedral Church of York, and then and there opened a Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons in the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch. The Chapter was held, and then closed in usual form, being adjourned to the first Sunday in June, except in case of Emergency." This unusual gathering, in all probability, has supplied the text or basis for the "tradition" that the Grand Lodge in olden time was in the habit of holding its august assemblies in the crypt of the venerated Minster.

On June 2, 1780, the Grand Chapter resolved that "the Masonic Government, anciently established by the Royal Edwin, and now existing at York under the title of The Grand Lodge of All England, comprehending in its nature *all the different Orders or Degrees of Masonry*, very justly claims the subordination of all other Lodges or Chapters of Free and Accepted Masons in this Realm." The degrees were five in number, viz.: the first three, the Royal Arch, and that of Knight Templar. The Grand Lodge, on June 20, 1780, assumed their protection, and its minute-book was utilised in part for the preservation of the records of the Royal Arch and Knight Templar Degrees. Hughan considers that the draft of a certificate preserved at York for the five degrees of January 26, 1779, to November 29, 1779, "is the oldest dated reference that we know of to Knight Templary in England." [2]

Of the Encampments warranted by the Grand Lodge of *all* England for the "Fifth Degree," *i.e.*, the Knight Templar, I know but of two, viz.:

K. T. Encampment,	Rotherham,[3].	July 6, 1780.
Do.,	No. 15, Manchester,[4]	October 10, 1786.

What ultimately became of the first mentioned is unknown, but the second seems to have joined the Grand Encampment held in London, under "Thomas Dunkerley, G.M.," the charter bearing date May 20, 1795.[5]

It will be seen, therefore, that, though various methods were employed to preserve the vitality of the York organisation, the prestige and prosperity generally of the rival Grand Lodges in London ultimately brought about its dissolution. Notwithstanding the recognition of the Royal Arch Degree, and subsequently of the Templar ceremony, the Grand Lodge of *all* England—if we except the transitory Grand Lodge formed in London—never exercised any influence beyond Yorkshire and Lancashire; and hence *all its warrants*, which have been traced from the earliest down to the latest records, were authorised to be held in those two

[1] Masonic Sketches, pt. ii., p. 18.

[2] T. B. Whytehead, "The Connection between the Templars and the Freemasons in the City of York," 1877. See also Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, p. 68.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 62.

[4] John Yarker, Notes on the Orders of the Temple and St John, etc., 1869.

[5] *Ibid.*

counties only. The boast, therefore, of being "York Masons," so frequently indulged in, more especially in the United States, is an utterly baseless one, because the Grand Lodge of York (as we are justified in inferring) had outlived all its daughter Lodges—which existed in England only—before sinking into its final slumber towards the close of the last century. Even at the height of its fortunes, the York branch of the Society was a very small one. Still, however, the relative antiquity of the *Lodge*—which certainly existed in the seventeenth century, and probably much earlier—invests the history of Freemasonry at this traditional centre with an amount of interest which, it is hoped, will more than justify the space which has been accorded to its narration.

Before, however, passing from the subject, a few words have yet to be said respecting the seals used by the now extinct Grand Lodge of *all* England, for impressions of which I have to thank Mr Joseph Todd; and with this description I shall include, for the sake of convenience, that of some other arms, of which plates are given.

When a seal was first used by the York Masons it is now impossible to decide. The seal affixed to the York "Constitutions and Certificates," as described by the Grand Secretary on December 14, 1767, in a letter to the "Grand Lodge of England," was "Three Regal Crowns, with this Circumscription: 'Sigillum Edwini Northum. Regis.'"[1] I take this to be the "Old Seal of Prince Edwin's Arms," of silver, mentioned in the inventory of Jan. 1, 1776, as "An iron screw press, with a Seal of Prince Edwin's Arms let into the fall," and also in the "Schedule of the Regalia and Records, etc.," of September 15, 1779. In the latter inventory is named "A Seal and Counter Seal, the first bearing the arms of Prince Edwin, and the other the arms of Masonry." The seal-in-chief of the latter is of brass, and bears the legend: "✠ Sigil : Frat : Ebor : Per. Edwin : Coll :" above the three crowns being the year "A.D. 926." The "Counter Seal" (of copper) contains the arms and crest, as used by the "Atholl" Masons, of which I shall have occasion to speak further on.[2]

It is quite clear to me, that the first seal mentioned, is the one referred to by Grand Secretary Lambert in 1767, and that it was set aside later on for the "Seal and Counter Seal" named in the inventory of 1779. Impressions of the latter are attached to the warrant or deputation to "The Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent," of March 29, 1779, and are in an oval tin box, opening with movable lids on both sides, happily still preserved by the Lodge of Antiquity. It would therefore be made between the dates of the two inventories—1776-1779.

An engraving of these seals (seal and counter seal) is to be found in Hargrove's "History of York,"[3] and likewise in Hughan's latest work.[4] The seal preserved of the Grand Chapter (York) is apparently the one mentioned in the records, March 3, 1780—"Ordered that a Seal be provided for the use of the Grand Chapter, not exceeding half a Guinea." It was paid for on April 7. The design is of an unusual kind, being a rainbow resting on clouds at each end; below is a triangle, and then a crescent, and the legend, "Grand·Royal·Arch·Chapter·York." It has been reproduced by Hughan for the first time, who, however, is not correct

[1] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 52. The author styles this the "*Counter* Seal," in his "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," 1884; but I should doubt its having been used for that purpose.

[2] "A large silk Banner, with the Society's Arms, Mottos, etc., painted on both sides, fringed about with silk fringe," is entered in the inventories of 1776 and 1779. (See coloured plate.)

[3] History of York, 1818, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 477.

[4] Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884.

in treating the seal of the "Arms of Masonry" as the *counter* seal of the Grand Chapter, as it is distinctly stated in the inventory of 1779 to be that of the Grand Lodge. I believe we owe to Mr W. H. Rylands the correct arrangement of the seals at York.

Colonel Shadwell Clerke, Grand Secretary, has kindly placed at my disposal impressions of the seals preserved at Grand Lodge. Of these, the more important will be found engraved with those from York. In order to distinguish the seals of the two Grand Lodges of England, the title "Atholl" has been used in one case. It may be pointed out that the arms used by "The Grand Lodge of Masons," as it is styled on the seal (No. 2), are those granted to the Masons' Company, with the colours changed, the addition of beavers as supporters, and with a bird assumed to be intended for a dove, but here more nearly resembling a falcon, substituted for the original crest of a towered castle. The other Grand Lodge, called on the seal (No. 6) "of Free and Accepted Masons," bears the arms as given by Dermott in 1764, and called the "Arms of Masonry" in the York Inventory of 1779. Of the two coloured plates very little need be said, as the inscriptions, like those of the seals, sufficiently describe what they represent. They include reduced copies of the arms as given in the grants to the Masons' and Carpenters' Companies in the fifteenth century,—of the Marblers, Freemasons (the towers being in this instance gold), and the Bricklayers and Tilers, as painted upon the Gateshead Charter of 1671. The date *circa* 1680, of the panel in the possession of Mr Rylands, is, in the opinion of some antiquaries, the *earliest* to which it may be attributed; most probably the blue of the field in the first and third quarters has perished. For a careful coloured drawing of the banner already referred to, I am indebted to Mr Joseph Todd, who has most willingly placed at my disposal in this as in other matters all the information of which he is in possession. As this banner is mentioned in the Inventories of January 1, 1776, and September 15, 1779, it must have been for some little time in the possession of the Lodge at York, otherwise it could not be the same as that mentioned in the minutes under December 27, 1779, then said to be presented by Bro. William Siddall.

The arms of the Stonemasons of Strassburg from the seal *circa* 1725, is coloured according to the description given by Heideloff; and in the case of those of the Nurenberg, also loosely described by the same author, Mr W. H. Rylands is of opinion that the description is perhaps to be understood,—following a usual custom in heraldry, that the arms and colours were the same as those of Strassburg, only "with this difference, it is the bend that is red," that is to say, the colours were simply reversed for distinction. The arms of the city of Cologne are given for comparison with those from the seal of the Masons of that city, found on the Charter, dated 1396. No colours are to be noticed on the original seal, which appears with others of the same class on a plate in an earlier portion of this work. In a most courteous reply to a request made by Mr Rylands for help in the matter, Dr Höhlbaum, Stadtarchivar of Cologne, although he agreed that the colours were most probably based on those in the arms of the city, was unfortunately unable to give any definite information on the subject. These colours have been followed in the plate. The three coronets on an azure field, were the arms borne by the Grand Lodge of *all* England—"Prince Edwin's arms"—and are therefore the same as those given on the York Seals.

CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND "ACCORDING TO OLD INSTITUTIONS."

THE Minutes of that Schismatic body, commonly, but erroneously, termed the "Ancient Masons," commence in the following manner:

"TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GRAND COMMITTEE OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND HONORABLE FRATERNITY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

At the Griffin Tavern in Holborn, London, Feb. 5th, 1752. Mr HAGARTY [1] IN THE CHAIR.

Also present the Officers of Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, being the Representatives of all the Ancient Masons in and adjacent to London. Brother John Morgan, Grand Secretary, Informed the Committee that he being lately appointed to an office on board one of His Majesty's ships, he rec^{d}. orders to prepare for his departure, and therefore advised the Grand Committee to chose a new Secretary immediately.

Upon which Bro. John Morris, past Master of No. 5, and Bro. Laurence Dermott of Nos. 9 and 10, and past Master No. 26, in Dublin, were proposed and admitted as candidates for the office of Grand Secretary, and Grand Secretary Morgan was ordered to examine the Candidates separately, and report his opinion of their Qualifications.

After a long and minute Examination, relative to Initiation, passing, Instalations, and General Regulations, etc., Bro. Morgan declared that Bro. Laurence Dermott was duly qualified for the Office of Grand Secretary.

Whereon, the Worshipful Master in the Chair put up the Names of John Morris and Laurence Dermott, seperately, when the latter was Unanimously chosen Grand Secretary; and accordingly he was installed (in the Ancient Manner) by the Worshipful M^{r} James Hagarty, Master of No. 4, then presiding officer, assisted by M^{r} John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, and the Masters present.

After which Bro. Morgan (at the request of the president) proclaimed the new Grand Secretary thrice, according to ancient custom, upon which the new Secretary received the

[1] "The above Mr James Hagarty is a painter, and lives now (1752) in Leather Lane, London" [Note in Original].

usual salutes, and then the President and late Grand Secretary, John Morgan, delivered the books, etc., into the hands of the new Secretary, Upon certain conditions which was agreed by all parties, and which conditions the said Worshipful Bro. James Hagarty can explain.[1]

The Grand Committee unanimously joined in wishing Br°. Morgan Health and a successful voyage, and then closed with the Greatest Harmony. Having adjourned to Wednesday, the fourth of March next."

Of Laurence Dermott, the first Grand Secretary of the Seceders, it may be said, without erring on the side of panegyric, that he was the most remarkable Mason that ever existed. "As a polemic," observes a judicious writer, "he was sarcastic, bitter, uncompromising, and not altogether sincere or veracious. But in intellectual attainments he was inferior to none of his adversaries, and in a philosophical appreciation of the character of the Masonic Institution, he was in advance of the spirit of his age."[2] Yet although a very unscrupulous writer, he was a matchless administrator. In the former capacity he was the embodiment of the maxim, "*de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace,*" but in the latter, he displayed qualities which we find united in no other member of the Craft, who came either before or after him.

As Grand Secretary, and later as Deputy Grand Master, he was simply the life and soul of the body with which he was so closely associated. He was also its historian, and to the influence of his writings, must be attributed, in a great measure, the marvellous success of the Schism.

The epithets of "Ancient" and "Modern" applied by Dermott to the usages of his own and of the older Society respectively, produced a really wonderful result.[3] The antithesis at once caught the public ear, and what is perhaps the strangest fact connected with the whole affair, the terms soon passed into general use, among the brethren under *both* Grand Lodges. The senior of these bodies, it is true, occasionally protested against the employment of expressions, which implied a relative inferiority on the part of its own members,[4] but the epithets stuck, and we constantly meet with them in the minute-books of lodges under the *older* system, where they were apparently used without any sense of impropriety.[5]

The memoirs of Laurence Dermott, for the most part inscribed by his own hand, are given us in the records of the "Ancients." By this I do not mean that we have there his autobiography, but the personality of the man was so marked, that with brief exceptions from the time the minutes commence, down to the date of his last appearance in Grand Lodge, the history of that body is very largely composed of personal incidents in the career of its Secretary and Deputy Grand Master.

Some curious anecdotes may be gleaned from these old records; and if Warburton's *dictum* be sound, who set more value on one material historical anecdote, than on twenty new

[1] "Be it Remembered that M^r^ John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, had a certain claim on the Manuscripts here said to be delivered to Laurence Dermott. Which claim was acknowledged by the G^d^. Committee as good and lawful, and for that and other Good Reason which cannot be committed to writing. The Worshipful Grand Committee did agree with Brother John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, that the new Secretary, Lau. Dermott, should be solemnly bound never to deliver the said Manuscript (viz., a Large folio bound in White Vellum) to any person, But him the said John Morgan or his order in writing" [*Ibid.*].

[2] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s. v.*

[3] *Ante*, p. 287, note 2.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 397, 426.

[5] *Post*, pp. 444, note 2; 462, 463; and see "The Four Old Lodges," p. 35.

hypotheses in Philosophy, or a hundred good criticisms—we cannot do better than trace the fortunes of Laurence Dermott, under the guidance of his own hand.

But before entering upon this task, a few preliminary words are essential. Laurence Dermott was born in Ireland, 1720; initiated into Masonry, 1740; installed as Master of No. 26,[1] Dublin, June 24, 1746; and in the same year became a Royal Arch Mason. Shortly after this, he came to England; and in 1748, joined a lodge under the *regular* establishment, but had shifted his allegiance, and become a member of Nos. 9 and 10, on the Roll of the Schismatics, when elected Grand Secretary by the latter, February 5, 1752. This office he laid down in 1771; and on March 27, that year, was appointed Deputy Grand Master, being succeeded, at his own request, by William Dickey, December 1777. He was again "Deputy" from December 27, 1783, until the recurrence of the same festival in 1787, when—also at his own request—he was succeeded by James Perry. His last attendance at Grand Lodge occurred June 3, 1789, and he died in June 1791.[2] There is no allusion to his death in the "Atholl" Records; and the only one I have met with in those of other Masonic jurisdictions, is the following: "June 4, 1792. *Resolved*, that in order to show the just regard and respect of this Grand Lodge for our late Bro. Laurence Dermott, the patron and founder thereof, it be recommended to every member of this Grand Lodge to appear on St John's Day next, with Aprons bordered with black or other marks of mourning."[3]

Dermott—who, the Minutes of July 13, 1753, inform us, "was obliged to work twelve hours in the day, for the Master Painter who employed him"—in all probability owed his appointment as Grand Secretary to the influence of James Hagarty, in whose employment it is very possible he was at the time.

As time advanced, his circumstances in life improved, for in 1764, the officers of No. 31 offered to become his security to the amount of £1000, if he was chosen Grand Treasurer; in 1766, he was able to subscribe £5 towards the relief of a brother in Newgate; in 1767, he "made a volluntary gift of the Grand Master's Throne, compleat, which cost in the whole, £34;" and in 1768, he is described in the records as a Wine Merchant.

His attainments were of no mean order. The Minutes of the Steward's Lodge—March 21, 1764—informs us that, an "Arabian Mason having petitioned for relief, the Grand Secretary conversed with him in the Hebrew language," after which, he was voted £1, 1s. Of Latin, he possessed at least a smattering, for when Grand Master Matthew, on being asked by him to name the text for a sermon—June 12, 1767—replied, "In principio erat sermo ille et sermo ille erat apud Deum erat que ille sermo Deus"—the Secretary at once made a bow and said, "Fungor officio meo."

Of his conscientiousness in the performance of his duties, the following affords a good illustration:

"March 19, 1766. *N.B.* The Grand Secretary was fined for swearing an oath, which fine he paid immediately; and was ordered to withdraw, during which time the Steward's Lodge order'd that the G. S. should be excused, and that the fine shou'd not be inserted among the

[1] According to the "Pocket Companion for Freemasons," Dublin, 1735, the Lodge, No. 26, then met at "the Eagle Tavern on Cork Hill."

[2] I derive this date from "Notes on Lau. Dermott and his Work," 1884, by W. M. Bywater, P. M. (and historian) of the "Royal Athelstan" Lodge, No. 19, p. 57.

[3] Early History and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Pt. ii., 1878, p. 119.

ARMS OF MASONS, CARPENTERS, ETC



ARMS GRANTED TO THE CARPENTERS COMPANY.
OF LONDON. 8TH EDWARD IV, 1468.



ARMS GRANTED TO THE MASONS COMPANY.
OF LONDON. 12TH EDWARD IV, 1472-3.



ARMS OF THE SCULPTURES OR MARBLERS.
FROM THE GATESHEAD CHARTER, 1671.



ARMS OF THE FREE MASONS.
FROM THE GATESHEAD CHARTER, 167

Transactions of the Steward's Lodge. Notwithstanding this lenitive order, the G. S. thinks he cannot violate that part of his Instalation Ceremony, which expressly says, that he shall not favour the undeserved. LAU. DERMOTT.

"Therefore I have made this note."[1]

Although frequently debarred by sickness from actual attendance at the meetings of Grand Lodge, towards the closing years of his Secretaryship, the records afford numerous examples of his devotion to the best interests of the Society. Thus, under March 7, 1770, we find: "Heard a second letter from G. S. Dermott, humbly proposing that no part of the Grand Fund be appropriated, expended, disbursed, nor ordered towards defraying the charges of any Publick Feast, Musick or Procession for the future, the Funerals of Indigent Brethren (only) excepted—and which was unanimously approved of."

In addition to his manifold labours as Secretary, he took upon himself the task of compiling a "Book of Constitutions" for the Seceders. This work—which will be hereafter considered—passed through no less than four editions during the author's lifetime,[2] and if his fame rested on nothing else, would alone serve as a lasting monument of his zeal and ability. Originally published at his own risk, its sale must have been very remunerative; and on September 29, 1785, when the thanks of Grand Lodge were voted to him for "giving up his property of 'Ahiman Rezon' to the Charity," the endowment must have been a very substantial addition to that fund.

It is worthy of notice, that in "Ahiman Rezon," 1764, whilst explaining the difference between "Antient and Modern" [Masonry], the author says: "I think it my duty to declare solemnly, before God and man, that I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen, members of the Modern Society; but, on the contrary, love and respect them."[3] "Such," he adds, fourteen years later, "was my declaration in the second edition of this book; nevertheless, some of the Modern Society have been extremely malapert of late. Not satisfied with saying the Ancient Masons in England had no Grand Master, some of them descended so far from truth as to report, the author had forged the Grand Master's hand-writing to Masonic warrants, etc. Upon application, His Grace the most Noble Prince John, Duke of Atholl, our present R. W. Grand Master's father, avowed his Grace's hand-writing, supported the Ancient Craft, and vindicated the author in the public newspapers." He then goes on to say: "As they differ in matters of Masonry, so they did in matters of calumny; for while some were charging me with forgery, others said, that I was so illiterate as not to know how to write my name. But what may appear more strange is, that some insisted that I had neither father nor mother; but that I grew up spontaneously in the corner of a potatoe garden in Ireland." "I cannot reconcile myself," he continues, "to the idea of having neither father nor mother; but . . . be that as it may, as I do not find that the calumny of a few Modern Masons has done me any real injury, I shall continue in the same mind as express'd in the declaration to which this notice is written."[4]

In Masonic circles, Dermott was probably the best abused man of his time, and he revenged himself by holding up the members of the rival Society[5] to the ridicule of the

[1] Steward's Lodge Minutes—footnote.

[2] 1756, 1764, 1778, and 1787. Subsequent editions appeared in 1800, 1801, 1807, and 1813.

[3] P. xxiv. [4] Ahiman Rezon, 3d edit., 1778.

[5] *I.e.*, The "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge of England.

public. Of this, one example must suffice. Describing their innovations, he says: "There was another old custom that gave umbrage to the young architects, *i.e.*, the wearing of aprons, which made the gentlemen look like so many mechanicks, therefore it was proposed, that no brother (for the future) should wear an apron. This proposal was rejected by the oldest Members, who declared that the aprons were all the signs of Masonry then remaining amongst them, and for that reason they would keep and wear them. [It was then proposed, that (as they were resolved to wear aprons) they should be turned upside down, in order to avoid appearing mechanical. This proposal took place, and answered the design, for that which was formerly the lower part, was now fastened round the abdomen, and the bib and strings hung downwards, dangling in such manner as might convince the spectators that there was not a working mason amongst them.

"Agreeable as this alteration might seem to the gentlemen, nevertheless it was attended with an ugly circumstance: for, in traversing the lodge, the brethren were subject to tread upon the strings, which often caused them to fall with great violence, so that it was thought necessary to invent several methods of walking, in order to avoid treading upon the strings.][1]

"After many years' observation on these ingenious methods of walking, I conceive that the first was invented by a man grievously afflicted with the sciatica. The second by a sailor, much accustomed to the rolling of a ship. And the third by a man who, for recreation, or through excess of strong liquors, was wont to dance the drunken peasant."[2]

Although the passages within crotchets were omitted after 1787, the remainder appeared in every later edition, including the final one of 1813. That such coarse observations could ever find their way into a work of the kind, may occasion surprise; but we should do well to recollect that when "journeymen painters" take to writing "Books of Constitutions," some little deviation from the ordinary methods must be expected. But we gain a clearer insight into the real character of the man, from the lines with which he concludes this portion of his work, wherein he expresses a hope—renewed in the two succeeding editions published before his death—that he may "live to see a general conformity and universal unity between the worthy masons of all denominations"—a hope, alas, not destined to fulfilment.

Mutatis mutandis, the description given by Burton of the split in the Associate Synod, will exactly describe the breach between, and reunion of, the Masons of England:

"After long separation, these bodies, which had been pursuing their course in different lines, re-united their forces. But, in the meantime, according to a common ecclesiastical habit, each body counted itself *the* Synod, and denied the existence of the other, save as a mob of impenitent Schismatics."[3]

As the earliest records of the Seceders are in the handwriting of Laurence Dermott, and date from his election as Grand Secretary, it is impossible to say how far, as an organised body, their existence should be carried back. A note to the minutes of September 14, 1752, affords the only clue to the difficulty, and, as will be seen, does not materially assist us. It states that a General Assembly of Ancient Masons was held at the Turk's Head Tavern in Greek Street, Soho,[4] on July 17, 1751, when the Masters of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 were authorised

[1] Ahiman Rezon, 1764, p. xxxi.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1778. Footnote to text of previous edition.

[3] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 344.

[4] May 6, 1752.—"Motion made—That this Grand Committee be removed back to the Turk's Head Tavern in Greek St., Soho, where it had [been] long held under the title of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the

to grant dispensations and warrants, and to act as Grand Master. And the Masters of three lodges "did actually exercise such authority, in signing the warrant No. 8, from which [so the words run] this note is written, for Dermott never received any copy or manuscript of the former Transactions from Mr Morgan, late Grand Secretary: Nor does Laurence Dermott, the present Grand Secretary, think that Bro. Morgan did keep any book of Transactions,—though there is no certainty that he did not."

From this we learn that there were six[1] lodges in existence prior to July 17, 1751, but the exact dates of their constitution there are no means of determining; still it is not likely that the oldest of these lodges was formed before 1747.[2]

The proceedings of the Grand Committee, held March 4, 1752—Bro. John Gaunt, Master of No. 5, in the chair—are thus recorded by Laurence Dermott:

"Formal complaints made against Thomas Phealon and John Macky, better known by the name of the 'leg of mutton masons.' In course of the examination, it appeared that Phealon and Macky had initiated many persons for the mean consideration of a leg of mutton for dinner or supper, to the disgrace of the Ancient craft. That Macky was an Empiric in phisic; and both impostors in Masonry. That upon examining some brothers whom they pretended to have made Royal-Archmen,[3] the parties had not the least idea of that secret. That Dr Macky (for so he was called) pretended to teach a Masonical Art, by which any man could (in a moment) render himself invisible. That the Grand Secretary had examined Macky, and that Macky appeared incapable of making an Apprentice with any degree of propriety. Nor had Macky the least idea or knowledge of Royal-Arch Masonry. But instead thereof, he had told the people whom he deceived, a long story about 12 white Marble Stones, etc., etc. And that the Rainbow was the Royal Arch,[4] with many other absurdities equally foreign and rediculous.

"Agreed and ordered—that neither Thomas Phealon nor John Mackey be admitted into any ancient Lodge during their natural Lives."

On September 2, in the same year, it was agreed that every sick member should receive one penny per week from every registered Mason in London and Westminster; after which "the Lodge was opened in Ancient form of Grand Lodge, and every part of real Freemasonry was traced and explained" by the Grand Secretary, "except the Royal Arch."

"Dec. 6, 1752.—Resolved unanimously; that the Lodges, who by neglect or disobedience have forfeited their Rank and Number, shall be discontinued on the Registry, and the Junior Lodges who have proved themselves faithful friends of the Ancient Craft, shall henceforth

Old Institution. This motion was not seconded, and therefore dropt" (Grand Committee Minutes). An explanation of the statement embodied with the foregoing resolution, will be found above. Its value historically is scarcely equal to that of the preamble of a bill which has the ill luck not to ripen into an Act of Parliament. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VII., p. 373.

[1] The "Grand Committee of the 'Ancients,' which subsequently developed into their 'Grand Lodge,' was no doubt originally their senior private lodge, whose growth in this respect is akin to that of the Grand Chapter of the 'Moderns,' which, commencing in 1765 as a private Chapter, within a few years assumed the general direction of R. A. Masonry, and issued warrants of Constitution" (Atholl Lodges, p. ix.).

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 395.

[3] The only allusion to the "*Royal* Arch," of earlier date, will be found in Dr Dassigny's "Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the present Decay of Freemasonry in the Kingdom of Ireland," 1744. Reprinted by Hughan, in "Masonic Memorials of the Union," 1874; also in *Masonic Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 368; vol. iii., pp. 5, 62, 111.

[4] *Q.* "Whence comes the Pattern of an Arch? *A.* From the Rainbow" (Mason's Examination, 1723).

bear the Title or Number so forfeited: The distribution to be according to Seniority. The Grand Secretary desired to know whether there was any other books or Manuscripts more than had been delivered to him upon the 2nd of Feb. 1752. To which several of the Brethren answered that they did not know of any; others said they knew Mr. Morgan had a roll of parchment of prodigious length, which contained some historical matters relative to the ancient Craft, which parchment they did suppose he had taken abroad with him. It was further said, That many Manuscripts were lost amongst the Lodges lately Modernized, where a vestige of the ancient Craft [*word erased*] was not suffered to be revived or practized. And that it was for this reason so many of them withdrew from Lodges (under the Modern sanction) to Support the true Ancient System. That they found the freemasons from Ireland and Scotland had been initiated in the very same manner as themselves, which confirmed their system and practice as right and just, Without which none could be deem'd legal, though possessed of all the books and papers on Earth.

"The Grand Secretary (Dermott) produced a very old Manuscript, written or copied by one Bramhall of Canterbury, in the reign of King Henry the seventh; which was presented to Mr. Dermott in 1748, by one of the descendants of the writer—on perusal it proved to contain the whole matter in the fore-mentioned parchment, as well as other matters not in that parchment.

"Br Quay moved 'that the thanks of the General committee be given to G. S. Dermott;' upon which Brs. James Bradshaw [and others] protested against any thanks or even approbation of the Secretary's conduct, who, instead of being useful, had actually Sung and lectured the Brethren out of their senses. The Secretary said—if he was so unfortunate as to sing any brother out of his Senses, he hoped the Worshipful Master in the Chair, and the Grand Committee, would allow him an hour's time, and he would endeavour to sing them into their senses again.

"The request was granted with great good humour, the Secretary made proper use of his time, and the W. Master clos'd and adjourned the Grand Committee to the Five Bells Tavern in the Strand."

Several resolutions of a financial character were passed in the early part of 1753. On January 3, that every member of a Regular Lodge in and about the metropolis,[1] should contribute fourpence a month towards raising a Charity Fund; on February 7, that the officers of lodges might pay ten shillings per week to a sick member, and seven to a member confined for debt, with the assurance of being recouped from the Grand Fund; and, on April 4, that one shilling be spent by each member at every meeting; also that lodges pay two shillings and sixpence for each newly-made Mason, one shilling for joining members, and "that the G. Secretary be free from Contributions or reckonings, whilst being entitled to every benefit of the Grand Lodge, except a vote in chusing Grand Officers."[2]

The first *country* Lodge on the roll of the "Ancients" was constituted in this year. A petition from some brethren residing at Bristol was read October 3, when it was ordered "that the Grand Secretary shall proceed according to the antient custom of the Craft during the *inter Magistrum*."[3]

[1] At this time there were no others.

[2] Lodges Nos. 2 to 17 were represented at this meeting.

[3] The London lodges were usually established by means of a provisional dispensation in the first instance—*e.g.*: "June 19, 1753.—Ordered a dispensation for John Doughty, for the purpose of congregating and making of Freemasons

At the next meeting of the Grand Committee—December 5, 1753—"the Grand Secretary made a motion, 'that as the Fraternity had not made choice of any of the Noble personages formerly mentioned in those Transactions,[1] and it being doubtful whether the antient Craft cou'd be honour'd with a Noble Grand Master at this time, he humbly beg'd that the Brethren wou'd make choice of some worthy and skillfull Master to fill the chair for the space of six months successively.' Accordingly Br° Robert Turner, Master of No. 15, was nominated and unanimously chosen, Instal'd, and Saluted." The Grand Master appointed Bro. William Rankin his Deputy, and Bros. Samuel Quay of No. 2 and Lachlan M'Intosh[2] of No. 3, were elected Senior and Junior Grand Wardens respectively.

The last lodge constituted in 1753 bore the No. 29, which, together with the transition from "Grand Committee" to "Grand Lodge," amply justified the brethren in voting a jewel of the value of five guineas to the Grand Secretary, on the second anniversary of his election to that office.

In 1754, a Committee of Charity, to be styled the Steward's Lodge, was appointed, the proceedings of which were read at the next ensuing meeting of Grand Lodge. Several lodges in arrears were declared vacant, and a minute of October 2 introduces us to a practice unknown, I believe, under any other Masonic jurisdiction. It runs—"Bro. Cowen, Master of Lodge No. 37, proposed paying one guinea into the Grand Fund for No. 6 (now vacant). This proposal was accepted, and the Brethren of No. 37 are to rank as No. 6 for ye future."

Robert Turner, the first Grand Master, who had been continued in office for a second term of six months, was succeeded by the Hon. Edward Vaughan on St John's Day in December. During the administration of the latter, the first of a long series of Military Warrants[3] was issued by this Grand Lodge, a fee of a Guinea was imposed on every new charter,[4] and the Grand Secretary was ordered to install and invest the several officers of Lodges, in cases where the retiring Masters "were incapable of [this] performance."[5]

The Earl of Blesington was elected Grand Master, December 27, 1756, and for four years presided over the Society, at least nominally, for he was present at none of its meetings. His Deputy was William Holford, but the management of affairs appears to have been left almost wholly to Laurence Dermott, by whom was brought out the same year, "Ahiman Rezon; or, A Help to a Brother"—the "Book of Constitutions" of the "Ancients."

On March 2, 1757, the Grand Secretary, in vindication of his character, which had been aspersed by one John Hamilton, proved to the satisfaction of the Grand Lodge that he had been duly installed Master of Lodge No. 26, in the Kingdom of Ireland, May 24, 1746, having previously served therein the offices of Senior and Junior Deacon, Senior and Junior Warden, and Secretary.

at the One Tun in the Strand, from this day unto the first Wednesday in July next" (Grand Lodge Minutes). *Cf. post*, p. 423, note 2.

[1] April 1, 1752.—Three brethren reported that they had waited on Lord George Sackville, who was about to attend his father, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but upon his return, would either accept the chair, or recommend them to another nobleman (Grand Lodge Minutes). The names of Lords Chesterfield, Ponsonby, Inchiquin, and Blesington "were laid before the Committee" in the following November.

[2] April 19, 1769.—Reprimanded by the Steward's Lodge for making masons clandestinely at Bristol, but his previous services recognised in having established Lodges at Berwick and Bremen. May 17.—Ordered to make submission before Nos. 84 and 118, Bristol.

[3] No. 41, 57th Foot, Sept. 7, 1755. [4] June 2, 1756. [5] June 24, 1756.

At the same meeting it was ordered—"that no person be made a mason in an Antient Lodge under the sum of £1, 5s. 6d., and cloath the Lodge if required.

"That a General Meeting of Master Masons be held on the 13th Inst., to compare and regulate several things relative to the Antient Craft; [and that] the Masters of the Royal Arch shall also be summon'd to meet, in order to regulate things relative to that most valluable branch of the Craft."

On March 13, the Grand Secretary "traced and explained the 1st, 2d, and 3d part of the Antient Craft, and Settled many things (then disputed) to the intire satisfaction of all the brethren present, who faithfully promised to adhere strictly to the Antient System and to cultivate the same in their several Lodges." Forty-six brethren, representing twenty-six lodges, were present on this occasion.

In the following June a regulation was made, forbidding the officers of Lodges—under the penalty of forfeiture of warrant—to admit as member or visitor, "any person not strictly an ancient Mason, Certified Sojourners excepted."

In the following year—March 1, 1758—a letter was read from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, announcing "a strict union with the Antient Grand Lodge in London." [1]

On December 5, 1759, "The Grand Secretary made a long and labour'd speech against any victuler being chosen a Grand Officer, which gave great offence to some persons in the Grand Lodge. The D.G.M. put the Question, viz.:

Whether the Secy., Lau. Dermott, for his last Speech, Merited Applause, or Deserved Censure.

For applauding the Secretary, ...	44
Against, ...	4

Upon which the R. W. Deputy said, 'Brethren, there are 44 votes for the Secretary, and 4 against him, by which it seems there are only 4 Publicans in the Room.'"

The next Grand Master was the Earl of Kelly, at whose accession—December 27, 1760—the number of lodges on the roll was eighty-three, being an increase of twenty-four, during the presidency of Lord Blesington. The most noteworthy were Nos. 65, Prov. G. Lodge of Nova Scotia (1757), and 69,[2] Philadelphia (1758).

The Grand Officers of the previous year were continued in their offices, and the "general thanks of the Fraternity" were conveyed to Laurence Dermott, who in reply "asked the Grand Lodge to believe two things, 1st, that he thought himself as happy in his Secretaryship, as the Great Pitt was in being Secretary of State; and, 2dly, that he would exert his utmost powers for the Good of the Antient Fraternity, so long as he lived." The services of the Grand Secretary were again recognised in a very marked and unusual manner in the following June, when the Deputy Grand Master proposed that he should be "toasted with the No. of his years," and it was "unanimously agreed that Laurence Dermott, Esq., Grand Secretary, shall

[1] June 2, 1762. A letter read from the Secretary to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, proposing a "continual correspondence," etc., and after citing the action of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, in not admitting any Sojourner from England, as a member or petitioner, without a certificate under the seal of the Ancient Grand Lodge in London; it was ordered, that Sojourners from Ireland should similarly produce proper certificates from the Grand Lodge of that country (Grand Lodge Minutes).

[2] Warrant surrendered, but the precedency of the Lodge confirmed—Feb. 10, 1780—by the *Provincial* Grand Lodge under the Ancients, (No. 89). The latter was "closed for ever" on Sept. 25, 1786, and the next day at a convention of 13 Lodges, was constituted the *Grand* Lodge of Pennsylvania.

be Drank in form with 39, being now in the 39th year of his Age—which was accordingly done." A footnote, however, in his own handwriting, informs us that "the Secretary was in his 41st year."

On September 1, 1762, it was ordered, on the motion of the Secretary, who appears to have taken the lead in legislation, as well as in other things, that no one after October 2, ensuing, should be made a mason for a less sum than two Guineas, of which five shillings was to be paid to the Fund of Charity, and one shilling to the Grand Secretary: Also, That the whole sum should be paid on the night of Entrance, under the penalty of a Guinea, to be levied on the warrant, which was to be cancelled within six months, in default of payment.

That this prudent regulation was not immediately complied with, at least in all quarters, there is evidence to show, for the records inform us—under December 27, 1762—that "David Fisher, late Grand Warden Elect, having attempted to form a Grand Lodge of his own, and offered to Register Masons therein for 6d. each, was deem'd unworthy of any office or seat in the Grand Lodge."

A year later—December 7, 1763—the Grand Secretary was "Warranted and Impower'd to call and congregate a General Lodge in the town of Birmingham, and there to adjust and determine all complaints, disputes, or controversies, in or between the members of the Lodge No. 71 (or any other Brethren), in Birmingham aforesaid."

In 1764, there appeared a second edition of "Ahiman Rezon." A Bro. Matthew Beath was elected Grand Treasurer, June 6; and the members of No. 110 were admonished "for admitting Modern Masons into their Lodge," September 5.

On June 5, 1765, it was proposed, "that Every Past Master shall be a Member of, and have a vote in all Grand Lodges during his continuance [as] a Member of any Lodge under the Antient Constitution.

"This proposal occasion'd long various debates, several of the Masters and Wardens argued strenuously against the motion, while the presiding officer and three Masters were the only persons who spoke in favour of it." At length Grand Warden Gibson, who was in the Chair, put an amendment to the meeting, which was carried by a majority of 22 votes—there being 48 "for the past masters," and 26 "against them"—Whereupon, it was "ordered and declared that from and after the third day of December 1765, all and every Regular past master, while a member of any private Lodge, shall be a member of this Grand Lodge also, and shall have a vote in all cases except in making New Laws—which power is vested in the Master and Wardens, as being the only true Representatives of all the Lodges, according to the Old Regulation the tenth."

In the ensuing year—March 5, 1766—the Grand Master, with his grand officers and others, in fourteen coaches and chariots, drove in procession through Hampstead and Highgate, returning to the Five Bells Tavern in the Strand to dine.

During the nominal presidency of Lord Kelly, sixty-two Lodges were added to the roll. Of these, seven were formed in regiments or garrisons, and eight in the colonies or abroad. Omitting Philadelphia—which received a *second* and *third* warrant in 1761 and 1764 respectively[1]—we find that Lodges under the "Ancients" were established at Charles Town, South Carolina, 1761; Amsterdam, 1762; Torlola, Marseilles, Leghorn, and Jamaica, 1763; St

[1] *Ante*, p. 442.

Helena, 1764; and Minorca, 1766. The next Grand Master, the Hon. Thomas Matthew, Provincial Grand Master of Munster, who was privately installed early in 1767,[1] appears to have been the first holder of the office who attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge. It was the custom of this worthy, wherever he resided—whether in Ireland, Great Britain, or France—"to hold a regular Lodge amongst his own domestics."

There now occur frequent entries—"G. S. Dermott absent in the Gout," which must have necessitated the assistance of a Deputy Grand Secretary, to which office we find that William Dickey, Jun., P.M. No. 14, was elected, June 1, 1768.[2] This he retained until 1771, and was subsequently Grand Secretary, 1771-77; D.G.M., 1777-81; President of the Grand Committee, 1782; and again D.G.M. from December 27, 1794, until his death, July 27, 1800.

The Grand Secretary and his Deputy had frequent disputes, and the former accused the latter—June 6, 1770—of having resigned his post "when he [Dermott] was so ill in the gout that he was obliged to be carried out in his bed (when incapable to wear shoes, stockings, or even britches) to do his duty at the Gd. Steward's Lodge." At the next meeting of Grand Lodge—September 5—Dermott "beg'd the Grand Lodge would please to do him justice, otherwise he sh[d] be under the disagreeable necessity of publishing his case." The Grand Secretary afterwards said "he should not give them any further trouble concerning his affairs, and that henceforth he would resign and for ever disclaim any office in the Grand Lodge."

Further recriminations were exchanged on December 5. The records state, "Many warm disputes happen'd between Laurence Dermott, William Dickey, Junior, and others, the recording of which wou'd be of no service to the Craft nor to the various speakers."

At a subsequent meeting, held December 19, it was unanimously agreed that William Dickey had been in fault, and the public thanks of the Grand Lodge were returned to Laurence Dermott for his great assiduity in his office.

John, third Duke of Atholl, was chosen Grand Master, January 30, and installed March 2, 1771, at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside. Dermott was appointed D.G.M.; and on March 6, William Dickey, Jun., was elected Grand Secretary.[3] These two men worked in thorough accord from this time, although the election of the latter took place in opposition to the wishes of the former, who favoured the claims of a rival candidate for the Secretaryship—which, to say the least, savoured slightly of ingratitude, since it was on the motion of William Dickey, Jun., that Dermott was recommended to the Duke of Atholl for the office of Deputy.

During the last four years of Dermott's Grand Secretaryship, twenty-two new *numbers* were added to the roll, which would show an apparent list of 167 Lodges in 1771, as com-

[1] The legality of the installation of the Grand Master *in private* was demurred to, November 25, 1767; and the D.G.M. stated "that the late Grand Master, the Earl of Blesinton, had been only privately installed by the grand officers and Secretary in his Lordship's library in Margaret Street." In the result, the installation of Grand Master Matthew was "declared regular."

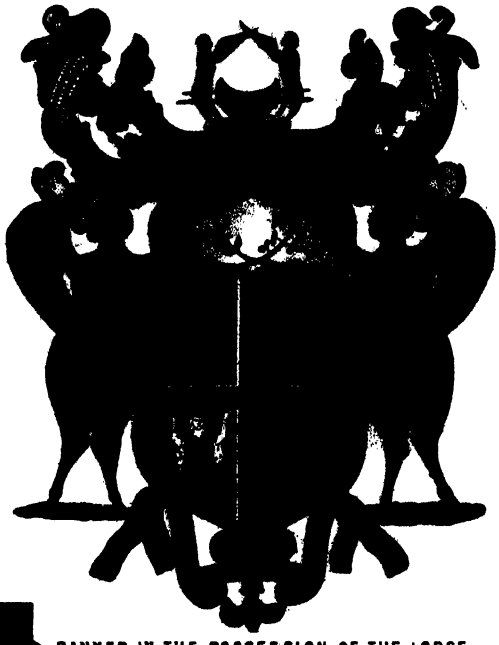
[2] September 20, 1765—"Viseters—Br Dickey, jn, W.[M.] of No. 14, *Antient*" [and others]. March 21, 1766—"B. Lowrie Proposed Mr Willm Dickey, Junior, to Be made a *modern* Mason of; was Firsted and Seconded, and was admited, and was made a mason In this Lodge, and went through the Regular Degrees of the Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft, and Raisd to the Sublime degree of Master Mason" (Minutes of the "Lebeck's Head" Lodge, No. 246 under the "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge).

[3] March 6, 1771—"Here Ends the minutes taken by Lau. Dermott, From the year 1751 [1752] to the year 1771" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

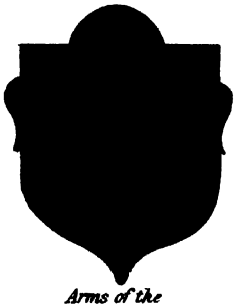
ARMS OF MASONS, FREEMASONS, ETC.



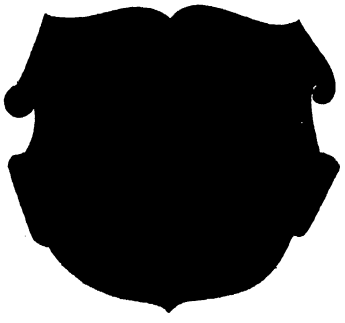
PAINTED PANEL IN THE POSSESSION OF W.HY RYLANDS. *circa 1680.*



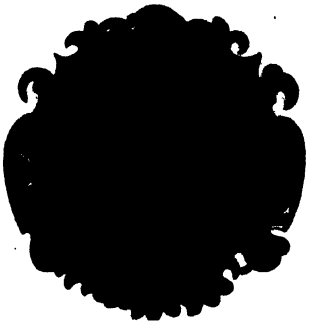
BANNER IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LODGE OF YORK. *circa 1776.*



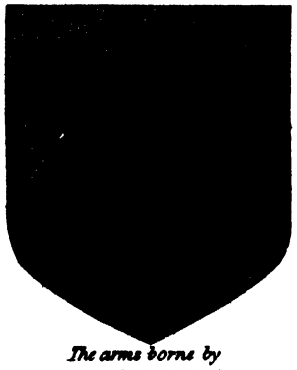
Arms of the
CITY OF COLOGNE.



STONE MASONS OF STRASBURG.
from seal circa 1725.



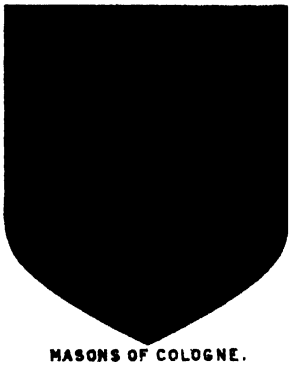
STONE MASONS OF NURENBURG.
from seal circa 1725.



The arms borne by
GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND.



BRICKLAYERS AND TILERS.
from Gateshead charter 1671.



MASONS OF COLOGNE.
from seal 1396 (colours restored)

W.H. Rylands Del. *Wm. H. Smith, Sculp.*

pared with 145 at the end of 1766. But this is misleading, because the "Ancients" constantly allotted a *vacant* instead of a *further* number to a new Lodge. Of this practice I have traced some thirty examples down to the close of 1770; and therefore, assuming that in every case a *new* warrant had received a *new* number, a grand total of at least 197 Lodges would have been reached by 1771.[1] Within the same period, about 339 Lodges were constituted by the *older* Grand Lodge of England.[2]

On the side of the Seceders, two military Lodges, and one each in Calcutta and Madras, were among the additions to the roll during the four years preceding 1771.

At a Grand Lodge, held September 4, 1771, Grand Secretary Dickey put the following question; "Is His Grace the Duke of Atholl Grand Master of Masons in every respect?" which being answered in the affirmative, the proposer said, "he had several times heard it advanced that the Grand Master had not a right to inspect into the proceedings of the Royal Arch." The Secretary further complained of many flagrant abuses of that "most sacred part of Masonry, and proposed that the Masters and Past Masters of Warranted Lodges be conven'd as soon as Possible, in order to put this part of Masonry on a Solid Basis."

Meetings accordingly took place in October and November, with the proceedings of which, Grand Lodge was made conversant by the Deputy Grand Master, December 4, 1771.

Dermott "expatiated a long time on the scandalous method pursued by most of the Lodges (on St John's Days) in passing a number of Brethren through the Chair, on purpose to obtain the sacred Mystry's of the Royal Arch. The Deputy was answered by several Brethren, that there were many Members of Lodges, who from their Proffesions in Life (The Sea for Example) that could never regularly attain that part of Masonry, tho' very able deserving Men."

Ultimately, it was resolved unanimously—"That no person for the future shall be made a Royal Arch Mason, but the legal Representatives of the Lodge, except a Brother (that is going abroad) who hath been 12 months a Registered Mason; and must have the Unanimous Voice of his Lodge to receive such Qualification."

The case of those brethren who "had been admitted among the Royal Arch Masons Illegaly," the Deputy suggested should be left to the next Grand Chapter,[3] which was agreed to.

On March 4, 1772, it was resolved "that the Master and Wardens of every Lodge (within five miles of London) shall attend the Grand Lodge on every St John's Day; on default thereof the Lodge shall pay ten shillings and sixpence to the Charitable Fund." This regulation was made more stringent in the following September, when it was ordered that the same officers, and within the same radius, should attend all meetings of the Grand Lodge, when duly summoned by the Grand Secretary, or else pay a fine of five shillings and threepence, which was "to be levy'd on the warrant."

In the same year—April 8—"James Cock, P. Master[4] No. 9, moved that a chaplain (for

[1] 195 Lodges were assigned numbers by the "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge down to the end of 1739.

[2] *I.e.*, 330 were added to the roll between February 5, 1752, and the close of 1770. This, +9—the number of "Ancient" Lodges in existence at that date— =339.

[3] This is the first mention of "Grand Chapter" in these records, and there are no Royal Arch Minutes of earlier date than 1783. The *degree* itself, however, is referred to under the year 1752. *Cf. ante*, p. 439.

[4] It is evident that at this date Past Masters possessed votes. *Cf. ante*, p. 443.

the Grand Lodge) should be appointed annually, which was approved of, and the Rev. Dr James Grant was elected accordingly." Also, on June 3, it was "agreed that a brother be appointed *pro tempore* to carry the Sword at Public Processions, and that Br°. Nash, Jnr. of No. 2, carry the same next St John's Day."

At a Grand Lodge, held September 2, a letter was read from Bro. T. Corker, D. G. Secretary —Ireland—stating that "he cannot find any traces of the agreement, which was made between the two Grand Lodges in 1757," and also, "that nothing could have been more advantageous *to our poor fraternity*[1] than a strict adherence to such a resolution."

Resolved, "that a Brotherly connexion and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Ireland, has been, and will always be found, productive of Honour and advantage to the Craft in both Kingdoms."

A resolution in identical terms, was passed with regard to the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The reply of the latter was read May 3, 1773. It stated that the Grand Lodge of Scotland were of opinion that the Brotherly intercourse and correspondence (suggested), would be serviceable to both Grand Lodges.[2]

The *entente cordiale* between the two Grand Lodges may have been due in a great measure to the fact, that the Duke of Atholl, then at the head of the fraternity in the south, became Grand Master elect of Scotland, November 30, 1772, and Grand Master a year later. Indeed, at this, as at all other stages of his career, Dermott probably made the most of his opportunities, and so sagacious a ruler of men must have been fully alive to the importance of securing the friendship of the Masons in the Northern Kingdom. The minutes of the same meeting—May 3—then proceed :

"In order to preserve (for ever) the Harmony subsisting between the two Grand Lodges, We [the Grand Lodge of England] think it necessary to declare that (from this time) no warrant should be granted by the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland, to any part of the World where either of them have a Provincial Lodge Established."[3]

The next entry which I shall transcribe, occurs under December 15, 1773, and is worthy of all praise.—"Ordered, That any Lodges running in arrears with their Landlords, [and not paying the same] on or before St John's Day, the Warrant shall be forfeited."

On June 1, 1774, Grand Secretary Dickey having reported that several lodges assembled under an authority from a set of gentlemen called Modern Masons, it was resolved—"If any Lodge under the ancient constitution of England, from the time hereafter mentioned, viz., Europe, Six Months; Asia, Two Years; Africa and America, Twelve Months; to be computed from the 24th day of June 1774; that shall have in their possessions any Authority from the Grand Lodge of Moderns, or in any manner assemble or meet under Such Authority, Shall be deemed unworthy of associating with the members of the Ancient Community, and the Warrant they hold under this Rt. W. G. Lodge shall be immediately Cancel'd: Compleat notice of which the G. Sectry shall give to all Warrd Lodges under the Ancient Sanction.

"Resolved—That all Ancient Masons (of Repute) under the Sanction of the Moderns,

[1] The italics are mine. *Cf. ante*, p. 442.

[2] *Cf.* Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, pp. 205-209.

[3] If this regulation was operative at the present day, and the Grand Lodge of Ireland also agreed to it, the Grand Secretaries of the *three* Masonic jurisdictions in these Islands, would have far less foreign correspondence to contend with.

that may be inclined to obtain an Authority from this R. W. G. Lodge, Shall, by applying any time before the 24th June 1776, be Warranted, and the Expence of Such Warrant to be Charged only as a Renewal."

The death of the *third* Duke of Atholl—from whom a letter was read September 7, expressing satisfaction that the "Ancient craft is *regaining* its ground over the Moderns"—caused the election of grand officers to be postponed from December 7, 1774, until March 1, 1775.

On the latter date, the Grand Secretary "reported the following transactions of the Grand Master's Lodge:[1]

"'Feb. 25, 1775.—Admitted. His Grace the [*fourth*] Duke of Atholl into the first, second, and third degree; and after proper instructions had been given [it was] proposed that [he] should be Immediately Installed Master of the Grand Master's Lodge, which was accordingly done.'

"Upon the Secretary reading the above transactions, His Grace the Duke of Atholl was unanimously elected Grand Master," and, on the 25th of the same month, duly installed in the presence of the Duke of Leinster and Sir James Adolphus Oughton,[2] former Grand Masters of Ireland[3] and Scotland[4] respectively. William Dickey was continued as Secretary, and the new Grand Master "signed a warrant appointing Bro[r] Lau: Dermott, Esq., to be His Grace's deputy; and ordered that the said deputy should be installed whenever his present indisposition would admit him to attend;" which was not until later in the year, when a series of discussions took place relative to a correspondence between William Preston and the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which has been already referred to.[5]

In the following year—March 6—it was ordered, "That in future every Modern Mason, remade under this Constitution, shall pay to the Charitable Fund, etc., Six Shillings, unless they produce a certificate of their having been made a *Modern*, and in that case shall pay only three Shillings to the Fund."

On St John's Day (in Christmas) 1777, "Dermott informed the brethren that he had petitioned the Grand Master for liberty to resign his office of Deputy. His age, infirmities, and twenty years' service, having constrained him to take such measures." A letter was then read from the Duke of Atholl, expressing approval of William Dickey[6] as D.G.M., and stating that he had accepted the office of Grand Master of Scotland, "as he imagined it might accrue to the advantage of Ancient Masonry in England by indubitably shewing the tenets

[1] September 5, 1759.—"The Grand Master's Lodge proclaimed, and took the first seat accordingly as No. 1" (Grand Lodge Minutes). *Revived* December 16, 1787, and retained its number at the Union. *Cf. ante*, p. 340.

[2] In 1752 General Oughton was Prov. G. M. of Minorca, under the older Grand Lodge of England, and informed that body "that the Craft flourished there in full vigour; that they adhered to their Rules [of] Decency and *Regularity* so strictly and invariably, that neither the envious, malicious, or inquisitive could find the least ground to exercise their Talents" (Grand Lodge Minutes—1723-1813—June 18, 1752).

[3] 1771, and again 1778. [4] 1769-70.

[5] *Ante*, p. 424. It is somewhat curious, that in their published works neither the "journeyman *printer*,"[1] nor the "journeyman *painter*"[2]—Preston and Dermott—the former an *Ancient* before he became a *Modern*, and the latter a *Modern* before he became an *Ancient*—using these terms in a popular though erroneous signification—refers the one to the other.

[6] James Jones, who had been chosen Grand Secretary, March 5, 1777, was re-elected on December 27.

to be the same." At the same meeting gold medals were voted both to the new and to the retiring Deputy.[1]

D.G.M. Dickey gave notice—March 4, 1778—"that on the first Wednesday in June next, he wou'd proceed to dispose of the warrants, laying at this time dormant, for the support of the Fund of Charity;" and in the June following it was resolved "that the Senior No. have the preference by paying to the Charity £1, 1s. 0d."[2]

On March 3, 1779, Charles Bearblock, P.M., No. 4, was elected Grand Secretary; and on the motion of "P. Deputy G. M. Dermott," it was resolved "that every lodge within the Bills of Mortality, in future do pay to the fund of Charity Ten Shillings and sixpence for every new made member."

On October 18, 1781, Lodge No. 213,[3] in the Royal Artillery, was constituted at New York by the Rev. W. Walter, who, according to the customary practice, was empowered to act as Deputy Grand Master for three hours only, together with the Masters and Wardens of Nos. 169, 210, 212, 134 (Scotland), and 359 (Ireland).

On February 6, 1782, William Dickey was unanimously chosen President of the "Grand Committee," the Dukes of Atholl and Leinster having respectively declined, the former to retain, and the latter to accept, the position of Grand Master if elected.

After an interregnum of a year and a quarter—March 6, 1783—the Earl of Antrim was elected to the chair, Laurence Dermott was appointed Deputy, and Robert Leslie was chosen Grand Secretary in the place of Charles Bearblock, "discharged from that office."

At a Grand Committee, held March 29, 1784—William Dickey in the chair—a letter was read from the Deputy G.M., complaining of an irregular and incorrect circular issued by the Grand Secretary, and also of his having usurped the power of the Grand Master and Deputy, "more particularly in a *dispensing power for congregating and forming* a new Lodge." After much discussion, it having been recommended "that every matter heard before the Committee should be lost in oblivion," Dermott and Leslie "were called in and gave their assent thereto."

In the following September the D.G.M. "informed the Lodge that he would not act, nor advise or suffer the Grand Master to act, with the present Grand Secretary, who he declared incapable of his office, and if again re-elected, he would request leave of the G.M. to resign his office." Leslie expressed surprise at the use of language as "unmasonic" as it was "unmanly," especially after the Deputy had agreed to bury all differences in oblivion, and charged the latter with having "descended to the grossest personal scurrility, unbecoming a Man, Mason, or Gentleman." The Grand Secretary was re-elected, but afterwards "begged leave to decline any contest for the office," and, persisting in his resignation, a new election was ordered to take place in March, but on December 1, it was carried by a unanimous vote, that the thanks of the Grand Lodge be conveyed to Bro. Leslie, G.S.

On the St John's day following, a letter was read from Dermott, objecting to the proceedings of the last Grand Lodge, and particularly of its having "attempted to rescind the confirmed acts of a Grand Lodge [held] in due form." In support of this contention a great many

[1] Dermott availed himself of this respite from administrative labour to bring out a *third* edition of his "Ahiman Rezon" (1778).

[2] Rescinded September 2, 1778.

[3] Purchased the ninth place on the list for £5, 5s. in 1787. Became No. 17 at the Union, and is now the Albion Lodge, Quebec.

authorities were cited, and among them, strange to say, "Doct[r] Anderson's Constitutions, page 162, pub. 1738!" The missive was read aloud more than once, and after a solemn pause, a vote of censure was *unanimously passed* on the writer, "the contents of the said letter, and the conduct of the D.G.M.," appearing to the Grand Lodge "arbitrary, if not altogether illegal."

The behaviour of Leslie at this juncture cannot be too highly commended. A new generation had sprung up, which was ill disposed to brook the petulance of the deputy. Nothing but the forbearance of the Grand Secretary prevented an open rupture, in which case Dermott must have gone to the wall; but in a noble letter to the Earl of Antrim, written September 10, 1784, Leslie thus expresses himself: "I again beg your Lordship's pardon, when I hint that a continuance of your former deputy may be most agreeable to the Grand Lodge, and that the want of his assistance would be irreparable."

On January 31, 1785, "a letter [was] read from the Grand Master, appointing Lau. Dermott, Esq., his deputy, and wishing that any difference between the R.W.D[eputy] and Sec[y] Leslie might be buried in oblivion—the said letter was read twice, and the R.W.D. put the same into his pocket without any motion being made thereon by the Lodge." The vote of censure passed at the previous meeting was removed. Dermott returned thanks, declined taking upon himself the office of D.G.M., and repeated that "he would not work with Sec[y] Leslie, upon which the Grand Lodge got into confusion and disorder for some time."

The following entry in the minutes of the "Steward's Lodge" tends to prove that, about this time, the bonds of discipline were much relaxed: June 15, 1785.—"B[r] Weatherhead Master of No. 5 was fin'd one shilling for swearing, and he also chaling'd the Master of No. 3 to turn out to fight him with sword and pistol, and us'd the W[ll] G. J. Warden [Feakings] in a Redicules manner, which oblig'd him to close the Lodge before the Business was compleated."

In the following March, Leslie made way for John M'Cormick, but was again elected Grand Secretary, December 1, 1790, an office which he filled until the Union; and a gold medal was voted to him December 1, 1813, "for his long and faith[ful] services as Grand Secretary for more than thirty years."

Lord Antrim was installed as Grand Master, June 7, 1785, and at the same meeting invested Laurence Dermott as his Deputy. In the following September the sum of one guinea was fixed as the amount to be paid when "Modern Masons" were made "Antient." From this it may be estimated that the latter were more than holding their own in the rivalry which existed, an inference still further sustained by the language of a communication addressed by the Grand Secretary to the Grand Master, March 20, 1786, informing him "that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, which had been under the government of the Moderns for upwards of twenty years, had offered for a warrant under the Antients, also that the said Grand Lodge consisted of none under the degree of an Ensign, and who had refused to act longer under the authority of the Moderns, "tho' the Duke of Cumberland is said to be their Grand Master."

At a Grand Lodge, held December 27, 1787, James Perry, J.G.W., who was invested as Deputy Grand Master, moved, "that the thanks of the G.L. be given to R.W. Lau: Dermott, Esq., P. Dep. G.M., who after forty-seven years zealously and successfully devoted to the service of the Craft, had now retired from the Eminent station which he held, and to whose masonic knowledge and abilities, inflexible adherence to the Antient Laws of the Fraternity, and Impartial administration of office, the Fraternity are so much indebted." The motion was carried without a dissentient vote; and it was further resolved, "that a committee be formed,

consisting of the Grand Officers, to consider the best means of conferring some signal mark of the approbation of the Grand Lodge on the said Mr Deputy Dermott," and to report accordingly.

Laurence Dermott attended Grand Lodge in the following June, and was also present at Communications held on June 4, 1788, March 4,[1] and June 3, 1789. After the last date the minutes are altogether silent with regard to his name, and even his death is unrecorded.

When Dermott resigned the office of Grand Secretary (1770) there were 167 lodges on the roll; at the close of 1789 there were 258, showing an increase of 91. But within the same period, about 46—as nearly as I can trace them—were constituted, or revived at vacant numbers, thus making a grand total of 137 new lodges.

The expansion of the rival organisation, between the same dates, was as follows: 119 lodges were added to its roll after 1770 and before 1780; and 125 during the ten years ending 1789, forming a total increase of 244. But the real position of the "Atholl" Grand Lodge is not disclosed by these figures. In the Colonies, and wherever there were British garrisons, the new system was slowly but surely undermining the old one. Forty-nine military lodges had been constituted by the Seceders down to the close of 1789,[2] and the influence they exercised in disseminating the principles of which Dermott was the exponent, will be treated with some fulness hereafter. In this place it will be sufficient to say, that to the presence of so many army lodges in North America was mainly due the form which Masonry assumed when the various States became independent of the mother country.[3] The actual number of lodges working under what was styled the "Ancient Sanction" at the period under examination cannot be very easily determined. For example, on October 24, 1782, there were four lodges[4] at work in Halifax, N.S., "under Dispensation from the warranted lodges, Nos. 155 and 211," in that town.[5] Many local warrants were granted subsequently by the Provincial Grand Lodge,[6] but as none of these were exchanged for charters from London until 1829, it would now be difficult to trace the dates they originally bore, but that at least seventeen lodges were constituted under this jurisdiction, and probably more, before the year 1790, there is evidence to show.[7] Unfortunately the "Atholl" records do not give the lodges in existence under provincial establishments, and the earliest printed list was not published until 1804. In that year, however, we find that the province of Gibraltar comprised 9 lodges, Jamaica 15, Quebec 11, Niagara 12, and Halifax 29.

The Grand Lodge of England, previous to the death of Dermott, demanded no fees from

[1] There were present, *inter alios*, at this meeting, James Perry, D.G.M., in the chair; Laurence Dermott, P. Dep. G.M.; Thomas Harper, S.G.W.; and James Agar, J.G.W.,—all of whom were voted, at different times, gold medals by the Society. In 1813 the Duke of Kent selected three past masters of No. 1—viz., Thomas Harper, D.G.M., James Perry, and James Agar, *past* D.G.M.'s—to assist him, on behalf of the "Ancients," in preparing the Articles of Union.

[2] Sixty-seven were chartered subsequently, making a total of 116.

[3] See *post*, "Military Lodges," and "Freemasonry in America."

[4] The "Union, St George's, Virgin, and Thistle" Lodges. The three last named were held in the Nova Scotia Volunteers, Royal Artillery, and 82d Foot respectively, and are not included in the forty-nine military lodges noticed above, or in the sixty-seven mentioned in note 2.

[5] J. Fletcher Brennan, History of Freemasonry in the Maritime Provinces of British America, 1875, p. 375.

[6] Re-warranted at its old number (65) June 2, 1784.

[7] April 15, 1789.—"John Boggs, of No. 17 Ancient York Lodge, Nova Scotia, relieved as a Sojourner with 1 guinea" (Steward's Lodge Minutes).

Nova Scotia. The Provincial body was virtually an independent organisation, paying tribute to none, and exacting the respect due to any independent Grand Lodge of Freemasons.[1]

In other parts of the world, Provincial Grand Lodges under the "Ancients" also warranted a large number of subsidiary lodges, but these, in the absence of lists, it is now, for the most part, impossible to identify. One of these bodies, however, before severing its connection with England—September 25, 1786—had no less than forty-six lodges on its roll,[2] all of which, up to that date, must be regarded as having been remote pendicles of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions."

James Perry continued to serve as Deputy until December 27, 1790, when he was succeeded by James Agar, and on the same day Robert Leslie was invested as Grand Secretary in the place of John M'Cormick—awarded a pension of a shilling a day during the remainder of his natural life "for his ffaithful services to the Craft."[3]

On the death of the Earl (and Marquess) of Antrim in 1791, John, fourth Duke of Atholl, was again elected Grand Master, and installed January 20, 1792. In this year—March 7—it was Resolved and Ordered—"That a general uniformity of the practice and ceremonies of the Ancient Craft may be preserved and handed down unchanged to posterity, the Lodges in London and Westminster shall be required to nominate a Brother from each Lodge, who must be a Master or Past Master, and otherwise well-skilled in the Craft, to be put in Nomination at the Grand Chapter, in October of each year, to be elected one of the nine Excellent Masters; who are allowed to visit the Lodges; and should occasion require, they are to report thereon to the Grand Chapter, or the R. W. Deputy Grand Master, who will act as he shall deem necessary."

At the following meeting, held June 6, the minutes of the preceding one were confirmed, and also those of the Royal Arch Chapter relating "to the appointment of nine Excellent Masters to assist the Grand Officers for the current year."[4]

In the ensuing September, in order "to accelerate the business of Grand Lodge," it was unanimously ordered "that the Grand Master or his Deputy do grant such warrants as are vacant to Lodges making application for the same, giving the preference or choice to the Senior Lodges: And that the sum of Five Guineas, to be paid into the Fund of Charity, shall be the established fees for taking out such Senior warrant."

On March 4, 1794, it was ordered—that Country, Foreign, and Military Lodges (where no

[1] Brennan, *op. cit.*, p. 402. In reply to a letter from Adam Fife, first Master of the "Virgin" Lodge, Laurence Dermott wrote, Aug. 7, 1787: "Pecuniary Submission is not the aim of the Mother Grand Lodge. To cultivate and establish the True System of Ancient Masonry, Unity, and Brotherly Love is the only point in view" (*Ibid.*, p. 424).

[2] Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, pt. i., p. 62; and pt. iii., Appendix, p. 9.

[3] The remuneration of the Secretary was not large at this time, as the following minutes show: June 3, 1790.—"A Motion was made to Raise the G. Secretary's Sallary, and by the shew of hands it was carried to allow him 10 G[uineas], added to the *five*, and to receive it Quarterly or half yearly, as he pleased to take it." Dec. 5, 1792.—"Ordered, That the sum of three shillings be in future paid to the Grand Secretary for a Master Mason's Grand Lodge Certificate; he paying the expense of parchment and printing the same."

[4] Nov. 18, 1801.—"A Motion was made and seconded that the nine Excellent Masters for the time being should have a Medal emblematic of their office, which should be given up, when they were out of office, for their successors, which was agreed to, subject to the opinion of Grand Lodge" (Steward's Lodge Minutes). June 1, 1803.—"Ordered, That to prevent the intrusion of improper persons into the Grand Lodge, each member shall sign his name and rank in his Lodge, in a book provided for that purpose, in the outer porch. And the Excellent Masters for the time being shall be required, in rotation, to attend early, and carry the same into effect" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

Grand Lodge was held) should pay five, and London Lodges ten shillings and sixpence to the Grand Fund of Charity upon the registry of every new-made Mason, exclusive (under both scales) of the Grand Secretary's fee, of a shilling.[1] The Metropolitan Lodges were also required to pay a further sum of one shilling per quarter for every contributing member.

James Agar was succeeded by William Dickey, who, December 27, 1794, again undertook the responsible duties of Deputy Grand Master, a position for which he was more eminently qualified than any other living man.

Until the December meeting of 1797, there is nothing of moment to record; but on that occasion "it was moved by Bro. Moreton of No. 63, and seconded by Bro. M^cGillevery of No. 3, That a committee be appointed by this R. W. Grand Lodge, to meet one that may be appointed by the Grand Lodge of Modern Masons, and with them to effect a Union." But, alas, the time for a reconciliation had not yet arrived, and it will therefore occasion no surprise that "the previous Question was thereupon Moved and Carried almost unanimously."

The negotiations which preceded the fusion of the two Societies are very fully entered in the Atholl records, but the story of the Union will be best presented as a whole, and for this reason I shall postpone its narration until the next chapter.

On July 3, 1798, a meeting took place for the purpose of establishing a Masonic Charity for educating and clothing the sons of indigent Freemasons; a subscription was opened to carry this object into execution; and six children were immediately put upon the establishment. Donations of ten and two hundred guineas were voted by Grand Lodge in 1803 and 1809 respectively to this meritorious institution; and on March 4, 1812, the London Lodges were ordered to pay five shillings, and the other lodges half that sum, at every new initiation, to be added to its funds.

The Duke of Atholl was present at a Grand Lodge held May 6, 1799, when it was deemed essential "to inhibit and totally prevent all Public Masonic Processions, and all private meetings of Masons, or Lodges of Emergency, upon any pretence whatever, and to suppress and suspend all Masonic meetings, except upon the regular stated Lodge meetings and Royal-Arch Chapters, which shall be held open to all Masons to visit, duly qualified as such." It was further resolved, "That when the usual Masonic Business is ended, the Lodge shall then disperse, the Tyler withdraw from the Door, and Formality and Restraint of Admittance shall cease."

Two months later—July 12, 1799—an Act of Parliament was passed—39 Geo. III., cap. 79—which will be referred to in the next chapter; and from that date until the year 1802, no *new* warrants were granted by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, which contented itself with reviving and re-issuing those granted and held before the act in question was added to the statute-roll.

At the death of William Dickey, Thomas Harper was selected to fill his place, and received the appointment of Deputy, March 4, 1801. This office he held until the Union, and during the protracted negotiations which preceded that event, was the leading figure on the Atholl side. He served as Senior Grand Warden from 1786 to 1788, was presented with a gold medal, March 3, 1790, and became Deputy Grand Secretary[2] (by appointment of Robert Leslie), December 27,

[1] According to the minutes of the Steward's Lodge, Nov. 20, 1793, the "annual compliment to the Secretary for the year 1793" is set down at fifteen guineas. September 18, 1799, it was increased to thirty, and March 26, 1800, lowered to ten.

[2] Edwards Harper, also of No. 207 Fleet Street, served as Dep. G. Secy. under Leslie, from December 27, 1800.

1793. According to the Grand Chapter Register, he was made a Royal Arch Mason in No. 190,[1] at Charlestown, South Carolina, and the date given is 1770. Here there is evidently a mistake, as the lodge bearing that number was only constituted in 1774; but an earlier one (No. 92) was established at Charlestown, under the same jurisdiction, in 1761, and it is probable that the numbers of the two lodges have been confused. At the period of his nomination as Deputy Grand Master, he was a member of *both* Societies, and had served the stewardship[2] in the older one, by which, as we shall see in the next chapter, he was successively expelled and re-instated during the somewhat tortuous proceedings which have yet to be recounted.

Beyond an addition to the *minimum* fee for installation, which was increased to two and a half guineas on December 4, 1804,[3] there are no entries calling for attention till we reach the year 1806, when the minutes of the Steward's Lodge, under April 16, inform us of a report made to that body by Grand Warden Plummer, to the effect that certain members of Nos. 234 and 264 "had lately taken upon themselves to address the Duke of Kent, and requested His Royal Highness to adopt and take upon himself the office of Grand Master, and to which address [the Duke] had been pleased to return an answer, under the impression that [it] had been written by the order, or under the sanction, of the Grand Lodge." At a subsequent meeting the incriminated parties "were severely reprimanded from the chair," and warned that similar conduct would be more severely dealt with in the future.[4]

On March 4, 1807, the Deputy Grand Secretary was granted an annual stipend of twenty guineas, and it was ordered, "That in future, no brother be permitted to hold or take upon himself the office of Master of a Lodge, unless he shall be first duly registered in the books of Grand Lodge."

In the following year—March 2—the Resolution passed May 6, 1799, inhibiting all Masonic Processions and Lodges of Emergency, was repealed; and on June 1, salaries of thirty and twenty pounds respectively were voted to the Grand Pursuivant and Grand Tyler.

On September 4, 1811, on the motion of James Perry, it was resolved—"That from and after Saint John's day next, no brother shall be eligible to be elected Master of any Lodge, unless he shall have acted for twelve months as Warden in the said Lodge, and that he shall not be entitled to the privileges of a past Master, *untill he shall have served one whole year in the chair of his Lodge.*"[5]

At the same period, as we shall presently see, the older Grand Lodge was also carrying out changes in its procedure, in view of the impending reconciliation.

The Duke of Atholl presided at a special Grand Lodge, held May 18, 1813, in honour of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, "Provincial Grand Master for Canada." The royal visitor "expressed in the warmest terms his unchangeable affection and attachment to Masonry 'according to the

until the Union. Presented with a gold medal, December 1, 1813. Harper and W. H. White were appointed joint Grand Secretaries to the *United* Grand Lodge of England. The former resigned in October 1838, and enjoyed till his death, in November 1855, a yearly grant of £100.

[1] Afterwards the Grand Lodge of "Ancient York Masons" of South Carolina, and which amalgamated with the Grand Lodge of "Free and Accepted Masons" of the same State in 1817.

[2] *Ante*, p. 339, note 1.

[3] Raised to three guineas, March 4, 1812.

[4] Steward's Lodge Minutes, May 21, 1806.

[5] Finally approved December 4, 1811. A rough memorandum, pinned into the minute-book, and endorsed "G. L. Extraordinary 23 Oct.," gives the same resolution, but in place of the last fourteen words (italicised above), has—"until he shall have served full two months as Master in y^e^ Chair of his Lodge."

Ancient Institution,' and to the Grand Lodge of England, in which those principles were so purely and correctly preserved." He further said, "that upon every occasion he should be happy to co-operate with them in exerting themselves for the preservation of the Rights and Principles of the Craft, and that, however desirable a Union might be with the *other fraternity of Masons*,[1] it could only be desirable if accomplished on the basis of the Ancient Institution, and with the maintenance of all the rights of the Ancient Craft."

The Duke of Atholl resigned in favour of the Duke of Kent, November 8, 1813. The latter was installed as Grand Master, December 1, and on the St John's day following, the Freemasons of England were re-united in a single Society.

It is improbable, that, at the commencement of the Schism, the Lodges of the Seceders differed in any other respect from those on the regular establishment, than in acknowledging no common superior. With Dermott, however, came a change, and it will next become our task, to ascertain upon what sources of authority he must have relied, when compiling the "Book of Constitutions," or, in other words, the laws and regulations of the "Ancients."

The minutes of March 2, 1757, have been already referred to.[2] These also inform us that, on the date in question, Laurence Dermott produced a certificate, under the seal of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, signed by "Edward Spratt, Grand Secretary." The latter was appointed Deputy Grand Secretary, December 27, 1742, succeeded to the higher office, June 24, 1743, and brought out a "Book of Constitutions for the use of the Lodges in Ireland," in 1751. The compiler styles himself "only a faithful Editor and Transcriber of the Work of Dr Anderson," which appeared when "Lord Mountjoy," afterwards "Earl of Blessington,"[3] was Grand Master of Ireland, who appointed a select committee of the Grand Lodge, over which he presided, to compare the customs and regulations in use there, with those of the English brethren, and found "no essential differences," except in those rules of the latter relating to the "Steward's Lodge," which were therefore omitted.

The "Charges, General Regulations," and "the manner of constituting a Lodge," were copied by Spratt from Dr Anderson's Constitutions of 1738. Dermott appears to have done precisely the same thing in his "Ahiman Rezon,"[4] if, indeed, he did not copy at second hand from Spratt. Both compilers give the "Old" and "New" Regulations, in parallel columns, in the same manner as they are shown by Anderson, but instead of taking the former from the edition of 1723, they reproduce the garbled and inaccurate version of 1738.[5] Regulations XXIII. to XXXI.—relating to the Steward's Lodge, and to Feasts—also XXXVII. and XXXVIII., are omitted in the Irish and the "Ancient" codes; XXXIII. and XXXIV. are compressed into one Law (XXIV.); and the No. XXXIX. of Anderson is represented by the No. XXVII. of Dermott and Spratt. The "Old" Regulations of the two latter terminate with this number. But they add a "New" one—XXVIII.—which is identical with the XL. of

[1] This is a somewhat curious expression, considering that Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of Kent), when appointed Prov. G.M. of *Lower* Canada by the Duke of Atholl—March 7, 1792—held a similar office under the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of "the other fraternity." Prince Edward was accorded the rank of Past Grand Master—under the older Masonic system—February 10, 1790, and in the same year became Prov. G.M. of Gibraltar, an office he retained until 1800.

[2] *Ante*, p. 441.

[3] In another part of the book (p. 147) described as "Viscount Montjoy, and Earl of Blessingtown."

[4] *Ante*, p. 437.

[5] *Cf. ante*, pp. 291, 400.

Dr Anderson, and contains the ten articles or rules passed on the motion of D.G.M. Ward, in 1736.[1] "Old" and "New" Regulation XXXIX. in the Constitutions of 1738, are substantially reproduced in O.R. and N.R. XXVII. of "Ahiman Rezon," 1756. According to both codes, the "Old Land Marks" to which the Section refers, are to "be carefully preserved;" but Spratt and Dermott omit the injunction in the *Old* Regulation, requiring proposed alterations in the laws to be submitted "to the Perusal of the yongest Enter'd Prentice," and the statement in the *New* one (XXXIX.),—that the Grand Lodge can make "NEW REGULATIONS without the consent of *All the Brethren*, at the Grand Annual Feast." In other respects, the "Old" Regulations, as given in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, are simply copied from Anderson or Spratt. The "New" Regulations, however, of the former, are not quoted by Dermott with the same fulness, but as an example of the source of authority, whence the laws of the "Ancients" were derived, it may be interesting to state, that the compiler of their "Constitutions," adopted in its entirety Anderson's "New" Regulation VIII., consisting of a series of laws, passed by the original Grand Lodge of England in 1723, 1724, and 1735 respectively.[2] Here Dermott simply walked in the footsteps of Spratt, who had done precisely the same thing in 1751, and the former also followed the latter, in curtailing the number of "Old" Regulations to XXVII., and of "New" Regulations to XXVIII.

Indeed, in one respect only, which may be deemed material or otherwise, according to the fancies of individual readers, are the Irish and the "Ancient" Grand Secretaries at variance. In the "Manner of Constituting a Lodge," we learn from Anderson and Spratt that the Grand Master is to say certain words and use "some other Expressions that are proper and usual on that Occasion, but not proper to be written." Dermott puts the same words into the mouth of the Grand Master, but requires them to be said "*after* some other *Ceremonies*[3] and Expressions that cannot be written."

The "Royal Arch" is alluded to in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, but "that part of Masonry," as it is there termed, will be examined with some fulness when my observations on the "Constitutions" of the "Ancients" are brought to a close. With regard to the first edition, I shall merely add that it made its way into favour without any direct official sanction. The brethren for whose use it was designed were styled the "Ancient York Masons in England;" and the publication itself was dedicated to the Earl of Blessington, with the object, no doubt, of gaining the consent of that peer to figure as the first "noble Grand Master" of the Seceders —a scheme which was eminently successful, and reflects the greatest credit upon the sagacity of the Grand Secretary.

Lord Blessington attended no meetings of the Grand Lodge, but it is not a little singular that Dermott secured the services as titular Grand Master, for the Schismatics, of the very nobleman under whose presidency the Grand Lodge of Ireland conformed to the laws and regulations enacted by the "Regular" or "Original" Grand Lodge of England.

A second edition of "Ahiman Rezon" appeared in 1764, and extends to 224 pages, of which all but 96 are devoted to poetry and songs. It contains a "Philacteria" for persons desiring to become Free-Masons, and also a description of "Modern Masonry," extracts from

[1] *Ante*, p. 391, note 2. [2] *Ante*, pp. 385, note 2; 376, 377, 379, note 2; and 394, note 3.

[3] Twenty-two years later, Dermott observes, that the Ancients and Moderns "differ exceedingly in makings, *ceremonies*, knowledge, masonical language, and *installations*" (Ahiman Rezon, 1778).

which have been already given.[1] In the latter, Dermott introduces a catechetical method of arguing, and decides that Freemasonry, as practised in the Antient (but not in the Modern) Lodges, is universal; that a Modern Mason may with safety communicate all his secrets to an Antient Mason, but not *vice versâ;* that "a person made in the modern manner, and not after the antient custom of the craft, has no right to be called free and accepted—his being unqualified to appear in *a master's lodge*,[2] according to the universal system of Masonry," rendering "the appellation improper;" and that a Modern cannot be initiated or introduced "into a Royal Arch Lodge (the very essence of Masonry), without going through the Antient Ceremonies."[3] He also lays down that the number of Antient Masons, compared with the Moderns, is as ninety-nine to one. But there is one question and answer, which, as they are omitted in all subsequent editions, I shall transcribe. The writer asks, "What Art or Science has been introduced and practised in London without receiving the least improvement?" To this the reply is—"Freemasonry."

In this edition we first meet with disparaging allusions to the older Society; but in "Ahiman Rezon," 1778, these increase in volume, and are often couched in most offensive terms. For example, a note to "Charge" III., which forbids the initiation of women or eunuchs, has, "This is still the law of Ancient Masons, though disregarded by our Brethren (I mean our Sisters) the Modern Masons."[4] Also in another place it is urged by Dermott that the *premier* Grand Lodge, not having been established by the Masters and Wardens of *five* Lodges, was "defective in form and capacity;" whilst, on the other hand, he contends that "the Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons received the old system without adulteration!" But Dermott certainly finds weak spots in the harness of his adversaries, when he inveighs against a statement in the "Freemasons' Calendar," and another by Samuel Spencer, Grand Secretary to the older Institution. The former alludes to the Ancient York Constitutions having been "entirely dropped at the revival in 1717;"[5] and the latter, made in reply to an Irish Mason who was an applicant for relief, informs him, "Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch, or *Ancient;* so that you have no right to partake of our Charity." "Such," remarks Dermott, was the character given them by their own Grand Secretary about fourteen years ago;[6] how much they have changed for better or worse is no business of mine."[7]

Many regulations originally taken from Anderson or Spratt are omitted in the third edition of "Ahiman Rezon," *e.g.*, "New" Regulations III. and IV.; whilst this is counterbalanced by

[1] *Ante*, pp. 36, 438.

[2] Hughan observes: "There was apparently a difference between the 'Regular' and the 'Atholl' Masons, which has come down to us in the ceremony of the Third Degree, thereby explaining the use of two sets of words of similar import or meaning, and the preference for the *combination* rather than the *omission* of either of these peculiar and brief sentences" (*op. cit.*, p. 59).

[3] Apart from the reasons mentioned in the last note, it is quite clear that, in order to attain the Royal Arch, the candidate would have to "go through a *ceremony*"—viz., that of installation or "passing the chair," which was unrecognised in any way by the Original Grand Lodge of England until 1811. *Cf. ante*, p. 358.

[4] "The Moderns," Dermott continues, "some years ago admitted Signor Singsong, the eunuch, T-nd-ci, at one of their Lodges in the Strand. And upon a late tryal at Westminster, it appeared that they admitted a woman called Madam D'E[on]" (Ahiman Rezon, 1778).

[5] *Ante*, pp. 398, 424.

[6] The occurrence is related in the Grand Lodge Minutes under December 5, 1759.

[7] Ahiman Rezon, 1778.

the insertion of new laws passed by the Seceders, such, for example, as the privilege of voting accorded to Past Masters (N.R. XII.), and the right of the Grand Master to make Masons at sight (O.R. XIII.).

A fourth edition of the work appeared in 1787, and a committee of Grand Officers, with the nine Excellent Masters, was appointed, on March 4, 1795, to assist the Deputy Grand Master in bringing out a fifth, which was published in 1800, under the editorial supervision of Thomas Harper, upon whom also devolved the task of seeing the subsequent editions of 1801, 1807, and 1813 through the press.

"The Royal Arch," says Laurence Dermott, "I firmly believe to be the root, heart, and marrow of Masonry." This opinion is expressed in his "Ahiman Rezon" of 1756, and doubtless did much to popularise the degree. The publication in question was not then one of authority, though it soon became so; but we should do well to recollect that not until 1771 [1] can the Royal Arch be said to have formed an integral part of the system of Masonry practised by the Seceders. It was wrought, no doubt, in the so-called "Ancient" Lodges from a much earlier period, but only as a side or bye degree; and we must not emulate the credulity of those who in former years regarded the utterances of Dermott as standing upon a similar footing with the *Responsa Prudentum* of the Civil Law. In the list of subscribers prefixed to the work, seven names have the letters "A. M." appended. This, Kloss reads as signifying "Arch Mason," [2] and he therefore concludes that in 1756 the degree was very restricted in its scope. Here, however, the great Masonic critic has made too hasty a deduction from the evidence before him. The seven subscribers were all actual or Past Grand officers, and in every case their Masonic rank was placed opposite their names. Thus—"Edward Vaughan, G.M., A.M." (*Grand Master, Ancient Masons*), and so on. That Jeremiah Coleman, whose name also appears on the list, but without the letters "A.M.," was certainly an Arch Mason, and doubtless many others, is to be inferred from the following notification which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* for 1756 : [3]

"To the Brethren of the Most Antient and Honourable, Free and Accepted Antient York Masons—this is to give notice that your company is desired, viz., such as are concerned in E[xcellent] G[rand], commonly called R[oyal] A[rch], at Bro. Sargent's, the Prince of Wales' Head, in Caple-Street, near Wellclose Square, this day, at six in the evening, to accommodate P. L. R. S. as your forefathers were. By the order of P. T. Z. L. J. A.,[4] President. Jer. Coleman, Sec'y."

Kloss attributes the introduction of *new* degrees into Britain, to the influence of the French Masons, though he is careful to point out that the innovators in each country hood-winked their compatriots by speaking of the novelties as foreign importations. There is little doubt, however, that the degrees of Installed Master, and of the Royal Arch, had their inception in the "Scots" degrees, which sprang up in all parts of France about 1740. "Scots Masonry"

[1] *Ante*, p. 445. [2] Geschichte der Freimaurerei in England, Irland, and Schottland, 1847, p. 883.

[3] This I have been unable to verify. It appeared in a series of extracts taken from the above journal, and given in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, February 18, 1865, which were afterwards reprinted (without the slightest acknowledgment) in the *Freemason*, September 26, 1884.

[4] After the last verse of Song No. XXXVIII. in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, the expression occurs, "*To the Memory of* P. H. Z. L. *and* J. A." These letters were doubtless the correct ones. *Cf.* Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, p. 65; and Freemason, October 4, 1884.

will form the subject of a future dissertation;[1] and in this place it will be sufficient to observe that the minute books of two Lodges[2] prove that it had taken root in this country some years at least before the period of time which I have ventured to assign as that of the commencement of the Schism. The records of the Lodge of Industry, Gateshead, supply information of an analogous if not identical character. These inform us that on July 1, 1746, it was "Enacted at a Grand Lodge, That no brother Mason should be admitted into the dignity of a Highrodiam" for less than 2s. 6d., or into that of "Domaskin or Forin" for less than 5s. "Highrodiam" is very suggestive of "Harodim," of which it may have been a corruption; but the word "Domaskin" I cannot venture to explain. The two degrees or steps were, I think, some form of "Scots Masonry"—a conclusion to which I am led by the "N.B." which follows the entry given above. This reads: "The *English Masters* to pay for entering into the said *Mastership* 2s. 6d. per majority."[3]

It is a curious circumstance, that the only knowledge we possess concerning the Royal Arch before 1752[4] arises from an incidental allusion in a work of 1744, and an entry in the records of the Ancients, informing us that Dermott became a member of that degree in 1746. The former occurs in Dassigny's "Serious and Impartial Enquiry,"[5] of which the passages relating to the subject will be given in the Appendix. Their meaning is not free from obscurity, but we are justified in inferring that a few years before 1744 some person in Dublin pretended to have been made "Master of the Royal Arch" at York, and thereby deluded many worthy people; that "*at length*" a "Brother who *had some small space before*[6] attained that excellent part of Masonry in *London*, plainly proved that his doctrine was false;" and also, that the degree was restricted to brethren who had passed the chair.

But this only proves that a side or bye degree, as yet unrecognised by the governing bodies at York and the three capitals, had found its way from London to Dublin, and we cannot be sure, from the language employed, whether in 1744, more than a single person at the latter city, was in possession of it.

I conceive that the word "Arch" must have been first used in the sense of "Chief," or, "of the first class," as *Archangel*, *Archbishop*, in which signification, we meet with the same expression in connection with associations outside the pale of the order.[7]

An "Arch-Mason," therefore, was one who had received a degree or step beyond the recognised and legitimate *three*. Out of this was ultimately evolved the degree of Installed Master, a ceremony unknown, in the older system, until the second decade of the present century, and of which I can trace no sign among the "Ancients," until the growing practice of conferring the "Arch" upon brethren not legally qualified to receive it, brought about a

[1] *Post*, Masonry in France.

[2] "Jan. 8, 1746.—Bros. Thomas Naish and John Burge were this day made Scotch Masters, and paid for making 2s. 6d. each" (Minutes of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, Bath, No. 41). "Oct. 19, 1746.—At this lodge were made Scotts Masons, five brethren of the lodge" (Goldney, *op. cit.*, quoting the Minutes of the Sarum Lodge). *Cf. ante*, p. 399. Five members of present No. 41 were subsequently made "Scotch Masons," Nov. 27, 1754.

[3] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 73, 75. [4] *Ante*, p. 439. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] I cannot quite agree with Hughan (*op. cit.*, p. 49) that these words necessarily imply that the brother who received the Royal Arch degree in *London* did so *before* the date of the imposture.

[7] In the *Annual Register*, 1761, p. 51, there is a reference to "the almost innumerable clubs and societies which distinguish themselves, some by *Arch*, and others by very significant expressions."

constructive passing through the chair, which, by qualifying candidates not otherwise eligible, naturally entailed the introduction of a ceremony,[1] *additional* to the simple forms known to Payne, Anderson, and Desaguliers.

A lodge under the title of "Royal Arch," Glasgow, was erected by the Grand Lodge of Scotland on August 6, 1755. But though from this it may be inferred that the innovation had penetrated into North Britain, the charter only empowered the members to "admit and receive apprentices, pass fellow-crafts, and raise master masons."[2] In the same way, a knowledge of the degree by the masons of Philadelphia, in 1758, may be presumed from the fact that a lodge constituted there in that year by the "Ancients" bore a similar appellation.[3] Next in point of date, and apart from any records of the Seceders, supreme or subsidiary, we find the Royal Arch well established at York, 1762;[4] London, 1765; in Lancashire, 1767;[5] at Boston (U.S.A.), 1769; and in Ireland, 1772.[6]

The Royal Arch minutes of the "Ancients" commence November 5, 1783, and recite certain resolutions passed in the Grand *Lodge*, December 4, 1771,[7] and in the Grand *Chapter*, January 3, 1772. To the latter there is a preamble to the effect that some persons had "lately pretended to teach Masonical Mysteries, Superiour to, or necessary to be added to the Mystery of the Royal Arch;" wherefore it was resolved: "That it is the clear opinion of this Grand Chapter that Royal Arch Masonry is (in itself) so stupendiously Excellent that it Is, truely, what the Roman Masons of Old said, 'Ut Nihil possit cogitare: Nothing cou'd be imagined more.' Therefore to attempt an amendment or add to the Mysteries of the Holy Royal Arch, wou'd be a profanation of that which every good man (especially a free-mason) wou'd and ought to preserve pure and undefiled."

Inasmuch as at this period, the "original" Grand Lodge of England was coquetting with the myriads of degrees which were then in existence on the Continent,[8] it is almost demonstrably clear, that had not Dermott drawn the line at the Royal Arch, the older Society would have eventually followed him, in adopting any number of foreign novelties, with the same complaisance which was shown in 1811 and 1813.[9]

The Grand Chapter on the same occasion—January 3, 1772—took into consideration the matter referred to it in December 1771,[10] and decided that those brethren who had "been introduced [into Royal Arch Masonry] contrary to Antient Custom should be remade[11] gratis upon a recommendation from their respective Lodges."

[1] According to Kloss, the degree of Installed Master is (or was) identical, in nearly every respect, with one of the grades of "Scots Masonry" known on the Continent (*op. cit.*, p. 424).

[2] D. M. Lyon, in a letter dated March 13, 1885.

[3] C. E. Meyer, History of the Jerusalem Chapter, No. 3, Philadelphia.

[4] *Ante*, p. 430.

[5] History of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, Bolton, by G. P. Brockbank and James Newton, 1882, p. 19.

[6] Hughan, *op. cit.*, p. 104. According to the Grand Chapter Register (Ancients) of "Excellent Masters in the degree of the Royal Arch," Dermott was "admitted" in No. 26, Dublin, in 1746; and two others in No. 361, Ireland (1767), and in the Thistle Lodge, Scotland (1768), respectively.

[7] *Ante*, p. 445.

[8] De Vignolles, Provincial Grand Master for foreign lodges, under this body wrote—Dec. 28, 1770—to the Master of the Lodge "Charles" at Brunswick, stating that Grand Lodge did not deny that there must be and were exalted degrees, though which were to be admitted or rejected, was still in suspense. But in the interim the Grand Master permitted all lodges to form private Chapters of the "high" degrees, as they might see fit (Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 427).

[9] *Ante*, pp. 358, 429.

[10] *Ante*, p. 445.

[11] From this, we may perhaps conclude, that brethren were also re-made, in the ordinary degrees, rather in vindication of a principle, than because there was any actual necessity for it?

At the meeting held November 5, 1783, it was resolved "that this Chapter do perfectly coincide with the foregoing resolution, and that masters and pastm^{s}. (*Bonâ fide*) only ought to be admitted Masters of the Royal Arch." It was also further agreed that the names of all Royal Arch Masons should be recorded in a book to be called "Seper Enholah Rabbim, *i.e.*, the Register of Excellent Masters;" that the Grand Lodge should meet at least twice in the year, and on one of those occasions, in conjunction with the Grand Officers select a certain number of "Excellent Masters," which was not to exceed nine persons, who were to examine all persons undertaking to perform any of the ceremonies relative to the Royal Arch, the installation of Grand Officers, or to Processions. These brethren, who were indifferently styled the nine Excellent Masters or Worthies,[1] subsequently had their functions enlarged, as we have already seen.[2]

Royal Arch certificates were issued by the "Ancients" in 1791, and the degree is accorded great prominence in the editions of "Ahiman Rezon," published in 1800 and later years. Nevertheless, I am strongly of opinion, that it was not fully appreciated by the "Ancients," until the novelty was invested with so much importance by the "Moderns"—as in this connection I may venture to style them, without being guilty of an anachronism—and who decorated and embellished the degree with many fanciful alterations and additions of their own creation.[3]

The earliest Royal Arch minutes are among the York Records; and next in point of date are those of the body which ultimately became the Grand Chapter, tolerated, if not actually recognised, by the earlier Grand Lodge of England. The latter commence June 12, 1765, at which date the fee for "passing the Arch" was five guineas. In the following year, Lord Blaney, Grand Master, and James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, of the older "Grand Lodge of England," became members, and also "Grand Master" and "Scribe" respectively of the "fourth degree." On March 11, 1768, Edward Gibbon, the historian, was proposed by Dunkerley and Rowland Holt, "and unanimously approved of;" but there is no record of his exaltation or admission. In 1769 warrants of Constitution were issued, and in the next year the title of "Grand and Royal Chapter" was assumed. In 1773 the use of a distinctive apron was forbidden, until the "Companions" were allowed to wear such "in the Grand Lodge, and in All private Freemason's Lodges."[4] The Duke of Cumberland was elected "perpetual patron" in 1785. In 1796 the "Grand Chapter" became the "Grand Lodge of Royal Arch." The Earl of Moira was exalted in 1803, and the Duke of Sussex became a member in 1810. But the degree was not formally recognised by the Society over which these brethren in turn presided, until the Union, and when a complaint was presented from one Robert Sampson who had been expelled from Royal Arch Masonry—December 29, 1791—"for declaring his intention of exalting Master Masons for 5s. each." It was resolved—November 21, 1792—"that the Grand Lodge of England has nothing to do with the proceedings of the Society of Royal Arch Masons."[5]

[1] Sept 20, 1802. "Br Chaplin proposed, that Br Bollom should be returned to the Grand Royal Arch Chapter, as one of the Nine Worthys for the year" (Minutes of No. 194, *now* the Middlesex Lodge, No. 148).

[2] *Ante*, p. 451.

[3] See, however, Hughan, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[4] The following opinion was expressed by Laurence Dermott, May 15, 1772:—"Royal *Arch-Masons* must not, in any place, except in the Royal Arch Lodge, be distinguished by any garment or badge different from what belongs to them as officers of the *Grand*, or their own private Lodge" (Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, p. cxii.).

[5] A further complaint by Sampson, arising out of the same matter, was heard by the "Committee of Charity," February 1, 1793, and "dismissed, as frivolous and vexatious."

On March 18, 1817, the two Grand Chapters followed the example of the Grand Lodges with which they were severally connected, and amalgamated, under the title of the "*United* Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of England."

The Royal Arch degree was originally conferred in the *lodge*, both by "Ancients" and "Moderns"—expressions which, having regard to the dates whereon this "Innovation in the Body of MASONRY"[1] was made by these two bodies respectively, may here be employed in their ordinary or popular signification. *Chapters* were first brought into use by the latter, and the earliest of which a record has been preserved was well established in 1765. This, as previously stated, developed into a "Grand Body," and issued warrants of constitution to subordinate chapters, after which the degree gradually ceased to be worked surreptitiously, by lodges under the older system. The York brethren also met as a *Chapter* from April 29, 1768.[2] Of this practice I have found but one early example among the Ancients; it occurs in the records of No. 174 *Lodge, now* the Royal Gloucester *Chapter*, No. 130, and is of value in more ways than one. First of all, it establishes the fact that the Royal Arch was not always worked in the "Ancient" Lodges, for No. 174 was constituted *April* 22, 1772, and did not become acquainted with the degree until October 7, 1783, on which date (we next learn) a brother of No. 74 under the Irish Registry, attached to the second battalion of the 1st (or Royal) Regiment, assisted by three other "Arch Masons, held a Chapter for the purpose of Raising several Brethren to this Sublime Degree, in order to their holding a Chapter in Southampton."[3]

Under both Grand Lodges, the practice of "passing brethren through the chair," or, in other words, of conferring upon them the *degree* (without serving the *office*) of "Installed Master," which had crept into the ritual of the "Ancients," was very common.[4] In Nos. 37 and 42 it lasted until 1846 and 1850 respectively.

Undue stress has been laid upon the custom which prevailed under the two Grand Lodges of England, of requiring brethren, who had already graduated under one system, to go through the ceremonies a second time under the other. The fees for registration may have been at the bottom of the whole affair, and in each case, as the admission of brethren from the rival camp in the capacity of *visitors*[5]—until a comparatively late period—plainly indicates, a re-making was more a protest against the *regularity* than the *validity* of the degree to which the postulant had been previously admitted. Lodges and Masons who went over to the enemy were said to have "apostatized" by the body with whom they were formerly in communion, and all kinds of terms, of which "translated"[6] is perhaps the most singular and expressive, are used in the records of lodges to describe the status of a brother who was "healed" or re-made. But the

[1] *Ante*, p. 373.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 430.

[3] At a Chapter of Emergency, held Feb. 12, 1796, it was proposed to make a brother an "excellent and super-excellent Royal Arch Mason." *Cf.* History of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 146, Bolton (J. Newton), p. 37.

[4] Numerous examples of the custom are given in the following Lodge Histories: "Anchor and Hope," Bolton, No. 37 (G. P. Brockbank and James Newton); "Relief," Bury, No. 42 (E. A. Evans); "British Union," Ipswich, No. 114 (Emra Holmes); and under the "Ancients," "Enoch," London, No. 11 (Freemason's Chronicle, vol. iv., p. 323); and "St John's," Bolton, No. 221 (G. P. Brockbank).

[5] Oct. 19, 1764.—"Vissiting Bretheren [*inter alios*], Broth. Jackson of No. 115 of the Modren Constutation" (Minutes of No. 86 "Ancients," *now* "Union Waterloo," No. 13). *Cf. ante*, p. 444, note 2.

[6] The cost of "translation" was a guinea and a half (G. W. Speth, History of the Lodge of Unity, No. 183, p. 22). The same amount was charged for re-making in an "Ancient" Lodge, present No. 221 (G. P. Brockbank, History of St John's Lodge, Bolton, p. 21).

practice of re-making appears to have been dispensed with, in cases where an entire lodge shifted its allegiance, or where a warrant of constitution was granted by either Grand Lodge to petitioners who had graduated under its rival.[1] Thus, the minutes of No. 86, two months before it was chartered by the "Ancients," inform us that it was agreed to "make no new Masons for the feuther, till such time as we can procure a New Warrant, as the one we now act under is Illeagel, Being Modderant[2] Constitution." The warrant was granted in due course, but there is no mention of "re-makings" until a much later period, when the entries become very instructive. For example, in the year 1774, two brethren were "re-made," both of whom had been "made" in Scotland—in the "Union and Crown"[3] and in the "Kilwinning" Lodges respectively.

Inasmuch as the "Ancients" were then on the best possible terms with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, over which the Duke of Atholl—also their own Grand Master—at that time presided, the process of legitimation here resorted to was wholly uncalled for and unnecessary.[4] But the entries tend to prove, that brethren on passing from one Masonic jurisdiction to another, were re-made, not because there were essential differences between the ceremonial observances peculiar to each system, but rather as a disciplinary requirement, and from motives of policy.

Notwithstanding the bitter feud between the rival Grand Lodges of England, the lodges on the two rolls worked together, on the whole, with greater love and harmony than might have been expected. Sometimes in a so-called "Ancient" Lodge the "Business" was "Modern,"[5] and oftener still, lodges under the *older* system, followed the method of working in vogue among the "Ancients."[6]

Of a divided allegiance there are a few examples. Thus, the present Royal Gloucester Lodge, Southampton, No. 130, was warranted by the "Ancients" in 1772, and by the older Society twenty years later. Sometimes the members met in one capacity, and sometimes in the other. Often it was resolved to abandon one of the "Constitutions;" but which was to be "dropped," the members could never finally decide, though each in turn was temporarily renounced on a variety of occasions. At the Union, however, the lodge wisely clung to its original charter, thus obtaining a higher position on the roll.[7]

The members of both Societies constantly walked together in processions, and their common attendance at church on these and similar occasions is very frequently recorded.[8] A

[1] The warrant of St John's Lodge, Leicester, *now* No. 279, was granted in 1790, by the Original Grand Lodge of England, to some of the principal officers and members of No. 91 "Ancients," and the previous warrant remained for a long time in the hands of Bro. Horton, who was Master both of the "old" and the "new" lodge, but was eventually delivered up to some of the brethren who still desired to work under it (W. Kelly, Freemasonry in Leicestershire, p. 24).

[2] The use of this term, under the circumstances, calls for no remark, but its constant appearance in the minutes of lodges under the older sanction is, as already observed (*ante*, p. 435), very extraordinary. The following is a curious example of the almost universal custom: Nov. 1, 1803.—"Bro. Rolf proposed Wm. Laysonby French to be *modernised* into masonry, at one guinea expense" (Emra Holmes, Minutes of the British Union Lodge, No. 114, Ipswich—Masonic Magazine, vol. iv., p. 533).

[3] Instituted at Glasgow, Dec. 23, 1766, *now* No. 103.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 440, 447.

[5] Minutes of No. 86, *now* Union Waterloo, No. 13.

[6] According to the Minutes of a lodge under the *older* Society, two brothers were "Raised the 3rd stepe of Modern Masonry" in 1791, and three were "Raised Master Masons Antient" in 1792 (E. A. Evans, History of the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, Bury, 1883, p. 39).

[7] J. R. Stebbing, History of the Royal Gloucester Lodge, No. 130 (Southampton Times, April 27, 1872).

[8] See Histories of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, p. 27 (G. P. Brockbank and James Newton); St John's

singular instance of their acting in concert is afforded by a Masonic address presented to Prince Edward—afterwards Duke of Kent—January 9, 1794, on his approaching departure from Canada. At the foot are two signatures, one to the left, the other to the right of the page—the former being that of "William Grant, D.G.M. of Modern Masons," and the latter that of "Thomas Ainslie, D.G.M. of Ancient Masons." A paragraph in the address runs—"We have a confident hope that, under the conciliating influence of your Royal Highness, the Fraternity in general of Freemasons in his Majesty's dominions will soon be united;" to which the Prince replied—"You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted, that the much-wished-for Union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected."[1]

The first officers of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions" were the Grand Master, Deputy, Wardens, and Secretary, all of whom, except the Deputy, were elected year by year. The appointment of this officer was one of the prerogatives of the Grand Master, but in practice some experienced brother was recommended for the office, and the approval of the Grand Master followed as a matter of course. A new office, that of Treasurer, was created in 1754, and in 1768 William Dickey was *elected* Deputy Grand Secretary. A Grand Pursuivant and also a Grand Tyler were *appointed* in 1771. In the following year there was a Grand Chaplain and a Sword-bearer "*pro tempore*," but the latter office, though apparently revived in 1788, did not become a permanent one until 1791. A Deputy Grand Chaplain was among the officers for 1809.

The Steward's Lodge, or Committee of Charity, was invested with full power to hear complaints of a Masonic nature, and to punish delinquents according to the laws of the Craft. Its chief function, however, was to deal with petitions for relief, and the following are examples of the various grounds on which such applications were rejected:

January 17, 1781. From a certified Mason of No. 153, Ireland—"he having resided in London upwards of three years, and never Inquired after a Lodge or visited."

June 16, 1784. From James Barker of No. 81. "It appearing to the Steward's Lodge, his being lame and otherwise disfigured at the time of being made, he ought not to be relieved."

August 20, 1788. From Robert Brown—on the ground of his "haveing no other certificate" than that of a Knight Templar, which had been granted him by "the Carrickfergus True Blue Lodge, No. 253, under the Registry of Ireland."

November 19, 1788.—From an applicant—"not appearing to have any concern in Masonry from the time he was made."

August 15, 1804.—"Resolved, That T. Sculthorpe, being a person not perfect in body, but deformed, and much below the common stature of man, was a very improper person to become, and is now unfit to continue, a Member of this most ancient and honourable Fraternity—and consequently not entitled to the advantages or privileges of Masonry in any degree whatever."[2]

Lodge, No. 221, p. 23 (G. P. Brockbank); the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 146, p. 20 (James Newton); and of Freemasonry in Leicestershire and Rutland (W. Kelly, 1870).

[1] In the Freemason's Magazine, vol. iii., 1794, p. 13, from which I quote, both the extracts given above are shown in italics.

[2] Confirmed at the September meeting of Grand Lodge, by which body, in the previous June, a Master of a Lodge had been reprimanded for having initiated a cripple.

April 17, 1805.—From a member of the Union Lodge at Elbing—"A Modern? not able to make himself known as an Antient Mason."

Sometimes very interesting points of Masonic Law were discussed or determined at the meetings of this body, *e.g.*,—

April 16, 1777.—Dermott stated, that "although the Grand Master had full power and authority to make (in his presence, or cause to be made) Masons, when and where he pleased, yet he could not oblidge any Lodge to admit the persons (so made) as members, without the unanimous consent of such Lodge, and if the Grand Master made use of his privelidge in making of Masons, he ought to have made a sufficient number of them to form a Lodge and grant them a warrant, by which means they wou'd be intitled to Registry, otherwise not."[1]

December 18, 1811.—A memorial was read from No. 225, complaining that one of their members had been refused admittance by No. 245, "on the ground of his being a Quaker, when, tho' regularly admitted on his *solemn affirmative*, the officers of No. 245 contended was a violation of the principles of the Constitution." The stewards were of opinion "that there did not appear any censure to either of the Lodges in what had been done, but upon a question so novel and peculiar, recommended that the final disposal of the matter be postponed till next Steward's Lodge." The subject is not again mentioned in these records, but the minutes of the Royal Gloucester Lodge, No. 130, inform us, that in a letter dated April 13, 1796, the Grand Secretary of the "Ancients" had communicated to that body the decision of Grand Lodge, that a Quaker was ineligible for initiation.[2]

It has been shown that the laws and customs of the "Ancient" Masons were based on Irish originals. The former, Dermott simply appropriated from Spratt, and the latter he appears to have gradually introduced into the ritual of the Seceders. But the author of "Ahiman Rezon" was by no means content to follow in the footsteps of any guide, and boldly struck out a path of his own, which has become the well beaten track traversed by the Freemasons of England. The epithet of "Moderns" which he bestowed on the brethren, under whose laws and customs he had been admitted into Masonry in his native country, was singularly out of place, and had the "journeyman printer" been as well skilled in polemical exercises as the "journeyman painter," the former might have completely turned the tables on the latter. As it was, however, whilst Preston's slip respecting the "dropped forms"[3] served as a never-failing text for the denunciations of the Seceders,[4] Dermott's more serious blunders and misstatements have not, up to the present day, been fully refuted. Some of his errors in history and chronology have been already noticed,[5] but it has yet to be pointed out, that by adopting the Regulations—Old and New—of the *premier* Grand Lodge of England, and at the same time denying the legality of that body, he placed himself on the horns of a dilemma.

This, however, he appears to have entirely overlooked, and in the first edition of his "Ahiman Rezon,"[6] observes with regard to the New Regulations,[7] "they have been wrote at different Times, *by Order of the whole Community*," an admission which it would have taxed

[1] This ruling, slightly amplified, was afterwards inserted by Dermott as a note to "Old Regulation XIII.," in "Ahiman Rezon," 1778, and the latter has served as the foundation of authority, upon which a strange doctrine called "Making Masons at Sight" has been erected.

[2] This ruling is now obsolete.

[3] *Ante*, p. 456.

[4] Ahiman Rezon, 1807, p. 127.

[5] *Ante*, pp. 36, 287, 456.

[6] P. 87.

[7] *Cf. ante*, pp. 454, 455.

his resources to explain, had the slip been harped upon with the same wearisome iteration as in the somewhat parallel case of William Preston.

The extent to which Dermott added to, or improved upon, the ceremonies of the Craft, can only form the subject of conjecture, though the balance of probability inclines strongly in one direction.

Whatever customs or ceremonies Dermott had acquired a knowledge of in his Lodge, No. 26, Dublin, we may take for granted that he assisted in passing on—very much as they were taught to him—in this country. The by-laws of the Lodge in question were adopted as a standard for the guidance of the "Ancient" Lodges before Dermott had been two months installed as Grand Secretary. From this source (or from Scotland) must have been derived the office of "deacon,"[1] which was unknown to the older Grand Lodge of England until the Union.

The degree of Installed Master, as well as that of the Royal Arch, may have been wrought in the Dublin Lodges before Dermott severed his connection with the Irish capital. But neither of them derived at that time any countenance from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, by which body, indeed, if we may believe a writer in the *Freemason's Quarterly Review*,[2] the proposal of their Grand Master, the Earl of Donoughmore, in 1813, to acknowledge the Royal Arch degree, met with such little favour, that they passed a vote of censure upon him, and were with difficulty restrained from expelling him from Masonry altogether.

It is abundantly clear, however, that during the pendency of the Schism no other degrees were recognised by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, than the simple *three*, authorised by the earliest of Grand Bodies.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 441. Deacons are first named in the Minutes of the Seceders on July 13, 1753. [2] 1844, p. 420.

CHAPTER XX.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1761-1813.

IT is now essential to return to the proceedings of the earlier or original Grand Lodge of England, the narrative of which was interrupted at p. 397, in order that the records of two contemporary bodies might be placed under examination.

We left off at the year 1760, but before proceeding to relate the further events of importance which occurred during the presidency of Lord Aberdour, some remarks of a general character will be offered.

The first lodge to adopt a distinctive title, apart from the sign of the tavern where it met, was the "University" Lodge, No. 74, in 1730. This was followed by the "Grenadiers" Lodge, No. 189, in 1739; after which, the constitution in the latter year of the "Parham," the "Court-House," the "Bakers," and the "Basseterre" Lodges, in the West Indies, led to the usage becoming a more general one. Inasmuch, however, as the "signs of the houses" where the lodges met were shown in the Engraved Lists, these, in some instances at least, must doubtless have been substituted for distinctive titles, in cases even where the latter existed.[1] This view is borne out by the list for 1760, wherein, out of 245 lodges, one *English* lodge only —the last on the roll—No. 245, the Temple Lodge, Bristol, appears with what may be termed in strictness a distinctive name. Nos. 1 and 70 are indeed styled respectively the "West India and American" and the "Steward's" Lodges, but in each case the sign of the tavern is shown, and these designations appear to have merely meant that the former lodge was frequented by one class of persons, and the latter by another. The same remark will hold good as regards the "Scott's Masons' Lodge," No. 115,[2] which, according to the Engraved List for 1734, met at the Devil, Temple Bar, in that year.

But although only a single *English* lodge has a *name* affixed to it in the list for 1760, no less than twelve lodges in the West Indies, as well as four in Germany, and the same number in Holland, appear with distinctive titles in the same publication.[3] The majority of the West

[1] Thus the "Grenadiers" and the "Absalom" Lodges, Nos. 110 and 119, are only described in 1760 as meeting at the "King's Arms and Tun, Hyde Park Corner," and the "Bunch of Grapes, Decker St., Hamburgh," respectively.

[2] Described in a MS. list of Dr Rawlinson for the year 1733 (*circa*) as "a Scotch Masons' Lodge," which designation is withheld in the Engraved List for 1736, where the following entry appears opposite the No. 115: "Daniel's Coffee House, Temple Bar." Extinct in 1737.

[3] The titles of Nos. 113 ("La Parfaite Union des Étrangers") and 119 ("Absalom") are omitted in this list. The former was constituted February 2, 1739, at Lausanne, in the Canton of Berne.

Indian lodges bore saintly appellatives. Those in Germany were the "Union of Angels," Frankfort (1742);[1] the "St George," Hamburgh (1743); the "St Michael's," Mecklenburg (1754); and the "Grand Lodge Frederick," Hanover (1755). In Holland there were the lodges of "Orange," Rotterdam, and of "Charity, Peace, and Regularity," at Amsterdam. Other lodges, for example, "Solomon's Lodge," Charles Town, South Carolina (1735), and "Providence Lodge," in Rhode Island (1757), bore distinctive titles before 1760, but in these and many similar cases the later lists are misleading, as both the lodges named were only given places corresponding with their actual seniority, some years after the publication of the list under examination, the former being assigned No. 74, and the latter No. 224, which were filled in the first instance by lodges at Bristol and Santa Croix respectively.

In 1767, the lodge of which the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, was a member,[2] assumed a distinctive title in lieu of the "sign of the house"—the Sun and Punch Bowl—whereby it had previously been described, and the practice soon became very general. The happy designation bestowed on the "New Lodge at the Horn,"[3] may have helped to set the fashion, but at any rate, the "Old Lodge at the Horn" became the "Old Horn Lodge" in 1768. In the same year original No. 3 took the title of the "Lodge of Fortitude," and in 1770 the senior English lodge assumed the now time-honoured designation of the "Lodge of Antiquity."

The lodges were re-numbered in 1740, 1756, 1770, 1781, and 1792, and as the same process was resorted to at the Union (1813), and again in 1832 and 1863, much confusion has been the result, especially when it has been sought to identify lodges of the past century with those still existing in our own. Some of the difficulties of this task have been removed, but the immethodical way in which vacant numbers were allotted during the intervals between the general re-numberings, will always render it a somewhat puzzling undertaking to trace the fortunes of those lodges of bygone days, which are undistinguished from the others, save by numbers and the names of the taverns where they assembled.

The positions on the roll during the numeration of 1756-69 of the lodges at Charlestown and Rhode Island have been already noticed. The former found a place on the roll in the first instance as No. 251, and is described in the Engraved List for 1761 as "Solomon's Lodge, Charles Town, S. Carolina, 1735." Immediately above it, strange to say, at the Nos. 247-250, are four other South Carolina lodges, stated to have been constituted, the two earliest in 1743 and 1755, and the two latest in 1756 respectively. In the list for the following year, however, a vacant niche was available at the No. 74, and "Solomon's" lodge was accordingly shifted there from its lower position, the lodge immediately below it being described as "No. 75, Savannah, In the Province of Georgia, 1735."[4] In the same way the Nos. 141-143 on the list of 1756 were filled by Minorca lodges up to the year 1766, but in 1768 they were assigned to lodges in Boston and Marblehead (Mass.), and in Newhaven (Connecticut) respectively. At the next change of numbers (1770) the four remaining lodges in South Carolina, misplaced in

[1] Constituted, according to the official list, June 17, 1742, but the actual warrant (which is in the *French language*, and will be printed in the Appendix) bears date February 8, 1743. It is there styled, "fille de notre bonne Loge de l'Union de Londres," and the "Mother Lodge" referred to was apparently No. 87 on the 1740 list, which then met at the "*Union* Coffee House," in the Haymarket. Lodge "Absalom," at Hamburgh, was of still earlier origin—viz., 1740. It first appeared in the Engraved Lists (as No. 119) in 1756, but dropped out at the re-numbering in 1770, and again found a place on the roll, as No. 506, in 1787.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 341, note 3, and *post*, p. 471.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 344.

[4] Also styled "Solomon's Lodge" in later lists. *Cf.* Freemasons' Chronicle, April 9, 1881.

the official list, were lifted to positions on the roll tallying with their respective seniority. "St John's Lodge," New York, which was first entered in the Engraved List of 1762, was on the same occasion placed—according to the date of its constitution—among the lodges of 1757.

Certificates signed by the Grand Secretary were first issued in 1755, in which year, it may be stated, the practice of "smoaking tobacco" in Grand Lodge during the transaction of business was forbidden, the D.G.M. (Manningham) observing, "that it was not only highly disagreeable to the many not used to it, But it was also an Indecency that should never be suffered in any solemn assembly."

Lodges, more particularly during the first half of the eighteenth century,[1] were, in many instances, formed long before they were constituted. The latter ceremony was of a very simple character. Usually it was performed by the Deputy Grand Master in person, and a record of the circumstance, duly attested by the signatures of the grand or acting grand officers, forms, not uncommonly, the first entry in a minute-book. The officers were elected quarterly or half-yearly, the former practice being the more frequent of the two. But one method was substituted for the other, with very little formality, as the following entries attest:

March 1, 1762.—"Agreed that every quart^{r}. it be a ballotten for a new Master and Wardens."

December 20, 1762.—"This night it was agreed that Election-night should be every six months."[2]

The installation of officers was devoid of the ceremonial observances peculiar to the "Seceders," and though the novelties of one system ultimately penetrated into the other, they were not considered orthodox or regular by brethren of the "Older School" until the somewhat "unconditional surrender" of their Grand Lodge which preceded the Union. In what is now the "Friendship Lodge," No. 6, we learn from the minutes that, March, 16, 1758, "it being Election Night, the Sen^{r}. Ward^{n}. took the Chair; the Jun^{r} Ward^{n} [the] S.W.; y^{e} Secretary [the] J^{r}. W^{n}.; and B^{r}. J. Anderson was Elected Secretary." In the "Moira," No. 92, on March 6, 1760, "B^{r} Dodsworth, by desire, accepted of the Master's Jewell."

The services of the "Right Worshipful Master," as the presiding officer was then styled, were frequently retained throughout several elections,[3] whilst in case of illness, or inability to attend the meetings, they were as summarily dispensed with. Thus, in a London lodge, on February 2, 1744, the Master having "declared on the box," being sick, another brother was forthwith elected in his room.[4]

Wine and tobacco were often supplied in the lodge-room. In one of the country lodges it took several bottles to audit the Treasurer's account, and when that was done, and the balance struck and carried out, it was a common practice to add a postscript of "One bottle more," and deduct that from the balance.[5] The following by-law was passed by a London lodge in

[1] As late as 1760 a lodge was *constituted* at Canterbury (No. 253, now extinct), which had *met* since 1756 (J. R. Hall, Freemasonry in Canterbury, 1880, p. 9).

[2] Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92.

[3] Dec. 19, 1763.—"It being Ellexcion night, B^{r} Garrett whas reallextled has master of this Lodge in Dew forme" (Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92).

[4] Minutes of No. 163, *now* extinct.

[5] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, Bath, No. 41, p. 25.

1773: "That on account of the great expense incurr'd by allowing wine at supper, and in order to prevent the bad consequences arising therefrom, no liquor shall be paid for out of the Lodge Funds *which is drunk out of the Lodge Room*, except beer or ale drank at supper."

In the "Treasurer's Accounts" of the same lodge, under October 20, 1777, there is an entry recording the payment of one shilling and sixpence for "*Herb Tobacco*" for the Lodge of Instruction, an offshoot of the lodge, established on the motion of "Brother Wm. White"—afterwards Grand Secretary—in 1773.[1]

By some lodges, however, the consumption of liquors during the period of Masonic labour was strictly forbidden; and in the Moira Lodge, *now* No. 92,[2] on February 4, 1765, a "Br Hutchinson paid a fine of 3 pence for drinking in ye Lodge."

Frequently the lodge, besides its normal functions, also discharged those of a benefit society. In such cases there was a limit as to the age of admission, and persons over forty were generally ineligible as candidates. The rules ordinarily guard against an influx of members that might press with undue weight upon the finances. People following certain callings, such as soldiers, sailors, bricklayers, and constables, were in most cases declared incapable of membership; and there was frequently a general proviso that no one whose employment in life was either prejudicial to health or of "a dangerous character," should be proposed for admission. Virtually they were trades-unions, and in one instance a regulation enacts that the "proposed" must not "occupy any business which may interfere or closs [*clash*] with [that of] any member already entered."[3] The following is from the same records:

"December 2, 1742.—A Motion was made, Seconded, and agreed too *N.C.*, that the Box shou'd be shut up from this night for six months from all benefits (Deaths & Burials excepted), unless to such members who, during the aforesaid time, shall produce a person to be made a mason, or a person to be entr'd a member—Which member so producing such shall Immediately become free."

The first two degrees were usually conferred on the same evening, and the third could also be included by dispensation.[4] The fees and dues ordinarily charged in Lodges about the year 1760 were as follows: for initiation and passing, £1, 1s.; raising, 5s.; quarterage, 6s. It was customary for all who were present at a meeting to pay something "for the good of the house." Usually each member paid a shilling; visitors from other Lodges, eighteenpence; and "St John's men,"[5] or brethren unattached, two shillings. Until comparatively late in the century, visits were freely interchanged by the Masons under the rival jurisdictions. If the visitor, though not personally known, could pass a satisfactory examination, this was sufficient; and

[1] Brackstone Baker, History of the Lodge of Emulation, No. 21, 1872, pp. 8, 9. William Preston, and James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, joined the lodge in 1772.

[2] The following by-law was enacted in 1755: "Any member y^t comes into this Lodg Disguis^d in Liquor and Swars, fined 6^d."

[3] Minutes of No. 163, at the Black Posts, Maiden Lane, March 23, 1738.

[4] March 12, 1755.—"By convention, and with y^e Dispensation of y^e Deputy Grand Master, this Lodge was cal'd upon to make M^r Garrett Meyer, a Mason in y^e 3 degrees" (Minutes of the George Lodge, *now* "Friendship," No. 6).

[5] In the minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92, the presence is recorded of "Br Herbert of St John's of the Universe" (1757), and of other visitors, described as "from the Lodge of Holy St John" (1760) and as "a St John's man" (1764 respectively. *Cf. ante*, p. 384, note 6.

even in cases of defective memory, the administration of an "obligation" generally qualified a stranger for admission.[1] Of this custom two examples will suffice.

December 4, 1758.—"Brother Glover, of St John's Lodg, being an Ancient Meason, having taken his obligation of this Lodg, paid the ujal fine of two shilling and became a member."[2]

October 15, 1762.—"Evald Ribe, M.D., Member of St Edward's Lodge at Stockholm, took the obligation, & was proposed to become a member, & carried N.C."[3]

The usage at this period seems to have been, that "extraneous brethren," as they are commonly termed in the records both of the "Regular" Masons and the Seceders—or, in other words, persons who had been admitted into Masonry under other jurisdictions—were allowed to visit freely in the "Regular" Lodges. They were apparently *re-made*—in the sense of going through the ceremonies a second time—if they so wished, but not otherwise. According to the minutes of the Lodge at the Lebeck's Head, Willlam Dickey was present as a visitor several times before he was "made a modern Mason of,"[4] in conformity, there can be little doubt, with his own desire, as he did not become a member of the Lodge, and therefore no pressure could have been put upon him. Evidently he could, had he liked, have attained membership in No. 246 in the same simple manner as Dr Ribe, in connection with whom, it may be observed, that the first deputation for the office of Provincial Grand Master at Stockholm—under the Grand Lodge, whose history we are considering—was granted by Lord Blayney in 1765; and that no Lodge constituted under it appeared on the English roll until 1769.[5] As the earliest Lodge in Sweden for which a charter was granted by the Seceders was only established in 1773,[6] "St Edward's Lodge, Stockholm," if of British origin, must, therefore, have been an offshoot of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, under a patent from which body a Lodge was erected at Stockholm in 1754.[7]

Lord Aberdour held the office of Grand Master from May 18, 1757, until May 3, 1762, having filled the same position in Scotland from December 1, 1755, until November 30, 1757. In the latter capacity he granted a warrant of constitution to some brethren in Massachusetts, empowering them to meet under the title of St Andrew's Lodge, No. 82. The petitioners were "Ancient" Masons, in the sense of belonging to the body distinguished by that popular title. These, as observed by Findel,[8] "transplanted the dissensions prevailing in England, and formed two opposing camps over the ocean." This Lodge, which was established November 13, 1756, resolved, in December 1768, to keep the Festival of St John the Evangelist, and "That none vulgarly called 'Modern Masons' be admitted to the Feast."[9] It ultimately became the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons,"[10] and amalgamated in 1792 with the "St

[1] "Oct. 16, 1761.—Resolved, that any Br who can work himself in, may be admitted, & in case any doubts arise, to take the obligation. A Member of the Regular Lodges to pay 1s. 6d. for Viziting, and a Member of St John's 2s." (Minutes of the "Lebeck's Head" Lodge, No. 246).

[2] Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92. [3] Minutes of No. 246. [4] *Ante*, p. 444, note 2.

[5] In the Engraved List for 1770, Nos. "1, 2, and 3, Sweden," appear as Nos. 385-387, and are placed among the English Lodges constituted in 1769.

[6] "No. 181," constituted by S. G. W. Christian, at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, London, July 14, 1773, who installed James Gersdorff as Master, James Norin and Danl Gurtausan as Wardens. The Lodge was to be held at a private room in the city of Stockholm.

Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 134. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

[9] Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1870, pp. 159, 162.

[10] Address of Grand Master Gardner (Massachusetts) 1870, p. 19.

John's Grand Lodge" of the same State, as the governing body under the older Grand Lodge of England was then designated.

Precisely as in the mother country, the Masons were divided into two denominations, and even whilst Lord Aberdour was at the head of the Craft in both kingdoms, the "Ancients" in St Andrew's Lodge and the so-called "Moderns" in the other Boston Lodges were at open variance. This is the more remarkable, because about the very time when a difference of procedure between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the original Grand Lodge of England was alleged to exist by the brethren of Massachusetts, a letter was written by Dr Manningham [1] to a correspondent in Holland, informing him, in substance, after having consulted Lord Aberdour and several other Scottish noblemen and gentlemen that were "good Masons," that the Masonic ceremonies were identical under the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the older Grand Lodge of England, both of which knew only three orders, viz., "Masters, Fellow-Crafts, and Apprentices."

Lord Aberdour was succeeded as Grand Master by Earl Ferrers in 1762, and the latter gave place in turn to Lord Blayney on May 8, 1764.

During the administration of this nobleman, the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Gloucester became members of the Society, and it was ordered by Grand Lodge, that they should each be presented with an apron, lined with blue silk, and that in all future processions they should rank as Past Grand Masters, next to the grand officers for the time being.

In April 1766 a new edition of the "Book of Constitutions" was ordered to be printed under the inspection of a committee.[2]

In the same month, at the Committee of Charity, a complaint was made "that the Lodge at the Old Bell in Bell Savage Yard, Ludgate Hill, had been illegally sold. It appeared from the Respondents that they were Foreigners, and had made (as they apprehended) a fair purchase thereof, and had paid a valuable consideration for the same, and did under that Constitution hold a regular Lodge at the Fountain in Ludgate Hill. It was determined under these circumstances that in Equity they had a Right to the Constitution, and that they should be permitted to hold their Lodge under it, but that for the Future the sale of A Constitution should on no account be held valid, but [it] should immediately be considered as Forfeited."

A further illustration of the practice last referred to is afforded by the minutes of the same tribunal for April 8, 1767, on which date a "Bro Paterson reported that the Constitution of the Lodge No. 3, held at the Sun and Punch Bowl, had been sold or otherwise illegally disposed of, and that the same was purchas'd by a Number [of] Masons, who now meet by virtue thereof, under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House in St. James St. And that Bro French was the person principally concerned, together with the brethren of the Lodge formerly held at the Sun and Punch Bowl."

The decision of the committee was postponed—"but as a mark of high respect to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, and the Noblemen and Honourable Gentlemen meeting under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, *and in consideration of their being very young Masons* [it was ordered], that the Constitution No. 3 shall remain with them, even tho' it should appear upon further enquiry, that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the Constitution,

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 395, 396; and Chap. XII., p. 35.

[2] The alterations proposed to be made by the committee were approved, and five hundred books ordered to be printed, January 28, 1767.

but at the same time resolved, that this shall not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatsoever."[1]

A week later, the minutes of the last Committee of Charity were read in Grand Lodge and confirmed, "except that part of them which related to Brother French," by whom an apology was made "in open Quarterly Communication." At this meeting the Duke of Beaufort was elected Grand Master, and in the following year, a vacancy occurring, he appointed French to the office of Grand Secretary.[2]

At the Committee of Charity, held January 20, 1768, two letters were read from the Grand Lodge of France, desiring a friendly correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England, which was cheerfully agreed to.[3]

At the April meeting of the same body, it was carried by a majority, that the practice of brethren appearing armed in Lodges, was an innovation upon the ancient usages and customs of the Society, and it was resolved that "the Grand Master be requested to forbid such practice in future."

In the following October, the Deputy Grand Master who presided, informed the Committee "that the Duke of Beaufort was resolved to have the Society incorporated, and proposed that the brethren present should take into serious consideration the most effectual means to raise a fund for defraying the expense of building a hall."

A week later, the Hon. Charles Dillon, D.G.M., explained in Grand Lodge, the plan he had submitted at the Committee of Charity. Ten resolutions were thereupon passed, which were ordered to be forthwith printed and transmitted to all the lodges on record. By these it was provided, that certain fees should be paid by the Grand Officers annually, by new Lodges at their constitution, by brethren at initiation or joining, and for dispensations. Many further articles or regulations were subsequently added. No. XI.—Nov. 19, 1773—requires each lodge to transmit to the Grand Secretary, a list of its members, with the dates of their admission or initiation; also their ages, together with their titles, professions, or trades; and that five shillings be transmitted for every initiate, and half-a-crown for each joining member as registration fees; and that no person initiated into masonry, after October 28, 1768, shall be entitled to partake of the General Charity, or any other of the privileges of the Grand Lodge, unless his name be duly registered, and the fees paid as above.

Article XII., enacted Feb. 22, 1775, is simply a plan of granting annuities for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, or in other words it merely provides the machinery for a *tontine*.

The following is the XIIIth regulation—"Subscribers of £25 as a loan, without interest, toward paying off the hall debts, to be presented with a medal, to wear as an honourable testimony of their services, *and to be members of the Grand Lodge;*[4] a like medal to be given to every lodge that subscribes, to be worn by the Master; *and every subscribing Lodge is allowed*

[1] According to the same records, the Lodge of Zeal, No. 318, was erased November 17, 1775, having proclaimed its own delinquency, by resisting a pecuniary claim on the ground "of having paid a valuable consideration for the said Lodge, and that none of the old members ever belonged to it since such sale."

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 341, note 3.

[3] Ratified at the ensuing Grand Lodge, held January 28.

[4] William Birch, Master of the Royal Lodge, protested against this clause, as being "subversive of the principles and constitutions of Masonry, by admitting those to have seats and voice in that assembly, where none have been or ought to be, but in their Representative capacity" (Grand Lodge Minutes, Feb. 14, 1783).

to send one other representative to the Grand Lodge, besides the Master and Wardens, until the money be repaid." [1]

A copy of the intended Charter of Incorporation was circulated among the lodges, three of which, including the "Steward's" and the "Royal" Lodge, memorialised Grand Lodge, to discontinue the project, and another, the Caledonian Lodge, actually entered a caveat against it, in the office of the attorney-general.

On April 27, 1769, the question was put, whether the Caledonian Lodge, No. 325, should be erased, "but on Bro. E. G. Muller,[2] Master of the said Lodge, publickly asking pardon in the names of himself and his lodge, the offence was forgiven."

The Deputy Grand Master then stated that 168 lodges had declared in favour of Incorporation, and 43 against it, and "a motion being made whether the Society should be Incorporated or not—it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority."

The design of incorporating the Society by act of parliament was abandoned in 1771, when, in consequence of the opposition it encountered, the Hon. Charles Dillon himself moved that the consideration of the bill should be postponed *sine die*, which was agreed to.

Meanwhile, however, a considerable sum had been subscribed for the purpose of building a hall, and on April 23, 1773, a committee was appointed to assume a general superintendence of the undertaking. It consisted of the Present and Past Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters, the Master of the Steward's Lodge, and the Masters of such ten other Lodges, within the bills of mortality, as they might nominate at their first meeting. Preston, who was himself a member of this committee,[3] says that "every measure was adopted to enforce the laws for raising a new fund to carry the designs of the Society into execution, and no pains were spared by the committee to complete the purpose of their appointment."

Indeed, the new board soon usurped some of the functions of the Committee of Charity, and, as we shall presently see, a great deal of the ordinary business of the Society was remitted to it for consideration and despatch.

On November 19, 1773, some regulations were made to enforce those passed in October 1768, but these, with others of a kindred character, will be found collected at a previous page.

In the following year—November 25, 1774—the committee reported the purchase of premises in Great Queen Street at a cost of £3150. The foundation stone of a New Hall was laid May 1, 1775, and the building itself was opened May 23, 1776, and dedicated in solemn form to MASONRY, VIRTUE, UNIVERSAL CHARITY, and BENEVOLENCE.

Although the leading occurrence during the presidency of the Duke of Beaufort was the plan of an Incorporation by Royal Charter, there are some of the proceedings under the administration of that nobleman to which it will be necessary to return.

[1] Constitutions, 1784, p. 388. The portions of the regulation in italics were enacted January 8, 1783, and the remainder on June 21, 1779.

[2] Expelled from Masonry, Feb. 7, 1770, "having brought an action against Bro. Preston, Master of the Ionic Lodge, who assisted in turning him out of the Committee of Charity for his gross misbehaviour there" (Grand Lodge Minutes). The Master, Wardens, and Secretary, of the Caledonian Lodge were likewise expelled, April 26, 1771, "for sending a letter to the P.G.M. of the Austrian Netherlands reflecting upon the Grand Lodge of England in the grossest terms" (*Ibid.*).

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 425.

The increase of foreign Lodges occasioned the appointment of a new office, viz., that of Provincial Grand Master for foreign Lodges in general, which was bestowed on John Joseph de Vignoles, Esq. The metropolitan Lodges were also placed under the control of a General Inspector or Provincial Grand Master; but the majority of the London Lodges, disapproving the appointment, it was soon after withdrawn.[1]

In 1770 a friendly alliance was entered into by the Grand Lodge of England with the "National Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of Holland and their dependencies." The former undertaking not to constitute Lodges within the jurisdiction of the latter, and the Grand Lodge of Holland promising to "observe the same restriction with respect to the Grand Lodge of England in all parts of the world."

In the same year the Lodges were again renumbered, by closing up the vacancies on the roll, and moving the numbers of the existing Lodges forward.[2]

On April 26, 1771, the following resolutions were moved by "Bro. Derwas of the Steward's Lodge," and "approved of" in the following November. None of them, however, appear to have been carried into effect:

"1. That the law made the 2d of March 173½ giving a privilege to every acting steward at the Grand Feast, of nominating his successor, be abrogated.

"2. That there shall in future be 15 stewards instead of 12.

"3. That these 15 stewards shall be nominated by the Lodges within the Bills of Mortality in rotation, beginning with the senior Lodge; each of such Lodges having power to nominate one person at the annual Grand Feast, to serve that office for the year ensuing.

"4. That if any of the 15 Lodges in turn to nominate a steward shall decline or omit to do so, then the privilege to pass to the next Lodge in rotation."

Similar proposals, for throwing open the privilege of the "Red Apron" to all the metropolitan Lodges in succession, were made at a much later date, and will be narrated at a future page; but the remaining resolutions, affecting the Grand Steward's Lodge or the body of its members, passed by the older Grand Lodge of England, prior to the fusion of the two Societies, will be now briefly summarised.

At a Grand Lodge held February 3, 1779, a representation was made by the Master and other brethren of the Steward's Lodge, that it had been usual of late for brethren who served the office of steward, to neglect all attendance upon the Steward's Lodge afterwards as members; and when summoned and called upon for their subscriptions, to declare that they never considered themselves as members, whereby the fund of that Lodge was greatly injured, their books and accounts left in a very irregular state, and the actual members much disgusted. To obviate these complaints, a resolution was passed in the following terms:

"Whereas it appears from the Book of Constitutions, to have been the invariable usage of the Society, to appoint the officers of the Grand Lodge from such brethren only who have served the office of Grand Steward, Resolved, that in future, no brother be appointed a Grand officer, until he shall have served the office of Steward at a Grand Feast; nor unless he be an actual subscribing member of the Steward's Lodge at the time of his appointment."

On April 18, 1792,[3] it was ordered, "that the Steward's Lodge be placed at the head of the List of Lodges without a Number," and this position it retained at the Union.

[1] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 308.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 467.

[3] It had previously borne the following numbers: 117 (1736), 115 (1740), 70 (1756), 60 (1770), and 47 (1781).

In 1794, the Board of Stewards raised the price of the tickets for the Grand Feast from half a guinea to one guinea, but the alteration being objected to, it was "declared improper" by the Committee of Charity.

Lord Petre was elected Grand Master in 1772, and the first edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry,"[1] which appeared in that year, was published with his *official* sanction. This was a distinct innovation upon the ordinary usage with regard to Masonic publications, none hitherto, the Books of Constitutions alone excepted, having received the *imprimatur* of the Grand Lodge.[2]

The same patronage was extended to the second edition, which appeared in 1775,[3] in which year the author was appointed Deputy or Assistant Secretary under James Heseltine, with a salary, and his "Illustrations of Masonry," as well as the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1777, and an Appendix to the "Book of Constitutions"—brought out under his editorial supervision—were advertised for sale in the printed proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England for November 13, 1776. Through the same medium Hutchinson's "Spirit of Masonry,"[4] and the oration delivered by Dr Dodd at the dedication of Freemasons' Hall, were also recommended to the fraternity.

The Rev. William Dodd, LL.D., was appointed Grand Chaplain May 1, 1775, on which date the foundation-stone of the new hall was laid with Masonic honours. The dedication of this building gave rise to another new office, that of Grand Architect, which was conferred on Thomas Sandby, by whom the structure was designed. Both these officers were re-appointed at the next Assembly and Feast—June 3, 1776—but in the following April, on a representation that Dr Dodd had been convicted of forgery, and confined in Newgate, he was unanimously expelled the Society.

The next Grand Chaplain was the Rev. Sydney Swinney, D.D., who was appointed by the Duke of Manchester in 1781, after which year the office remained vacant until 1785, when the Rev. A. H. Eccles was selected to fill it, and retained the appointment down to 1802, being succeeded by the Rev. Lucius Coghlan, D.D., who likewise held it for many years, and officiated as Grand Chaplain until after the Union, and was one of the Grand Chaplains, the other being Dr Edward Barry,[5] of the "United" Grand Lodge of England, invested by the Duke of Sussex in 1814.

[1] January 27, 1777.—The Lodge of Fortitude, No. 6, petitioned the Grand Lodge "to discontinue their sanction of Preston's 'Illustrations of Masonry,' as it tended to lay Masonic secrets open to the world—Ordered, that the Master of No. 6 do attend at next Committee of Charity to prove the charge." April 9, 1777.—"Resolved, that the charge as to the said publication was groundless, and undeserving the notice of Grand Lodge" (Minutes, Committee of Charity).

[2] "A Candid Disquisition on the Principles and Practices of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, together with some Strictures on the Origin, Nature, and Design of that Institution," by Wellins Calcott, published in 1769, was dedicated by permission to the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, whose name, followed by those of the D.G.M., Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary, head the list of subscribers. In this case, however, there was no formal sanction, nor can the work be said to have been *officially* countenanced by the *Society*.

[3] The sanction was in each case subscribed by the Grand Officers of the year, who on both occasions certify that they have "perused and do recommend the book."

[4] Dr Oliver says: "The work was received with enthusiasm, as the only Masonic publication of real value then in existence. It was the first efficient attempt to explain, in a rational and scientific manner, the true philosophy of the order. Dr Anderson and the writer of the Gloucester sermon [1752] indicated the existence of the mine,—Calcott opened it, and Hutchinson worked it" (Preface to the edition for 1843, p. 23). See, however, Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

[5] Grand Chaplain of the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, 1791-1813.

Thomas Sandby retained the title of Grand Architect until his death, and is so described in the official records and calendars, although not formally reappointed after 1776. At the Grand Feast in 1799, Robert Brettingham was invested as his successor, and filled the office until the recurrence of the same festival in 1801, when William Tyler, the Architect of the Tavern, having been proposed as a candidate for the office, the Grand Master observed that the office of Grand Architect had been conferred on Brother Sandby only as a mark of personal attachment, he having been the Architect of the Hall, but that it was never intended to be a permanent office in the Society. The Grand Lodge therefore resolved that the office of Grand Architect should be discontinued, but that in compliment to Brothers Brettingham and Tyler, both these gentlemen should be permitted to attend the Grand Lodge, and wear an honorary jewel as a mark of personal respect.

This, in effect, brought them within the provisions of a regulation passed February 14, 1776, permitting *past* as well as *actual* Grand officers to wear distinctive jewels, upon which innovation Preston remarks—"How far the introduction of this new ornament is reconcilable to the original practices of the Society, I will not presume to determine; but it is the opinion of many old masons, that multiplying honorary distinctions, only lessen the value and importance of the real jewels, by which the acting officers of every Lodge are distinguished." [1]

No further offices were created during the administration of Lord Petre, nor is there much to add with respect to this section of Masonic history.

In 1773—April 23—it was Resolved, that no master of a public-house should in future be a member of any Lodge holden in his house.

Three days later, at the annual Feast, the Grand Secretary informed the Grand Lodge of a proposal for establishing a friendly union and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Germany, held at Berlin, under the patronage of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, which met with general approbation.

On November 24, 1775, it was resolved that an Appendix to the "Book of Constitutions," [2] and also a Free-mason's Calendar, should be published, the latter in opposition to an almanac of similar name brought out by the Stationer's Company, and both matters were referred to the Hall Committee.

An Extraordinary Grand Lodge was held April 7, 1777, consisting of the Grand Officers, the Master, Wardens, and assistants of the Steward's Lodge, and the Masters of seventy-five private Lodges.

The Grand Secretary informed the brethren that the object of the meeting was to take into consideration a report from the Hall Committee, concerning the proper means of discouraging the irregular assemblies of persons calling themselves *antient masons;* and for supporting the dignity of the Society, by advancing the fees for initiation, and for new constitutions, or the revival of old ones. The report being read, it was resolved—

"That the Persons who assemble in London and elsewhere in the character of Masons, calling themselves *Antient Masons*, by virtue of an Authority from a pretended Grand Lodge in England, and at present said to be under the patronage of the Duke of Athol, are not to be countenanced or acknowledged as Masons [3] by any regular Lodge or Mason under the Consti-

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 315.

[2] Brought out in 1776, compiled and edited by William Preston. *Cf. ante*, pp. 423, 475.

[3] Compare with the regulation passed April 12, 1809, *post*.

tution of England; nor shall any regular Mason be present at any of their Conventions, to give a Sanction to their Proceedings, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Privileges of the Society; neither shall any Person initiated at these irregular Meetings be admitted into any Lodge without being re-made,[1] and paying the usual Making Fees.

"That this Censure shall not extend to any Lodge or Mason made in Scotland or Ireland under the Constitution of either of these Kingdoms; or to any Lodge or Mason made abroad under the Patronage of any Foreign Grand Lodge in Alliance with the Grand Lodge of England, but that such Lodges and Masons shall be deemed regular and constitutional."

It was also resolved, that after May 1 then ensuing, no person should be made a Mason for a less sum than two guineas. That the fee payable at the constitution of a London Lodge should be six, and for a country lodge four, guineas, and that two guineas from each should be appropriated to the Hall Fund. The following resolution, which was duly passed, concluded the business of the evening:

"That all Lodges which have not complied with the Orders and Resolutions of the Grand Lodge in regard to the Regulations for building a Hall, &c., for the Use of the Society, be erazed out of the List, unless they transmit to the Grand Secretary, on or before each Quarterly Communication, an accurate List of all Members made or admitted since October 29, 1768, with the Registering Fee stipulated by the Regulations of that Date;[2] or give some satisfactory Excuse for their Neglect."

The proceedings of this meeting were of a very instructive character. First of all, we learn that the Original Grand Lodge of England had at last realised the vitality of the Schism, as well as the expediency of adopting more decided measures to check the rebellion against authority; next, that in addition to the functions which it was primarily called upon to discharge, a large portion of the ordinary business of the Society was transacted by the Hall Committee; and lastly, that very arbitrary measures were being resorted to in order to coerce the lodges and brethren into raising the requisite funds to balance an increasing expenditure, out of all proportion to the ordinary or normal revenue of Grand Lodge.

The remaining facts, however, that have any bearing on the Schism or its termination, will be given in the story of the Union, and the further proceedings of the Hall Committee I shall also separate from the general narrative, which I here resume.

Lord Petre was succeeded as Grand Master by the Duke of Manchester, who was invested with the ensigns of his office on May 1, 1777; after which the former nobleman returned thanks for the honours he had received in the Society, and assured the brethren of his attachment to its interests. Nor were these mere idle words. The amiable character of Lord Petre, and his zeal as a Mason, may—to use the words of a contemporary—be equalled, but cannot be surpassed. He was a Catholic, but held his religious faith without bigotry, and by his liberality and worth won the esteem of all parties. He was generally regarded as the head of the Catholic body in this country, and therefore his continuing to preside for five years over a branch of the Society against which the thunders of the Vatican had been launched in 1738, and again in 1751,[3] affords conclusive proof that in England, towards the close of the eighteenth

[1] The records of many lodges under the Older Sanction show that, in consequence of this regulation, there was an interruption of their fraternal relations with lodges under the Atholl banner. *Cf. ante*, pp. 461, 470.

[2] *Ante*, p. 472.

[3] According to the present Pope—April 20, 1884—"The first warning of danger was given by Clement XII. in

century, the two Bulls issued by Roman Pontiffs against the Freemasons had been devoid of any practical result.

Lord Petre was present at, and presided over, many meetings of the Society after the termination of his tenure of office. His last attendance appears to have occurred November 24, 1791, when, though the Acting Grand Master, Lord Rawdon, was present, he took the chair as Past Grand Master. He died July 3, 1801, and after his decease it was ascertained that he expended annually £5000 in charitable benefactions.

During the administration of the Duke of Manchester, the tranquillity of the Society was interrupted by some private dissensions. An unfortunate dispute arose among the members of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the contest was introduced into the Grand Lodge, where it occupied the attention of every committee and communication for twelve months. The result was a schism, which subsisted for the space of ten years, when the two bodies—each claiming to be No. 1—were happily re-united. The particulars of the controversy have been already given,[1] so the subject will not claim our further attention in this place.

The Grand Master, at a Quarterly Communication held February 2, 1780, laid before the brethren a letter in the Persian language, enclosed in an elegant cover of cloth of gold, addressed to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge of England, from Omdit ul Omrah Bahaudar, eldest son of the Nabob of Arcot. This Prince had been initiated into Masonry in the Lodge at Trichinopoly, near Madras, and his letter—which acknowledged in graceful terms, a complimentary address forwarded by the Grand Lodge, on the circumstance becoming known in this country—was so appreciated by the brethren, that a translation of it was ordered to be copied on vellum, and, with the original, to be elegantly framed and glazed, and hung up in the Hall at every public meeting of the Society.

At the ensuing Grand Feast, Captain George Smith was appointed Junior Grand Warden, though the Grand Secretary objected, that, being then Provincial Grand Master for Kent, he was disqualified for serving that office. Ultimately the objection was waived, Captain Smith offering to resign the Provincial Grand-Mastership, should the union of both offices in the same person prove incompatible. In the following November, a letter was read from Captain Smith, resigning the office of Junior Grand Warden, but to prevent a similar difficulty occurring, it was resolved "that it is incompatible with the laws of this Society, for any brother to hold more than one office in the Grand Lodge at the same time."

At this Grand Lodge, the Grand Master was empowered, in consequence of the great increase of business, to appoint a Joint Grand Secretary, with equal power and rank in the Society, and William White, Master of the Steward's Lodge, was thereupon appointed to that office.[2]

On February 7, 1781, at the request of the Grand Lodge of Germany, brother John Leonhardi was appointed their representative at the Grand Lodge of England, and it was also

1738, and his Edict was confirmed and renewed by Benedict XIV. (1751). Pius VII. followed in their steps (1821); and Leo XII., in his Apostolic Edict '*Quo Graviora*' (1825), embraced the acts and decrees of the earlier Popes on this subject, and ordered them to be ratified for ever. To the same effect, Pius VII. (1829), Gregory XVI. (1832), and very often Pius IX. (1846, 1865, etc.), have spoken" (Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII.—"De Secta Massonum," translated by Mr E. L. Hawkins).

[1] *Ante*, p. 424, *et seq.*; and see Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, pp. 317-324.

[2] The new Grand Secretary was present, and acted as Grand Sword-Bearer, a position which was usually filled by the Master of the Steward's Lodge (if present) in the absence of the actual holder of the office.

resolved, that brother Leonhardi should wear the clothing of a Grand officer, and rank next to Past Grand officers, at all public meetings of the Society.

At the Communication in April 1782, the prospect of establishing a fraternal alliance, still nearer home, was discussed at some length. A report was brought up from the Committee of Charity, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland was disposed to enter into a regular correspondence, and after long debate, it was unanimously resolved, that it be recommended to the Grand Master, to use every means which in his wisdom he may think proper, for promoting a correspondence and good understanding with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, so far as might be consistent with the laws of the Society.

At the same meeting, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and Earl Ferrers were severally proposed for the office of Grand Master, and on the question being put, the former was elected by a very great majority.

A motion was then made by Brother Dagge, that whenever a Prince of the Blood did the Society the honour to accept the office of Grand Master, he should be at liberty to nominate any peer of the realm to be the Acting Grand Master, which passed unanimously in the affirmative.

The Earl of Effingham was appointed to the new office, and as proxy for the Duke of Cumberland, was installed and invested at the ensuing Feast.

At a Communication, held April 9, 1783, among the minutes of the preceding Committee of Charity, then confirmed, was one, representing that the Grand Secretary, Heseltine, had requested the opinion of the Committee, on an application made to him by Captain George Smith, to procure the sanction of the Grand Lodge for a book he intended to publish, entitled, *The Use and Abuse of Free Masonry;* and that the Committee, after mature consideration, had resolved, that it be recommended to the Grand Lodge not to grant any sanction for such intended publication.[1]

Of the work in question, it has been well said, "that it would not at the present day enhance the reputation of its writer, but at the time when it appeared there was a great dearth of Masonic literature—Anderson, Calcott, Hutchinson, and Preston, being the only authors of any repute that had as yet written on the subject of Masonry. There was much historical information contained within its pages, and some few suggestive thoughts on the symbolism and philosophy of the Order."[2] Captain Smith held an appointment in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and was a member of a Lodge at that town, the proceedings of which formed the subject of inquiry at a Grand Lodge held November 19, 1783, when Captain G. Smith and Mr Thomas Brooke were charged with the offence of "making Masons in a clandestine manner in the King's Bench Prison." In a written defence, it was pleaded that "there being several Masons in the Prison, they had assembled as such for the benefit of

[1] Noorthouck observes—"No particular objection being stated against the above-mentioned work, the natural conclusion is, that a sanction was refused on the general principle, that, considering the flourishing state of our Lodges, where *regular* instruction and suitable exercises are ever ready for all brethren who zealously aspire to improve in Masonical Knowledge, new publications are unnecessary on a subject which books cannot teach" (Constitutions, 1784, p. 347, editorial note).

[2] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 720. The following is the full title of the publication: "The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry: a work of the greatest utility to the Brethren of the Society, to Mankind in general, and to the Ladies in Particular, 1783."

instruction, and had also advanced some of them to the 3rd degree. But a doubt arising whether it could be done with propriety, the Royal Military Lodge, No. 371, at Woolwich, adjourned with their Constitution for that purpose to the King's Bench Prison (Captain Smith being Master thereof), being one of those itinerant Lodges which move with the Regiment, the Master of which, wherever he is, having the Constitution of the Lodge, was by Captain Smith judged to have a right to hold a Lodge, make Masons, etc. That this happened previous to B^ro^ Thomas Brooke coming to the prison, but that he afterwards attended their meetings, not thinking it any harm." The two brethren concluded their defence by "begging pardon of the Grand Lodge for any error they had committed," and expressing a hope, "that grace would be granted to them." Whereupon it was resolved: "That it is the opinion of this Grand Lodge, that it is inconsistent with the principles of Masonry, that any Free Mason's Lodge can be regularly held for the purposes of making, passing, or raising Masons in any Prison or Place of confinement."[1] At the next Quarterly Communication—February 11, 1784—the Royal Military Lodge, No. 371, was erased from the list, and in the following November it was ordered that Captain Smith—whose name disappears from the calendar of that year as a Provincial Grand Master—should be summoned before the next Committee of Charity to answer for his complicity in a misdemeanour of a still graver character. The charge was proved to the satisfaction of that tribunal, and at a Quarterly Communication, held February 2, 1785, "Captain John George Smith, late Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, having been charged with uttering an Instrument purporting to be a certificate of the Grand Lodge, recommending two distressed Brethren; and he not appearing, or in any Manner exculpating himself, though personally summoned to appear for that Purpose, was duly expelled the Society."

A new edition of the "Constitutions," which had been sanctioned in 1782, was brought out in 1784, under the direction of the Hall Committee, who secured the services of John Noorthouck,[2] as editor or compiler. The work reflects credit on all who were concerned in its publication, the constant repetition of mere formal business, and of the names of stewards and members present at the stated meetings of the Society, are very properly omitted, whilst it possesses a full index, "without which," as rightly observed by the editor, "no publication beyond the size of a pamphlet, can be deemed compleat."

At the Grand Feast, in this year, James Heseltine, declining a reappointment, William White became sole Grand Secretary. The services of the former were gracefully recognised in 1785 by his appointment as Senior Grand Warden, a position, however, which he resigned six months later, on being unanimously elected to the office of Grand Treasurer, November 23, 1785, vacant by the death of Rowland Berkeley.

The same evening a new office was created, that of Grand Portrait Painter, and conferred on the Rev. William Peters, in acknowledgment of his elegant present of the portrait of Lord Petre, which, it was considered, "opened a Prospect to the Society of having its Hall ornamented with the successive Portraits of the Grand Masters in future."

[1] The following note appears in the *Freemason* for July 2, 1870: "*John Wilkes*—the members of the Lodge held at the Jerusalem Tavern, St John's Gate, attended at the King's Bench Prison, and made Wilkes a Mason, March 8, 1769."

[2] Author of the "New History of London," 1773, and an "Historical and Classical Dictionary," 1776. *Cf. ante*, pp. 421, note 4; 424.

The Grand Portrait Painter ranked after the Grand Architect, and before the Grand Sword-Bearer. The office was regarded as a purely personal one, to be held by Peters, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and though his name is not included in the list of annual appointments declared on the Grand Feast Day, it duly appears among those of the Grand officers of the Society published in successive editions of the "Freemasons' Calendar," from 1787 to 1814.[1] The new Grand officer proved himself to have been in every way worthy of the mark of distinction conferred by the Grand Lodge; and on November 28, 1787, a resolution was passed, conveying the thanks of that body to the Rev. W. Peters, G.P.P., for "his kind Superintendance and great Liberality, in the beautifying and ornamenting of the Hall."

On April 12, 1786, complaint was made of the intolerant spirit of some of the regulations of the Grand Lodge at Berlin, and the Grand Master and the Grand officers were empowered to take such measures as they thought necessary for abrogating or altering the compact between the two Grand Lodges, entered into in 1773. The subject does not appear to have been further discussed at any subsequent communication of Grand Lodge, until November 26, 1788, when it was stated that the Grand Master and Grand officers had found it expedient to dissolve and annul the compact referred to.[2] At the same meeting a provisional agreement, entered into with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Frankfort, was laid before and ratified by Grand Lodge.

In November 1786 Admiral Sir Peter Parker was appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Master, which had become vacant by the death of Rowland Holt.[3] The new Deputy, who was a distinguished naval commander, had previously served as Grand Steward and Grand Warden,[4] and then held the office of Provincial Grand Master for Jamaica. At this Grand Lodge also a motion passed, that "in future the Grand Secretary be allowed a salary of £100 per annum for himself and clerks, exclusive of the usual fees;" and it was resolved unanimously "That the Rank of a Past Senior Grand Warden (with the Right of taking Place immediately next to the present Senior Grand Warden) be granted to Thomas Dunckerley, Esq., Prov. G.M. for Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Somerset, and Southampton, with the City and County of Bristol, and the Isle of Wight, in grateful Testimony of the high Sense the Grand Lodge entertains of his zealous and indefatigable Exertions, for many years, to promote the Honour and Interest of the Society."

The story of Dunckerley's life is not an easy one to relate. According to one set of biographers, his mother was the daughter of a physician;[5] and according to another, she was a servant girl in the family of Sir Robert Walpole.[6] By the former he is said to have been a natural son of King George II.; whilst by the latter he is alleged to have availed himself of the remarkable likeness he bore to the Royal Family, to get it represented to George III. that the previous king was in truth his father. These accounts of his parentage are irreconcilable, and some other difficulties present themselves when we collate the two biographies. Certain facts, however, are free from dispute. Born October 23, 1724, he was apprenticed to a barber, and very shortly afterwards entered the naval service, from which he retired, with the rank of gunner,

[1] The appointment took place too late in the year (1785) to find a place in the edition for 1786.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 476.

[3] Grand Steward, 1768; S.G.W., 1768-70; D.G.M., 1775-86.

[4] In 1772. Both Rowland Holt and Sir Peter Parker served these offices concurrently.

[5] Freemasons' Magazine, vol. i., 1793, p. 378; vol. iv., 1796, p. 96.

[6] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxv., 1795, pt. ii., p. 1052.

about 1764. His mother's apartments at Somerset House—where her husband, his putative father, had been a porter—were continued to him, by order (it is said) of the Duke of Devonshire. On May 7, 1767, a pension of £100 a year was assigned to him by the king, from his privy purse, which was afterwards increased to £800, though with regard to the latter amount the evidence is hardly conclusive.

According to the stream of Masonic writers, who all derive their information from the same fount—the *Freemasons' Magazine*, vols. I. to IV.,[1] published in the last century—Dunckerley was first told of his close relation to George II. in 1760, by a Mrs Pinkney, for many years his mother's neighbour in Somerset House, and to whom the secret had been confided by the latter. He was then on leave of absence from H.M.S. "Vanguard," which had just arrived from Quebec; and it has been asked, with much force, why he made no effort to communicate with any of the Royal Family until after the death of Mrs Pinkney, the sole witness he had to verify his singular story.[2] But whatever may be the true explanation of this mystery, he apparently at once rejoined his ship, which forthwith sailed for the Mediterranean. According to his own account, he was appointed gunner of the "Vanguard" by Admiral Boscawen, and to the same position in the "Prince" by Lord Anson. The dates he gives as to these appointments are a little confusing; but there can be no doubt that he served in both vessels, and "on board of" each there was a Lodge, as I have already had occasion to relate.[3] As one of these (in the "Prince") ultimately became the "Somerset House Lodge," of which Dunckerley was undoubtedly a member, it is at least a reasonable supposition that he was in some way connected with the other.[4] Indeed, we may go still further, and assume, if we do no more, the strong probability of his having been the originator and founder of the Lodge "on Board H.M.S. 'Canceaux,' at Quebec," No. 224, which, together with five other Lodges in Canada,[5] appears for the first time on the roll, in the Engraved List for 1770, immediately below the "Merchant's Lodge," Quebec, No. 220, constituted in 1762, and next but one to the "Somerset House Lodge," formerly "on Board the 'Prince,'" also dating from 1762.

No other "Sea Lodges" than these three were constituted either before or since. One we know him to have been a member of. Another was held in the "Vanguard," No. 254, constituted January 16, 1760—in which, at the time, he held the positions of gunner and "teacher of the mathematicks"—whilst the third was very possibly an offshoot of the other two. The Lodge, No. 224, is described in the official list as being on board a ship of war "*at Quebec.*" This must have been in some sense a *stationary* vessel, otherwise the words here shown in italics would be meaningless. It may have been a guard-ship, or perhaps bore the flag of the senior naval officer; but whatever function it discharged, we may conclude that the crew afloat, were on intimate terms with the garrison ashore.

Now it is a little curious that one of the *five* Lodges—No. 226—placed on the roll at the same time as No. 224, is there described as "In the 52d Regt. of Foot,[6] *at Quebec.*" Thus at what has been termed "the Gibraltar of America," we find that in 1762 there was both a

[1] Vol. i. contains a biography of Dunckerley by the editor; vol. iv., a narrative in his own handwriting, communicated by his executors; and the intermediate volumes, miscellaneous matters.

[2] Freemasons' Chronicle, December 7, 1878.

[3] *Ante*, p. 345.

[4] No. 254, *now* 108, the "London Lodge."

[5] Nos. 221-226, all of which, with the exception of No. 223 (Montreal), were held at Quebec.

[6] In the previous year (1761) an Irish Lodge, No. 370, was established in this regiment.

"Sea" and a "Field" Lodge; and it is almost certain that some others of the latter character had accompanied the expedition under General Wolfe (1759). Dunckerley, whilst on the North American station, and indeed throughout the whole period of his service afloat—after his admission into the Craft—was doubtless an occasional visitor at Army Lodges. Most of these were under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which issued no less than fifty-one military warrants between 1732 and 1762 inclusive. The profound knowledge, therefore, of Royal Arch Masonry, which has been traditionally ascribed to Thomas Dunckerley, *may* have been acquired in Irish Lodges, which doubtless worked the degree in his time—though it must be freely confessed that the common belief in the profundity of his masonic learning is altogether destitute of evidence to support it. He was initiated into masonry on January 10, 1754, a date I derive from the Grand Lodge books, and is *said* to have delivered a lecture "on Masonic Light, Truth, and Charity,"[1] at Plymouth in 1757, which is not so well substantiated. But even if we concede that the lecture in question was really given as alleged, it proves very little—merely that Dunckerley was capable of stringing together a quantity of platitudes, and constructing a sort of masonic oration rather below than above the ordinary level of such performances.

The rank of Grand Warden must have been conferred, I think, out of respect to the Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master, whose uncle he was very generally supposed to be.

Dunckerley, who died in 1795, was a very worthy member of the Craft; but the loose statements of Dr Oliver that "he was the oracle of the Grand Lodge, and the accredited interpreter of its Constitutions;" also that "his decision was final on all points, both of doctrine and discipline," are simply untrue—which is the more to be regretted, as they have been copied and re-copied by the generality of later writers.

At the next Quarterly Communication, held February 7, 1787, it was resolved that the sum of £150 be paid annually to the Grand Secretary and his clerks, and that all fees should be carried to the account of the Society.

At the same meeting the Grand Master (who presided) stated that the Prince of Wales had been initiated into Masonry at a special Lodge held for that purpose at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, on the previous evening. Whereupon the following resolution was passed by an unanimous vote: "That in testimony of the high sense the Grand Lodge entertains of the Great Honour conferred on the Society by the Initiation of the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness shall be a member of the Grand Lodge, shall take Place next to, and on the Right Hand of, the Grand Master."

A resolution of a similar, though not quite identical character, was passed at the next meeting of Grand Lodge, when it being announced that Prince William Henry—afterwards King William IV.—had been received into Masonry[2] in the Prince George Lodge, No. 86,[3] Plymouth, it was proposed, and carried without a dissentient vote, that an Apron lined with blue silk should be presented to His Royal Highness, and that in all future Processions he should rank as a Past Grand Master of the Society.

[1] Printed by Dr Oliver in his "Masonic Institutes," vol. i., 1847, p. 137.

[2] March 9, 1786.

[3] Originally constituted as No. 203, became No. 134 in 1756, and 106 in 1770. *Not* carried forward at the change of numbers in 1781, but interpolated in the list for 1782 as No. 86—most of the lodges of later date, shown in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for the former year, being pushed down one number in the edition for 1782.

Precisely the same compliment was paid to other sons of King George III., all of whom, with the exception of the Duke of Cambridge, became members of the Craft—the Duke of York, in the Britannic Lodge, No. 29, November 21, 1787; Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, in the "Union Lodge," Geneva;[1] Prince Ernest, afterwards Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover,[2] at the house of the Earl of Moira, May 11, 1796; and Prince Augustus, afterwards Duke of Sussex, in the "Royal York Lodge of Friendship," Berlin, in 1798. Prince William, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, the King's nephew and son-in-law, was also a Freemason, having been initiated in the Britannic Lodge, May 12, 1795. He was accorded the usual privileges voted to brethren of the Blood Royal, April 13, 1796.

On March 25, 1788, "the Royal Freemasons' Charity for Female Children"—now called the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls—was established for maintaining, clothing, and educating the female children and orphans of indigent Brethren. This Charity owes its existence mainly to the benevolent exertions of the Chevalier Bartholomew Ruspini.[3] The number of children to be received was at first limited to fifteen, which had increased to sixty-five in 1821, but the fortunes of this most meritorious Institution will be again referred to in some later observations on the general scope and utility of the three English Masonic Charities. Here, therefore, it will be sufficient to remark, that at a Grand Lodge, held February 10, 1790, an annual subscription of £25 was voted to the Institution; and on a motion by the Grand Treasurer, it was resolved unanimously,

"That the charitable Institution, called THE ROYAL CUMBERLAND FREEMASONS' SCHOOL, established for the Support and Education of the Daughters of indigent Free-Masons, should be announced in the Grand Treasurer's printed Accounts, and also in the Free-Masons' Calendar, and that it be recommended to the Attention of the Society at large, as a Charity highly deserving their Support."

On February 6, 1793, a donation of twenty guineas was voted to the school, and it was again recommended "as an Institution *highly deserving the most effectual Support* of the Lodges and Brethren in general;" also, in almost identical terms, on February 8, 1804.

On May 4, 1789, the annual Feast of the Society was attended by the Duke of Cumberland—Grand Master—the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, Prince William Henry, and above five hundred other brethren.

In the following year, at the recurrence of the same Festival, Lord Rawdon—afterwards Earl of Moira, and later, Marquess of Hastings—was appointed Acting Grand Master in the room of the Earl of Effingham, and retained that position under the Prince of Wales, who was elected Grand Master, November 24, 1790.

On April 18, 1792, the Lodges were again ordered to be renumbered, and in the following May, at the Grand Feast, the Prince of Wales was installed Grand Master in the presence of the Duke of York, Lord Rawdon, and a numerous company of brethren.

The first number of the *Freemasons' Magazine* or *General and Complete Library*, appeared in June 1793, and was continued monthly till the close of 1798, when its title was changed.

[1] The circumstance was announced in Grand Lodge, February 10, 1790, but the date of initiation is nowhere named in the records of the same body. *Cf. ante*, p. 454.

[2] *Cf.* G. W. Speth, Royal Freemasons, p. 7.

[3] G.S.B., 1791-1813, Dentist to the Prince of Wales, and a founder of the Lodge named after His Royal Highness, *present* No. 259.

During a portion of its brief existence, it was published with the sanction of Grand Lodge.

The Prince of Wales again presided at a Grand Feast, held May 13, 1795. The Grand Master was supported by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, and his cousin, Prince William, afterwards Duke of Gloucester. His Royal Highness expressed his warmest wishes for the prosperity of the Society, and concluded with a graceful compliment to the Acting Grand Master, the Earl of Moira, whom he styled "the man of his heart, and the friend he admired," hoping "that he might long live to superintend the government of the Craft, and extend the principles of the Art."[1]

In the expression of these sentiments, the Grand Master constituted himself, as it were, the mouthpiece of the brethren at large, who were overjoyed at the safe return of their respected Acting Grand Master, from a mission of equal hazard and responsibility.

In 1794, when the situation of the British army and that of the allies in Flanders were extremely critical, the Earl of Moira—who, in the previous year, had succeeded to the title, and been promoted to the rank of major-general—was despatched with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, and most fortunately succeeded in effecting a junction with the Duke of York, then nearly surrounded by hostile forces much superior in number. The French general, Pichegru, who was in the vicinity of Bruges with a force much greater than the British, was completely out-generaled.

This was one of the most extraordinary marches of which military history affords an example. After the Earl of Moira had cleared the French armies, and was passing the Austrian corps under Field-Marshal Clarfayt, the latter said to him, "My Lord, you have done what was impossible."

Two works were published in 1797, which, though now seldom read, and never cited in Masonic controversies, produced an immense sensation at the time, and evoked an elaborate defence of the Society from the Earl of Moira. That illustrious brother, however, in 1809, practically admitted the justice of the strictures, which nine years previously he had applied himself to refute, by speaking of "mischievous combinations *on the Continent*, borrowing and prostituting the respectable name of Masonry, and sowing disaffection and sedition through the communities within which they were protected."[2]

The publications to which reference has been made, were written by the Abbé Barruel and Professor Robison, both of them Freemasons, in the same year, and without mutual consultation.

The former writer was the author of "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme" —translated into English by the Hon. Robert Clifford, in 1798—and the latter of "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies."

Both works aim at proving that a secret association had been formed, and for many years carried on, for rooting out all the religious establishments, and overturning all the existing governments of Europe; and that this association had employed, as its chief instruments, the Lodges of Freemasons, who were under the direction of unknown superiors, and whose

[1] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, edit. by Stephen Jones, p. 301.

[2] Speech at Leith, Scotland (Laurie, *op. cit.*, p. 179).

emissaries were everywhere busy to complete the scheme.[1] The Abbé had the candour to admit, that the occult Lodges of the Illuminati were unknown in the British Isles, and that the English Freemasons were not implicated in the charges he had made—but the Professor did not think it worth while to except the English Lodges from the reproach of being seditious, until his work reached a second edition, when he admits that "while the Freemasonry of the Continent was perverted to the most profligate and impious purposes, it retained in Britain its original form, simple and unadorned, and the Lodges remained the scenes of innocent merriment, or meetings of charity and beneficence."[2] So that, after all, his charges are not against Freemasonry in its original constitution, but against its corruption in a time of great political excitement.[3] Indeed, to use the well-chosen words in which the author of the famous "Illustrations of Masonry" sums up the whole controversy: "The best of doctrines has been corrupted, and the most sacred of all institutions prostituted, to base and unworthy purposes. The genuine Mason, duly considering this, finds a consolation in the midst of reproach and apostasy; and while he despises the one, will endeavour by his own example to refute the other."[4]

On July 12, 1799, an Act of Parliament was passed, "for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for preventing treasonable and seditious practices."

By this Statute—39 Geo. III., c. 79—it was enacted that all societies, the members whereof are required to take any oath not authorised by law, shall be deemed unlawful combinations, and their members shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful combination and confederacy, and shall be liable to a penalty of £20.

Societies, however, "held under the Denomination of *Lodges of Freemasons*," were expressly exempted from the operation of the Act,[5] because their meetings "have been in great measure directed to charitable Purposes;" but it is "Provided always, That this Exemption shall not extend to any such Society unless Two of the Members composing the same shall certify upon Oath . . . that such Society or Lodge has before the passing of this Act been usually held under the Denomination of a *Lodge of Freemasons*, and in conformity to the Rules prevailing among the Societies or Lodges of Free Masons in this Kingdom. . . . Provided also, that this Exemption shall not extend to any such Society or Lodge, unless the Name or Denomination thereof, and the usual Place or Places and the Time or Times of its Meetings, and the Names and Descriptions of all and every the Members thereof, be registered with such Clerk of the Peace as aforesaid, within two months after the passing of this Act, and also on or before the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* in every succeeding Year."

The insertion of these clauses was due to the combined efforts of the Duke of Atholl[6] and Lord Moira. Indeed, the latter subsequently affirmed[7] that the exemption in favour of Masonic meetings was admitted into the Act in consequence of his assurance to Mr Pitt "that nothing could be deemed a Lodge which did not sit by precise authorisation from the Grand Lodge, and under its direct superintendence."

But this statement, though emanating from the "Bayard" of the English Craft, is a little misleading. Doubtless the Freemasons were chiefly beholden to the Earl of Moira for the

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, p. 308. [2] P. 522. [3] *Cf.* Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 651.
[4] Edit. 1821, p. 312. [5] §§ 5, 6. [6] Ahiman Rezon, 1807, p. 118. *Cf. ante*, p. 452.
[7] In a letter to the Sheriff-Depute, Edinburgh, dated August 11, 1808 (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 265).

saving clauses of the Act—an obligation most amply acknowledged by the Society at large.[1] But, nevertheless, the letter of the Acting Grand Master, as he then was in both kingdoms, was based on wrong premises, and suggested to the civil authorities a course not in keeping with the principle of the Statute to which it referred.[2] The Bill was much modified in its passage through Committee; but "the Act was ultimately framed so as to embrace as participants in its immunities ALL Lodges of Freemasons complying with its requirements, irrespective of any Grand Lodge control."[3]

On the passing of the Statute, it was assumed that no *new* Lodges could be constituted, and at a Grand Lodge, held November 20, 1799, the common threat of erasure from the list for non-compliance with its arbitrary regulations, was invested with a new terror. The necessity of conforming to the laws was once more laid down, followed by this note of warning:—

"It behoves every Lodge to be particularly careful not to incur a Forfeiture of its Constitution at the present Period, as, in Consequence of the late Act of Parliament, no new Constitution can be granted."

Immediately after the passing of the Act, the Grand Lodge of Scotland consulted the Lord Advocate as to whether they might interpret the Act as applying to *Grand* Lodges, and therefore enabling new *subordinate* Lodges to be constituted. He replied—"It appears to me impossible to maintain . . . that a Lodge of Free Masons, instituted since the 12th of July last, can be entitled to the benefit of the Statute. . . . The interpretation suggested cannot be adopted;" and he concluded by advising them to go to Parliament for powers to establish new Lodges.[4] Ultimately—as we are told by Laurie—the Grand Lodge "agreed, in 1806, upon the recommendation of the Earl of Moira, then Acting Grand Master Elect (of Scotland), to adopt the practice of the Grand Lodge of England, viz., to assign to new Lodges the numbers and charters of Lodges that had become dormant, or had ceased to hold regular meetings."[5]

The practice, however, of the Grand Lodge of England, in this respect, has been slightly misstated. The Grand Master was frequently authorised to assign the warrants of erased Lodges "to other Brethren," but there was always the proviso, "with Numbers subsequent to the last on the List of Lodges."[6]

By a further Statute, 57 Geo. III., c. 19, passed on March 31, 1817, it was enacted that all Societies, the members whereof are required "to take any Oath not required or authorised by Laws, . . . shall be deemed and taken to be unlawful Combinations and Confederacies," and the members thereof "shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful Combination and Confederacy," and shall be punished as provided by 39 Geo. III., c. 79.[7]

But by the next clause of the same Act,[8] all societies "holden under the Denomination of Lodges of Free Masons, in conformity to the Rules prevailing in such Societies of Freemasons," are exempted from the operation of the Act, "provided such Lodges shall comply with the Rules and Regulations contained in the said Act of the Thirty-ninth Year of His present Majesty, relating to such Lodges of Freemasons."

[1] *Cf.* the speech of the Duke of Sussex, January 27, 1818, *post*, p. 490.
[2] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 267.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Laurie, History of Freemasonry, 1859, p. 161.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Cf.* Freemasons' Calendar, 1810, p. 34.
[7] § 25.
[8] § 26.

It has been judicially determined,[1] that an association, the members of which are bound by oath not to disclose its secrets, is an unlawful combination and confederacy—unless expressly declared by some statute to be legal—for whatever purpose or object it may be formed; and the administering an oath not to reveal anything done in such association is an offence within the Stat. 37 Geo. III., c. 123, § 1.[2]

At a Grand Lodge, held April 10, 1799, the Baron de Silverhjelm, Minister from the King of Sweden to the Court of Great Britain, presented to the Grand Master in the chair a letter[3] from the National Grand Lodge of Sweden, soliciting a social union and correspondence, which was unanimously acceded to.

At the same meeting, the Earl of Moira, who presided, "acquainted the Grand Lodge that several Brethren had established a *Masonic Benefit Society*, by a small quarterly contribution, through which the members would be entitled to a weekly Allowance in Case of Sickness or Disability of Labour, on a Scale of greater Advantage than attends other Benefit-Societies; representing that the Plan appeared to merit not only the Countenance of Individuals, but of the Grand Lodge, as it would eventually be the Means of preventing many Applications for Relief to the Fund of Charity, whereupon it was

RESOLVED, That the *Masonic Benefit Society* meets with the Approbation of the Grand Lodge, and that notice thereof be inserted in the printed Account of the Grand Lodge."[4]

In the following year—April 9, 1800—a further resolution was passed recommending to the Provincial Grand Masters "to give every Aid and Assistance in their Power, within their respective Provinces, to promote the Object and Intentions of the *Masonic Benefit Society*."

The institution of this Society is included among the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry" printed in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1801, and is continued in subsequent editions down to the year 1814, and possibly later; but the earliest *post*-Union calendar available for present reference is the edition for 1817, in which there is no mention of the Benefit Society.[5]

On May 15, 1800, the King was fired at from the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, and at a Special Grand Lodge, held June 3, the Earl of Moira informed the brethren that it had been convened for the purpose of considering a suitable address to be presented to His Majesty.

The Acting Grand Master "took occasion, in the course of his Speech, to allude to certain modern Publications holding forth to the World the Society of Masons as a League against constituted Authorities: An Imputation the more secure because the known Conditions of our

[1] In Rex *v.* Lovelass, *per* Baron Williams, who said, "The Preamble of Stat. 37 Geo. III., c. 123, refers to seditious or mutinous societies; but I am of opinion that the enacting part of the statute extends to all societies of an illegal nature; and the second section of the Stat. 39 Geo. III., c. 79, enacts that all societies shall be illegal, the members whereof shall, according to the rules thereof, be required to take an oath or engagement not required by law (C. and P. Reports, vol. vi., p. 599). *Cf.* the remarks of the same judge in Rex *v.* Brodribb (*Ibid.*, p. 570).

[2] It has been contended, that by 31 and 32 Vict., c. 72, the administration of oaths of any kind in Masonic Lodges is forbidden. Part ii. of this Statute is headed "Oaths to be Abolished," and the third paragraph reads: "Where before the passing of this Act, an Oath was required to be taken on, or as a condition of, admission to Membership or Fellowship or participation in the Privileges of any Guild, Body Corporate, Society, or Company, a declaration to the like effect of such oath shall be substituted."

[3] This letter, and the Prince of Wales' reply, are given in the "Illustrations of Masonry," 1821, p. 320, *et seq.*

[4] This was done, and the above extract is taken from the published proceedings of Grand Lodge, transmitted to the private Lodges on record.

[5] The curious reader will find an abstract of its Rules and Orders in the "Illustrations of Masonry," 1821, pp. 319, 320.

Fellowship make it certain that no Answer can be published. It is not to be disputed, that in countries where impolitic Prohibitions restrict the Communication of Sentiment, the Activity of the human mind may, among other Means of baffling the Control, have resorted to the Artifice of borrowing the Denomination of Free-Masons, to cover Meetings for seditious Purposes, just as any other Description might be assumed for the same object: But, in the first place, it is the invaluable Distinction of this free country that such a just Intercourse of Opinions exist, without Restraint, as cannot leave to any Number of Men the Desire of forming or frequenting those disguised Societies where dangerous Dispositions may be imbibed: And, secondly, profligate Doctrines, which may have been nurtured in any such self-established Assemblies, could never have been tolerated for a Moment in any Lodge meeting under regular Authority. We aver that not only such Laxity of Opinion has no Sort of Connexion with the Tenets of Masonry, but is diametrically opposed to the Injunction which we regard as the Foundation-Stone of the Lodge, namely, 'Fear God and Honour the King.' In Confirmation of this solemn Assertion, what can we advance more irrefragible, than that so many of His Majesty's illustrious Family stand in the highest Order of Masonry, are fully instructed in all its Tendencies, and have intimate Knowledge of every Particular in its current Administration under the Grand Lodge of England."

Lord Moira then produced an Address, which was read and unanimously approved, and afterwards personally presented to the King by his son, the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of the Society.

Another Address, couched in similar terms of loyalty and affection, was voted by the Fraternity under the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Atholl, and signed by order of that Grand Lodge—June 24, 1800—by "Wm. Dickey, Deputy Grand Master."

On February 10, 1802, a friendly alliance was resumed with the Lodges in Berlin, and at the Grand Feast—May 12—on the application of four Lodges in Portugal, it was agreed to exchange representatives with the Grand Lodge there, and that the Brethren belonging to each Grand Lodge should be equally entitled to the privileges of the other.

In 1805 the Earl of Moira, who then combined the functions of Acting Grand Master of English Freemasons with those of Commander of the Forces in Scotland, became the happy medium through which his own and the Grand Lodge of the Northern Kingdom were brought into fraternal union. In the same year—November 27—and through the same channel, a correspondence on terms of amity and brotherly communication was arranged with the Grand Lodge of Prussia.

Also at this Grand Lodge, the brethren, to mark their sense of the services rendered to Masonry by the Acting Grand Master, "agreed that the Fraternity should dine together on December 7, it being the birthday of Earl Moira."

This practice continued to be observed by a large number of the metropolitan Lodges, until the departure of that nobleman for India; and a survival of it still exists in the Moira Lodge, No. 92,[1] which holds its annual festival on December 7, when the toast of the evening is, "the memory of Earl Moira, the patron of the Lodge."

On December 31, 1809, the foundation-stone of Covent Garden Theatre was laid by the

[1] Constituted June 17, 1755, and styled, about twenty years later, "The Lodge of Freedom and Ease," a title it discarded in 1803, for its present designation.

Prince of Wales, as Grand Master of England and Scotland.[1] Passing over those events which formed any part of the protracted negotiations that preceded the Union, we are brought down to 1812, on February 12 of which year the Duke of Sussex was appointed Deputy Grand Master, in succession to Sir Peter Parker, Admiral of the Fleet, who died in the previous December. At the ensuing Grand Feast, May 13, the Grand Lodge having resolved that a Grand Organist should be appointed, the Acting Grand Master accordingly nominated Mr Samuel Wesley to that office.

In the course of this year the Earl of Moira was appointed Governor-General of India, and it was considered by the Fraternity as only due to his exalted merit, to entertain him at a farewell banquet before his departure from England, and to present him with a valuable Masonic jewel, as a memorial of their gratitude for his eminent services.

January 27, 1813, was the day appointed, and more than five hundred brethren attended, including six royal dukes.[2] The Duke of Sussex, as Deputy Grand Master, took the chair, being supported on the right by the Earl of Moira, and on the left by the Duke of York.

The speeches were far above the ordinary level of such performances. In happy terms, the chairman characterised the exertions of the earl as having saved the Society from total destruction;[3] whilst in terms still happier, the guest of the evening acknowledged the compliment. The speech is too long for quotation, but I shall cull one extract, which is an excellent sample of the whole.

"The prominent station which I hold here," observed Lord Moira, "concentrates all the rays of the Craft upon my person, as it would upon the person of any other placed in the same elevation; and the illustrious Deputy Grand Master makes an effort to persuade himself that this lunar brilliancy is the genuine irradiation of the sun. My real relation to you may be best explained by an Asiatic apologue.[4] In the baths of the East, perfumed clay is used instead of soap. A poet is introduced, who breaks out into an enthusiastic flow of admiration at the odour of a lump of clay of this sort. 'Alas!' answers the clay, 'I am only a piece of ordinary earth, but I happened to come in contact with the rose, and have borrowed some of its fragrance.' I have borrowed the character of the virtues inherent in this institution; and my best hope is that, however minute be the portion with which I have been thus imbued, at least I am not likely to lose what has been so fortuitously acquired. Gratitude holds a high rank among those virtues; and if I can be confident of anything, it must be of this, that earnest gratitude towards you cannot depart from my breast but with the last pulse of life."[5]

On Lord Moira's passage to India, the vessel in which he had embarked, calling at the Mauritius—at the head of the Masons of that island, he laid the first stone of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Port Louis.[6]

[1] The Prince of Wales was elected Grand Master and Patron, and the Earl of Moira Acting Grand Master Elect, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, December 2, 1805.

[2] Sussex, D.G.M., York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester.

[3] *Ante*, p. 486.

[4] The Prophecy of Sadi.

[5] An Account of the Proceedings at the Festival of January 27, 1813, taken in Short-Hand by Alexander Fraser, pp. 47, 48.

[6] Daruty, from whom I quote, adds, "La Loge *La Paix*, possède de lui un très beau portrait dû au pinceau du peintre Cazanova qui suivit le noble Lord dans l'Inde pour arriver à remplir sa mission. Ce portrait coûta, dit-on, à cause des frais de voyage qu'il occasionna, quarante mille roupies [*rupees*],—que paya M. A. Maure, alors Vénérable de la Loge *La Paix*" (Recherches sur Le Rite Ecossais Ancien Accepté, 1879, p. 65).

The Earl of Moira remained nine years in India, and brought two wars to a successful termination. On his arrival at Calcutta (to use his own words), "there were made over to him no less than *six* hostile discussions with native powers, each capable of entailing a resort to arms;" and at that time "the independent powers of India were so numerous and strong, as to conceive themselves equal to expel the British;" whilst at the termination of Earl Moira's rule, every native state in that vast region was in either acknowledged, or essential subjugation, to our Government. James Mill, the historian of British India, says, "The administration of the Marquess of Hastings, may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the Marquess of Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings, and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India finally established." In 1823, having in the meantime been created Marquess of Hastings, he returned to England, whence, in the following year, he proceeded to Malta as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and died November 28, 1826, on board H.M.S. "Revenge," at Baiæ Bay, near Naples.

Contemporary records state, that his excessive liberality and unbounded generosity had so impoverished him, that his ample fortune absolutely sank under the benevolence of his nature.

Before leaving Calcutta, he was presented with an address by the Freemasons,[1] and the late Sir James Burnes has placed on record, "how his Lordship, impressed with devotion for the Craft, and love for all the brethren, descended from his high estate as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, and within the halls of his own palace offered the right hand of fellowship, with his parting benediction, to every soldier, individually, who wore an apron; acknowledging,[2] also, his pride, that Masonic principles had influenced him in the exercise of his authority."

Whilst in the East, Lord Moira—created Marquess of Hastings, December 7, 1816—was styled "Acting Grand Master in India."

The Regency of the United Kingdom was conferred by parliament upon the Prince of Wales, in February 1811, who, however, continued to preside over the Fraternity until 1813, when, declining a re-election, the Duke of Sussex was unanimously chosen as his successor—the Prince Regent shortly afterwards accepting the title of Grand Patron of the Society.

The Duke of Sussex was installed at the Grand Feast, held May 12, 1813, and the following brethren were also invested as Grand officers: Lord Dundas, Deputy; John Aldridge and Simon M'Gillivray, Wardens; John Bayford, Treasurer; W. H. White, Secretary;[3] Rev. Lucius Coghlan, Chaplain; Chevalier Ruspini, Sword Bearer; and Samuel Wesley, Organist.[4]

It has been truly said, "that the Duke of Sussex's whole heart was bent on accomplishing that great *desideratum* of Masons, the Union of the Two Fraternities who had been mistermed *Ancient* and *Modern*;[5] and his high station in life certainly carried with it an influence which could not have been found in a humbler individual."[6]

But before proceeding to narrate the share borne by the Duke in the grand achievement

[1] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1836, p. 53. [2] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 129.

[3] Appointed Grand Secretary jointly with his father, May 10, 1810.

[4] Originally appointed May 18, 1812, when the office was created. *Cf. ante*, p. 490.

[5] Preston observes, "to be explicit without circumlocution, we must, at present, make use of these terms relatively" (Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, p. 367). The same reflection has occurred to all later Masonic writers.

[6] *Ibid.*

of re-uniting the Freemasons of England within a single fraternity, it will be requisite to retrace our steps and turn to the succession of events which culminated in the Masonic Union of December 1813.

Inasmuch, however, as I have already brought down the annals of the *two* societies, to the year of the fusion, some matters of detail connected with the older system—which, if previously introduced, would have interrupted the sequence of the narrative—will be briefly dealt with, before passing away to the story of the Union.

On November 4, 1779, the laws for the contribution of Lodges to the Hall Fund, were ordered to be enforced, and at a Grand Lodge Extraordinary, consisting of the actual and past Grand officers, and the Masters of Lodges, held January 8, 1783, a variety of resolutions were passed imposing further regulations of a most onerous character, which have been already referred to.[1]

"How far," observes Preston, "they are consistent with the original plan of the Masonic institution, must be left to abler judges to determine. In earlier periods of our history, such compulsory regulations were unnecessary."[2]

At a special Grand Lodge, held March 20, 1788, it was resolved to pull down and rebuild Freemason's Tavern, and in order to augment the finances of the Society, it was ordered, that in London and within ten miles thereof, the fee for registry should be half a guinea, instead of five shillings, as stipulated by the regulation of October 28, 1768.[3]

At this meeting also, a very extraordinary resolution was passed, that Lodges omitting for twelve months to comply with the preceding regulation, should not be permitted to send Representatives to, or have any Vote in, the Grand Lodge.

On February 7, 1798, on the ground that debts had accumulated to the amount of £7000, on account of the Hall and Tavern, and that the sum of £250 was payable yearly under the Tontine, it was ordered, that every Lodge do pay, at the Grand Lodge in February, yearly to the account of the Hall Fund, two shillings for every subscribing member, over and besides all other payments directed to be made.

This regulation not being generally complied with, a committee was appointed to consider the best means of giving it due effect, on whose recommendation, it was resolved—November 20, 1799—that it was the duty of Lodges to expel such of their members as neglected to make the prescribed payments, for which the former were accountable to the Grand Lodge, and would be erased from the list for withholding, after February 12, then ensuing.

Country Lodges were afterwards given until November 1800 to pay their arrears, but the additional fee imposed February 7, 1798, was not abolished until the same date in 1810.

According to Preston, "the Lodges readily concurred in the plan of liquidating the debts,"[4] but this was not so. The number of Lodges erased from the list was very great. No less than nine in the metropolitan district were struck off at one swoop on February 12, 1800; and in previous years, from 1768,[5] in which nineteen Lodges were removed from the roll, down to the close of the century, the erasures mount up to a total of two hundred and forty-seven. Some of these, it is true, lapsed in the ordinary way, but the greater number were summarily struck out for not contributing to the Hall Fund. Others were restored; for instance, on

[1] *Ante*, p. 473. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 337. [3] *Ante*, p. 472. [4] Edit. 1821, p. 328.
[5] *Cf.* The Regulation passed on October 28 of that year, *ante*, p. 472.

November 17, 1784, five Lodges were reinstated in their rank—four of which had been deprived of it in the previous April—"having satisfied the G. Lodge with their Intentions of discharging their Arrears."

But in the great majority of cases, the erased Lodges ceased to exist, or went over to the "Ancients," and the sentiments of the Sarum Lodge, No. 37,[1] with regard to the arbitrary measures pursued by the Grand Lodge were, without doubt, shared by many other Lodges of that era, whose records have not yet fallen in the way of an equally competent investigator.

Besides the Lodges that have been incidentally referred to, we find from the official calendars, that warrants of constitution, under the authority of the Original Grand Lodge of England, found their way into North Carolina, 1755; Quebec, 1762; Honduras, 1763; Maryland, 1765; Bordeaux[2] and Normandy, 1766; Grenoble, Canton (China), and Berlin, 1767; Naples, 1768; Sweden, 1769; the Austrian Netherlands, 1770; Leghorn and St Petersburg, 1771; Strasbourg, Venice, Verona, and Turin, 1775; Sicily, 1778; Malta, 1789;[3] and Sumatra, 1796.

"Sea and Field" Lodges, as they are happily termed in "Multa Paucis," were constituted in 1760 and 1755 respectively, the former "on Board His Majesty's ship the Vanguard," and the latter in the 8th or "King's Regiment of Foot."

In the preceding summary, as well as those of a like character given in previous chapters,[4] I have, as a rule, only named the first town in each country where a Lodge was established. It may therefore be convenient to add, that at the date of the Union (1813) the number of Continental Lodges—active or dormant—shown on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England was as follows, viz.: in Germany, 35; Italy, 11; Russia, 8; Holland, 5; Flanders, 4; France and Sweden, 3. At the same period there were 15 Lodges "in Military Corps, *not stationary*."

The foreign "deputations" granted by this Grand Lodge have not been recorded with precision. Most of them, however, will be cited in connection with the countries to which they were issued, and all that I can succeed in tracing will be found tabulated in the Appendix.

Numerous Lodges were established for the association of particular classes of Masons. Thus the Grand Stewards were formed into a Lodge in 1735, and we find Lodges existing in the Army, Navy, and Marines, in 1755, 1761, and 1759 respectively. A "Sea Captain's Lodge" was constituted at Wapping in 1751, and another at Yarmouth in 1759. The former afterwards moved to Fenchurch Street, and a "Mariner's Lodge" was forthwith set up in its place. Lodges composed of "operative Masons" were formed—or received constitutions—in 1764 and 1766.[5]

The "Country Steward's Lodge," No. 540, was constituted July 25, 1789, and on November 25 following, it was resolved in Grand Lodge, "that in consequence of the trouble attending the office of Steward for the Country Feast of the Society, the brethren who have served that office be permitted to wear a suitable jewel pendant to a green collar."

The Country Feast was notified as taking place July 5, in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for

[1] *Ante*, p. 399.

[2] "[No.] 363, English Lodge at Bordeaux, have met since the year 1732, Mar. 8, 1766" (Engraved List, 1769).

[3] No. 539, St John's Lodge of Secrecy and Harmony, constituted March 30, 1789.

Ante, pp. 399, 440, 442, 443, 450.

[4] Nos. 335, *now* extinct; and 364, *now* the Bedford Lodge, No. 157. See Chap. II., pp. 77, 106.

1785 and the two following years, and a still earlier notice of it—which escaped my own research—has recently been discovered by Mr H. Sadler, Grand Tyler, in the Grand Lodge minutes for May 4, 1772, where it is recorded "that the Deputy Grand Master acquainted the brethren that the Country Feast was to be held at the long room at Hampstead on the 25th June next."

It appears to have been known as the "Deputy Grand Master's," or "Annual Country Feast of the Society."

On November 25, 1795, the members of No. 540 were granted permission to line their aprons with green silk, or, in other words, to become a "Green-apron-lodge," but the privilege was withdrawn at the next Communication—February 10, 1796—by a majority of five votes, the numbers being 53 to 48.

The Country Stewards renewed their application to Grand Lodge, November 23, 1796, and the vote passed in their favour by a majority of 20, the numbers being 73 for, to 53 against.

The question of the "Green Apron" was again brought up, February 7, 1797—"Upon which Debates arose, but it being found difficult to ascertain the Sense of Grand Lodge by the holding up of Hands, a Division was proposed, but from the confusion, tumult, and irregularity which took place thereon, the Grand Master in the Chair,[1] found himself under the necessity, at a very late hour, of closing the Grand Lodge and Adjourning the whole of the Business."[2]

At the next Communication, held April 12, on the motion of the Earl of Moira, who presided, the resolution passed in the previous November, was annulled by a majority of 95, 54 brethren voting that it should stand, and 149 against, upon which, on a proposal made and seconded by members of the Country Steward's Lodge, it was resolved, that the grant in November 1789, of a green collar and medal, be also rescinded. The latter privilege, however, was restored to the Lodge in the February ensuing.

The Lodge, which became No. 449 in 1792, died out about 1802, and is described in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1803 as the Lodge of "Faith and Friendship" meeting at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, whither the "Constitution" had evidently found its way from London, in conformity with a usage of which many illustrations might be given.[3] The names of members of Lodges were then registered in two books—one for London, and the other for the country. The last entry—under the No. 449—in the former bears date 1793,[4] and the earliest in the latter, November 4, 1802, when the name appears of "W^m^ Fitzharding, L^d^ Viscount Dursley, Berkley Castle (age 17)." "Ed. Jenner, M.D., Berkly," seems to have joined or been initiated "Dec. 30, 1802."

But perhaps the most remarkable of the different kinds of Lodges, established for class purposes, were those formed for the association of foreign brethren residing in this country. The earliest of these, held at the "Soloman's Temple," Hemmings Row, in 1725, has been

[1] George Porter, S.G.W. *as* G.M.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 392.

[3] *E.g.*, "The Amphibious Lodge," No. 407, is described in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1804 as being held "at the Marine Barracks, Stonehouse, near Plymouth," and in the next edition (1805), as meeting at "High Town, Yorkshire."

[4] The Grand Tyler, however, has traced the attendance of representatives of the "Country Steward's Lodge" at Grand Lodge, down to April 1799.

already referred to.[1] Next in point of date comes the "French Lodge" at the Swan, Long Acre,[2] No. 20, apparently so styled about 1732. This, which became the "French Swan Lodge" in 1736, was carried forward in the numeration of 1740 as the "French Swan" No. 19, and erased March 25, 1745.

Another French Lodge existed about the same time, No. 98, meeting at the Prince Ugen's [*Eugene's*] Head in 1732, and at the "Duke of Lorraine" in 1734. In 1740 the Lodge met at the "Union Coffee House" in the Haymarket, and was numbered 87. It would seem to have constituted the Lodge "Union of Angels" at Frankfort, in 1743, as the latter is "acknowledged" as "daughter of the Union Lodge of London" in the warrant, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.[3] Curiously enough, by that official document, permission is given for "the masons of one and the other Lodges, to be members respectively of both." No. 87 died out before the change of numbers in 1756.

In 1759 we meet once more, at the No. 122, with the "Swan, the old French Lodge," in Grafton Street, but this title, acquired *after* 1756, was lost by 1764, in which year the Lodge assembled at the "Two Chairmen," Charing Cross. In the Engraved List for 1778, it is described as the Lodge of Unity, a title it still retains as present No. 69.[4]

On January 29, 1765, a French Lodge was constituted at the "Horn," in Doctors Commons, as No. 331, which became No. 270 in 1770, but was extinct before 1778.

In the following year, on June 16, a conference was held at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand, at which it was determined to establish a new Lodge, to be composed of foreign brethren, and to work in the French Language. The first master was J. J. de Vignoles,[5] who, at the next meeting, stated that he had received from the Grand Master a letter complying with their request, except as to the designation of the Lodge. This, Lord Blayney thought, "should be changed from 'L'Immortalité des Fréres,' to 'L'Immortalité de L'Ordre' (as a more modest title)," which suggestion was adopted.

The Lodge of Friendship appears to have cultivated a very intimate acquaintance with this French Lodge, for a particular minute of the latter records, under April 20, 1768, that "No. 3 have agreed to receive regularly the brethren of 'L'Immortalité de L'Ordre,' on payment of the same nightly dues as their own members, namely, five shillings each; and finally, the brethren of the two Lodges were considered as partaking of the advantages of membership of both."[6] The Lodge was originally numbered 376, became No. 303 in 1770, and was erased April 28, 1775. The establishment of another French Lodge in 1774, the "Lodge des Amis Reunis," No. 475, at the Turk's Head, Gerrard Street, Soho, may have brought about this catastrophe. This, however, did not remain long on the roll, from which it was struck out, February 7, 1777. The next French Lodge, "L'Esperance," No. 434, was constituted in 1768, and met at Gerrard Street, Soho, where, on removal to St James Street in 1785, its place was taken by a new Lodge formed in that year, "L'Egalité," No. 469.

But in order to be clear, I must now invite attention to the Engraved List for 1770, where

[1] *Ante*, p. 376, note 5.

[2] An *English* Lodge, No. 44, was held at the same tavern, erased April 4, 1744.

[3] *Ante*, p. 467, note 1.

[4] The existing records of No. 69 do not extend beyond 1764, at which date it had ceased to be a French Lodge.

, p. 474. [6] Freemason's Quarterly Review, 1845, p. 33.

at the No. 153, we find the "Ancient French Lodge, White Swan, Grafton Street," which thus reappears upon the scene, its members having purchased their "constitution" between 1759 and 1763, in which latter year they met under it at the "Fountain," on Ludgate Hill, the Lodge being then numbered 193.[1]

In 1781 the Lodge became No. 122—a namesake having borne, singularly enough, the exact numerical position in 1759—and in 1792, No. 110. On April 9, 1794, it united with No. 380, "Loge d'Egalité" (constituted 1785), under the title of "Loge des Amis Réunis," and on April 10, 1799, with "L'Esperance," No. 238 (constituted 1768 as No. 434), under that of "Lodge de L'Espérance." It was placed on the Union Roll as No. 134, but died out before 1832.[2]

The experiment of founding a Lodge, to be composed of Germans, and in which the ceremonies should be conducted in their national tongue, has proved a more successful one. The Pilgrim Lodge, *now* No. 238, was established on these lines; on August 25, 1779, and celebrated its centenary October 1, 1879. Not only are the proceedings carried on in the German language, but the method of working is also German. The Lodge possesses a choice library, and is justly renowned for its excellent working and lavish hospitality.

It has been shown that an earnest desire for a Masonic Union was expressed by the Masons of Lower Canada in 1794;[3] also that a proposal to that effect was actually made in the Grand Lodge under the Duke of Atholl in 1797.[4] The prominent position occupied by the Prince of Wales in the older Society doubtless encouraged this feeling, which must have received a still further impetus from the popularity of his *locum tenens*, the Earl of Moira—a nobleman, in whom, as proved by later events, all parties reposed the fullest confidence. By the Scottish and Irish Masons the Schism in the English Craft was always regarded with pity and indignation;[5] and though a closer intercourse had been maintained by their *Grand Lodges* with one moiety of it, than with the other, this arose from the election of Irish and Scottish noblemen as Grand Masters, by the "Ancients," rather than from any especial predilection on the part of Masons of those nationalities, for that Society.

The first proposal for a Union, made in either of the two Grand Lodges, took place in 1797, and as we have seen, fell to the ground.[6] The next attempt, to heal the Schism, came from the other side, and was equally unsuccessful, though the negotiations which then proceeded, and lasted for a year or two, made it quite clear that the rank and file of the Craft were bent on a thorough reconciliation, which the misdirected efforts of the Masonic authorities had only retarded for a time.

At the Committee of Charity, held April 10, 1801, "a complaint was preferred by Br W. C. Daniel, Master of the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57, Wapping, against Thomas Harper of Fleet St., jeweller, Robert Gill, and William Burwood, for encouraging irregular meetings and infringing on the privileges of the Ancient Grand Lodge of all England, assembling under the authority of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales."

The inquiry was adjourned in the first instance until the following November, and again until February 5, 1802, when, on the representation of the Grand Treasurer, "that having

471.

[2] The "Lodge of St George de l'Observance," No. 49, erased April 9, 1794, may have been French. But its then title was assumed *after* April 24, 1776, on which date it was reinstated "as the Lodge, No. 68, at the Globe in Litchfield St.," having been erased for the first time in the previous April.

p. 463. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 452. [5] Lawrie, *op. cit.*, p. 117. [6] *Ante*, p. 452.

recently conversed with Br Harper and James Agar, Esq., it had been suggested that a Union of the two Societies upon liberal and constitutional grounds might take place," the complaint was "dismissed."

In order to pave the way for the intended Union, a committee was appointed, and the Earl of Moira, on accepting his nomination as a member, declared that he should consider the day on which a coalition was formed as one of the most fortunate in his life.

It is alleged that although pledged to use his influence to effect a union, Harper covertly exerted himself to prevent it, being afraid of losing the power he possessed, and the profit he derived from the sale of articles belonging to his trade. It is further said that, on two occasions in 1802, when proposals were made in the "Atholl" Grand Lodge with reference to a fusion of the two Societies, he "violently" closed the proceedings of the meeting.[1] The records of the Seceders leave these points undecided, but they prove at least that a very inflammatory address, eminently calculated to stir up strife, and to defeat any attempt to promote a reconciliation, was read and approved in Grand Lodge—December 1, 1801—and "ordered to be circulated throughout the whole of the Ancient Craft."[2]

At the Committee of Charity, held November 19, 1802, the Earl of Moira in the chair, it was ordered "that the Grand Secretary do write to Mr Thomas Harper, and acquaint him that he is to consider himself as standing under a peculiar engagement towards the Grand Lodge;" also, that his "non-attendance at this Committee appears an indecorous neglect. In consequence of which an explanation is required from him before Wednesday next, such as may determine the procedure which the Grand Lodge shall at that meeting adopt."

Harper's reply was read in Grand Lodge, November 24, in which, after expressing surprise that "the very frivolous charge brought against him" had been renewed, he states—"That I was an Ancient Mason has long been known to many, to Mr Heseltine particularly, as also to yourself [W. White], having frequently referred persons to me in that capacity. I stated the fact to Mr Heseltine at the Committee of Charity previous to my taking upon myself the office of Grand Steward, and it was then publicly declared by him to be no impediment." Untoward circumstances, he continues, had precluded his attendance on November 19, and, in conclusion, he remarks, "that feeling the rectitude of his conduct during a period of thirty-five years devoted to Masonry, without having in any instance impinged upon its laws, should the Grand Lodge be disposed to revive the charge against him, he would bow with the utmost deference to the decision."

The "consideration of what censure should pass against Mr Harper" was deferred until February 9, 1803, when, by a unanimous vote, he was expelled the Society, and it was ordered that the laws should be strictly enforced against all who might countenance or attend the Lodges or meetings of persons calling themselves Antient Masons.

This, for a time, put an end to the project of a union, as in the following month—March 3—a manifesto was drawn up by the Atholl Grand Lodge, which was ordered "to be forthwith printed (signed by the Secretary), and circulated throughout the whole extent of its Masonic communion and connection."

[1] An Address to the Duke of Atholl on the Subject of an Union with the Regular Masons of England, 1804. The author is supposed to have been W. C. Daniel, of the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57. *Cf. ante*, p. 452.

[2] Printed in "Ahiman Rezon," 1807, pp. 121-125.

Here we meet—happily for the last time—with the familiar allusion to the "variations in the established form;" but though the address fills nearly six pages of "Ahiman Rezon," there is nothing else in it worth noticing, except the concluding paragraph, which enjoins that no one is to be received into a Lodge or treated as a brother "who has not received the obligations of Masonry according to the Ancient Constitutions."[1]

Negotiations for a union were not resumed until 1809, when it became apparent to all candid minds that the breach would soon be repaired which had so long separated the two Societies. In the interim, however, the position of the elder Grand Lodge had been strengthened by fraternal alliances entered into with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, the former of which was ruled by the same Grand and Acting Grand Master, whilst the latter had pledged itself in 1808 not to countenance or receive as a Brother any person standing under the interdict of the Grand Lodge of England for Masonic transgression.

On April 12, 1809, a very remarkable step was taken by the senior of the rival bodies, and at a Quarterly Communication held that day it was resolved,

"That this Grand Lodge do agree in Opinion with the Committee of Charity that it is not necessary any longer to continue in Force those Measures which were resorted to, in or about the year 1739, respecting irregular Masons, and do therefore enjoin the several Lodges to revert to the Ancient Land Marks of the Society."

This tacit admission of the propriety of the epithets—"Ancients" and "Moderns"—by which the members of the two fraternities had so long been distinguished, fully justified the sanguine forecast of the brethren by whom it was drawn up.

At an (Atholl) Grand Lodge, held September 6, 1809, "Br° Jeremiah Cranfield, P.M., 255"—now the Oak Lodge, No. 190—brought forward a renewed motion (presented, but afterwards withdrawn, in the previous June) that a Committee should be appointed to consider and adopt prompt and effectual measures for accomplishing a Masonic Union. But after a long debate, Harper, "according with his duty as Deputy Grand Master, peremptorily refused to admit the Motion, and afterwards closed and adjourned the Grand Lodge, past 12 o'clock at night."

A committee, however, was appointed to report as to the propriety and practicability of a Union by a vote of the same body, in the following December, whilst on February 7, 1810, the resolution passed in 1803, by the older Grand Lodge, for the expulsion of Thomas Harper, was rescinded.

After two meetings, the "Atholl" Committee made a report to their Grand Lodge, by which body it was resolved—March 7, 1810—"that a Masonic Union on principles equal and honourable to both Grand Lodges, and preserving inviolate the Land Marks of the Ancient Craft, would, in the opinion of this Grand Lodge, be expedient and advantageous to both."

This resolution was enclosed in a letter to the Earl of Moira, who, on April 10, informed the Grand Lodge over which he presided, "That in conference with the Duke of Atholl, they were both fully of opinion, that it would be an event truly desirable, to consolidate under one head the two Societies of Masons that existed in this country. . . . In consequence of the points then discussed, and reciprocally admitted, the result was a resolution in the

[1] Edit. 1807, p. 125, *et seq.*

Grand Lodge under the Duke of Atholl"—which being read, it was thereupon resolved, "that this Grand Lodge meets with unfeigned cordiality, the desire expressed by the Grand Lodge under his Grace the Duke of Atholl for a Re-Union."

"That the Grand officers for the year, with the additions of the R.W. Masters of the Somerset House, Emulation, Shakespeare, Jerusalem, and Bank of England Lodges, be a committee for negotiating this most desirable arrangement."

The Masters thus nominated were respectively the Earl of Mount Norris, W. H. White (Master, both of the "Emulation" and the "Shakespeare"), James Deans, and James Joyce, all of whom are named in a warrant granted by Lord Moira, October 26, 1809, constituting a "Lodge of Masons, for the purpose of ascertaining and promulgating the Ancient Land Marks of the Craft."

The proceedings of the Grand Lodge, held April 10, 1810, were communicated to Mr Harper by the Earl of Moira, and in the following July a letter, signed by the D.G.M., was written to the latter from the "Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons," enclosing sundry resolutions passed by that body on May 1, and requesting his "Lordship to appoint a day and middle Place for the meeting of the two Committees."

The resolutions stipulated : "That the Prince of Wales' Masons were to consent to take the same obligations under which the other three Grand Lodges were bound, and to work in the same forms.

"That Pastmasters should sit in the United Grand Lodge; and that Masonic Benevolence should be distributed monthly.

"Also, the following were appointed members of the 'Atholl' Committee, viz., the Present and Past Grand officers, with Brothers Dewsnap, Cranfield, M'Cann, Heron, and Ronalds."

In reply to this communication, Grand Secretary White was directed to invite the "Atholl" Committee to dine with the Committee of his own Grand Lodge on July 31, at 5 o'clock, "for the purpose of conferring on the subject of the said Letter and Resolution," and the former body, though it "was not the Answer they expected," nevertheless, "to expedite the business," accepted the invitation to dine, but "earnestly requested that the other Committee would meet them at three o'clock on the same day, *previous to dinner*, for the purpose of conferring together."

The Committees duly met, but owing to the absence of the Earl of Moira, nothing definite could be arranged with regard to the resolutions of May 1. Ultimately, however, all difficulties were overcome, though the question of admitting Past Masters into the United Grand Lodge was only settled by a compromise, the privilege being restricted to all who had attained that rank, but to one Past Master only for each Lodge after the Union.

On the important point of ritual the Committee of the Grand Lodge under the Prince Regent, gave a distinct assurance that it was desired "to put an end to diversity and establish the one true system. They [the older Society] have exerted themselves to act by the ancient forms, and had formed a Lodge of Promulgation, whereat they had the assistance of several ancient Masons. But, in short, were ready to concur in any plan for investigating and ascertaining the genuine course, and when demonstrated, to walk in it."

The members of the "Lodge of Promulgation" were, in the first instance, only empowered

to meet until December 31, 1810, but this period was afterwards extended to the end of February 1811. The minutes begin November 21, 1809, when James Earnshaw, J.G.W., was elected W.M., and appointed James Deans and W. H. White as his Wardens. The Lodge being empowered "to associate with them, from time to time, discreet and intelligent Brethren," then proceeded to elect as members, thirteen Grand officers, two Past Masters of the Grand Steward's Lodge, the Master (Duke of Sussex), and the S.W. (Charles Bonnor), of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the Masters of eight other London Lodges.[1]

According to the warrant of the Lodge, it was constituted for the purpose of promulgating the Ancient Land Marks of the Society, and instructing the Craft in all such matters as might be necessary to be known by them, in consequence of, and in obedience to, the Resolution passed by Grand Lodge, April 12, 1809.

The members proceeded, in the first instance, to consider "the principal points of variation between the Ancient and the Modern practice in the several degrees of the Order," but their labours ultimately assumed a much wider scope. Thus, on December 29, 1809, "A particular explanation of the Ancient practice of a respectable community of the Craft, who have never entertained the Modern practice, was minutely set forth by the Secretary (Bonnor), so far as relates to the ceremonies of constituting a Board of Trial, with the entire series of proceedings in raising a candidate from the 2d to the 3d Degree. Whereupon, certain deviations from the practice so explained were pointed out, agreeable to the proceedings of the Athol Lodges, which deviations were ably descanted upon and discussed. Bro H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex was pleased to contribute to the accumulation of information, by a luminous exposition of the practice adhered to by our Masonic Brethren at Berlin."

The ceremonies were "settled" with great care and deliberation, after which they were rehearsed in the presence of the Masters of the London Lodges, who were duly summoned to attend. At an early stage it was resolved, "that Deacons (being proved, on due investigation, to be not only Ancient, but useful and necessary officers) be recommended."

As the word "Ancient" is used throughout in a double sense, both as relating to the practice of the Seceders, and the immemorial usage of the entire Craft, it is not easy, in all cases, to determine from the minutes of the Lodge, the precise extent to which the Society under the Prince Regent, borrowed from that under the Duke of Atholl. In substance, however, the method of working among the "Ancients"—to use the hackneyed phrase—was adopted by the "Moderns."

This was virtually a return to the old practice, and it will be sufficient to remark, that with the exception of the opportunities selected under the two systems for the communication of secrets, there appears to have been no real difference between the procedure (or ceremonial) of the rival fraternities.[2]

On October 19, 1810, it was resolved, "that it appears to this Lodge, that the ceremony of Installation of Masters of Lodges, is one of the two Land Marks of the Craft, and ought to be observed."

At the next meeting—November 16—the Grand Treasurer and four others, "being

[1] *Present* Nos. 8, 18, 23, 28, 92, 96, and 108. The Lodge of Sincerity (extinct), *then* No. 66, was also represented.

[2] This point is well illustrated by Dalcho (Orations, p. 84); Hughan (Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, pp. 56, 57); and in the "Address to the Duke of Atholl," *passim*. *Cf. ante*, p. 497, note 1.

Installed Masters, retired to an adjoining chamber, formed a Board of Installed Masters according to the Ancient constitution of the order, and forthwith installed Br° Jas. Earnshaw, R.W.M.," and the Masters of ten other lodges.

On December 28, 1810, "the Masters of Lodges were informed that they would, at the two next meetings, be summoned for the purpose of being regularly Installed as Rulers of the Craft," and accordingly one-half of the Masters of London Lodges were installed on the 18th, and the other half on the 25th, January.

In the following month, at a Quarterly Communication held February 6, "the M.W. Acting Grand Master, the Earl of Moira, having signified his directions to the R.W. Master and officers of the Lodge of Promulgation, was Installed according to ancient custom (such members of the Grand Lodge as were not actual Installed Masters having been ordered to withdraw)." At the same meeting the thanks of Grand Lodge were conveyed to the Lodge of Promulgation, and blue aprons were presented to Bros. Deans and Bonnor, "the other leading officers of the Lodge already possessing such aprons as Grand Officers."

A petition was signed by seven, on behalf of twenty-eight Masters of Lodges, praying that the Earl of Moira would renew the Lodge of Promulgation for another year; but on March 5, 1811, the Grand Secretary reported that his lordship conceived it would not be advisable to authorise the further continuance of its labours.

Before, however, passing from the minutes of this lodge, it may be interesting to state, that among them is a report to Lord Moira, suggesting "the propriety of instituting the office or degree of a Masonic Professor of the Art and Mystery of Speculative Masonry, to be conferred by diploma on some skilled Craftsman of distinguished acquirements, with power to avail himself occasionally of the assistance of other skilled Craftsmen, and to be empowered to instruct publicly or privately." The assistant professors, it was recommended, should be distinguished by a medal, ribbon, or a sash. The reply of the Acting Grand Master—if he made one—is not recorded.

The Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of one Fraternity, and the Duke of Kent, Grand Master of the other, were installed and invested on May 13 and December 1, 1813, respectively. On the former occasion the Duke of Kent acted as Deputy Grand Master, and on the latter, the Duke of Sussex was made an *Ancient Mason* (in a room adjoining) in order to take part in the proceedings.

The Articles of Union were signed and sealed on November 25, 1813, by the Duke of Sussex; W. R. Wright, Provincial Grand Master in the Ionian Isles; Arthur Tegart and James Deans, Past Grand Wardens—on the one part; and by the Duke of Kent; Thomas Harper, Deputy Grand Master; James Perry and James Agar, Past Deputy Grand Masters—on the other part.

These are in number XXI. Article II., the most important of them all, has been already quoted.[1] Article V. enjoins that the two Grand Masters shall appoint each nine Master Masons or Past Masters of their respective Fraternities, with warrant and instructions to either hold a lodge, to be entitled the LODGE OF RECONCILIATION, or to visit the several lodges for the purpose of obligating, instructing, and perfecting the members. The remainder will be found in the Appendix.

[1] *Ante*, p. 429.

On St John's Day, December 27, 1813, the brethren of the several lodges who had been previously re-obligated and certified by the Lodge of Reconciliation were arranged on the two sides of Freemason's Hall, in such order that the two Fraternities were completely intermixed. The two Grand Masters seated themselves, in two equal chairs, on each side of the throne. The Act of Union was then read—and accepted, ratified, and confirmed, by the Assembly.

One Grand Lodge was then constituted. The Duke of Kent then stated that the great view with which he had taken upon himself the important office of Grand Master of the Ancient Fraternity, as declared at the time, was to facilitate the important object of the Union, which had been that day so happily consummated. He therefore proposed His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to be Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons of England for the year ensuing. This being put to the vote, was carried unanimously, and the Duke of Sussex received the homage of the Fraternity.